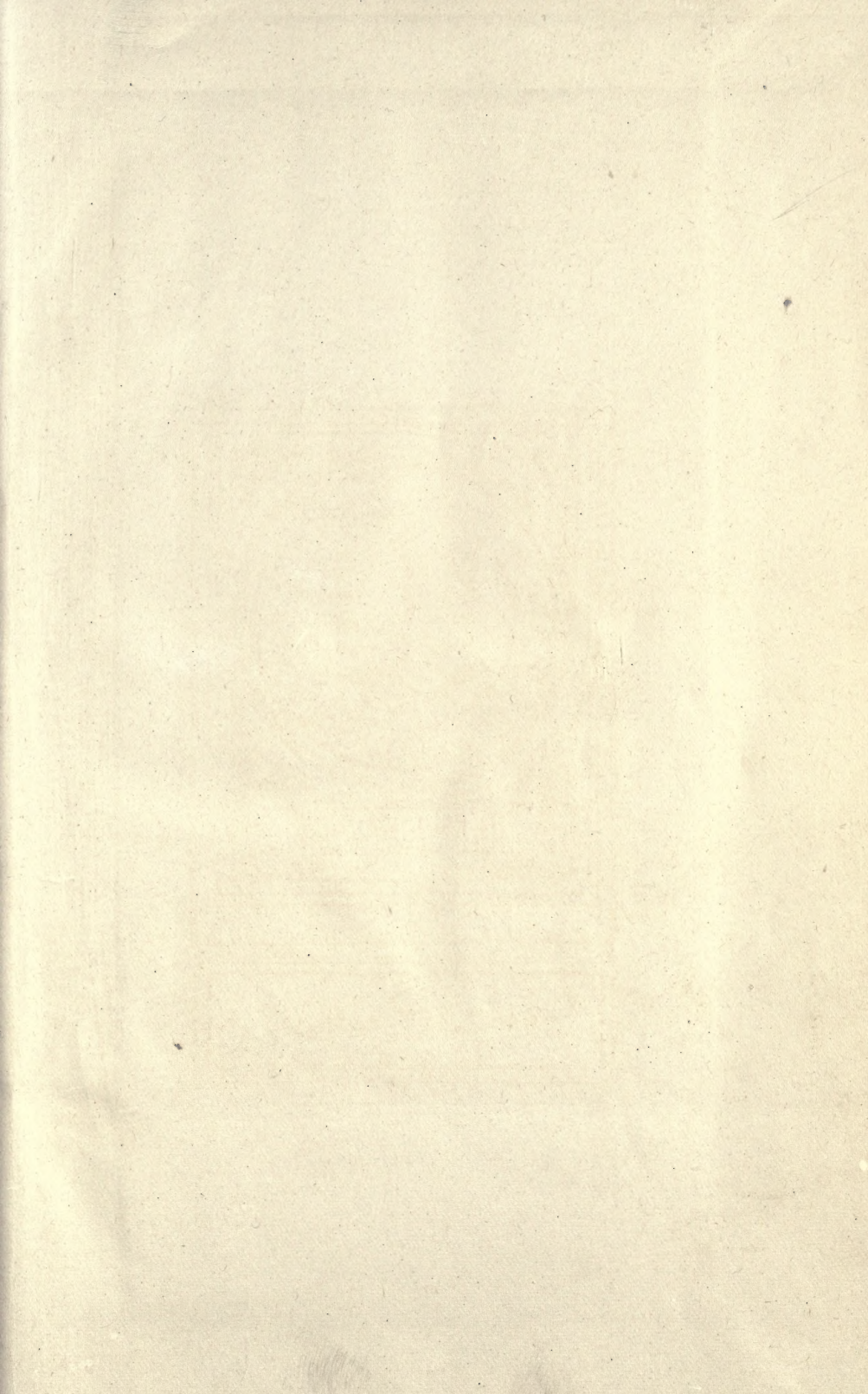


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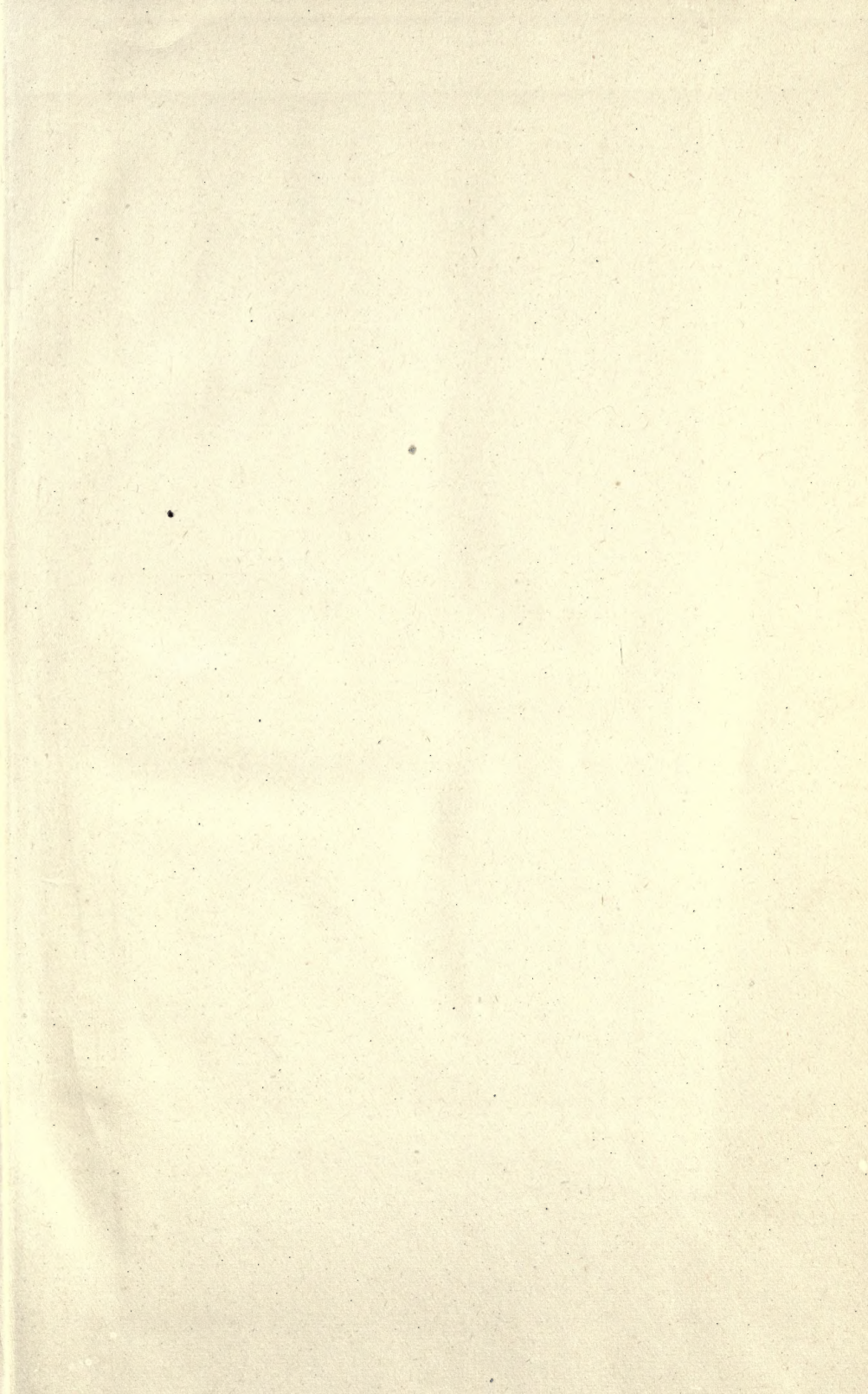


















THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
FLORIDA, LOUISIANA, TEXAS,  
AND  
CALIFORNIA,  
AND OF THE ADJOINING COUNTRIES,  
INCLUDING THE WHOLE  
VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI,  
FROM THE DISCOVERY TO THEIR INCORPORATION WITH THE UNITED  
STATES OF AMERICA.

BY  
ROBERT GREENHOW *(Secretary of the Dept  
of State at Washington)*

Author of a Historical and Political Memoir on the North West Coast, published in  
1840 by the United States Senate; of a History of Oregon, &c., &c.

VOLUME I.

*all published*

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NEW YORK:

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## P R E F A C E .

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IN offering this History to the public I consider it proper to present an explanation of the author's motives for undertaking his task, and afterwards for extending it beyond the limits originally marked out. For many years his attention had been called to the fact that no general and reliable history of the southern and south-western portion of our country existed, and that while New England had recorded the minutest incidents of her early story, very little was accurately known of the settlements in the Valley of the Mississippi and on the border lands of the Mexican Gulf. A desire to supply this deficiency and to become the historian of that region, soon possessed the author's mind; and, while engaged in composing his History of Oregon and California, so large an amount of new information was gathered by him, that he resolved, at once, to undertake the task. Years of patient labor were spent in collecting, arranging, and examining materials for the work; and, in the course of his pursuit, he encountered so many discrepancies, or perversions of fact, that he determined to subject his own studies to the severest tests of time and criticism before he ventured to offer them to the public. Adhering to this rule, the author frequently came in collision with statements of writers of established reputation; but believing that nothing short of absolute truth could satisfy the high behests of History, he pursued his independent task, taking care to fortify himself with authority for every contravening statement that he recorded. To those who knew Mr. Greenhow, I need not say that these labors were labors of love enthusiastically pursued; but it is proper for me to add that his *resources for authority* in the various public libraries of Washington and elsewhere,—



in his extended and valuable correspondence,—and, especially, in the unsurpassed collection of his friend and counsellor PETER FORCE, were perhaps, unequalled in this country.

The author originally intended to finish this History with the war of Independence; but the want of information as to the true boundaries of Louisiana and Texas, induced him to continue the work. His conclusions may be found to differ from those of some of our leading statesmen, and even from the declarations of our national authorities; yet, History left him no discretion in forming and announcing his opinions.

While engaged in the latter portion of the work, the war with Mexico was actively prosecuted, so that the boundaries of Texas acquired, if possible, a greater importance than ever. The account of California, also, forms a very significant portion of these volumes, for much of its early Spanish history has such affinity with that of Florida, Louisiana and Texas, that it would have been nearly impossible to separate them without making portions of their history obscure.

The acquisition of California by the United States, and a hope of restoring his health which had been much impaired by studious confinement, determined the author to visit our Pacific coast. Before going there, however, he deemed it necessary to visit Mexico to procure information, not elsewhere to be had, as to the Spanish government and laws of California. Mr. Greenhow foresaw the importance of this knowledge in the litigation which was likely to ensue, and every facility was afforded for his researches by the Mexican officials. During the six or seven months passed by him in the City of Mexico, the greater part of his time was spent among the archives, where he considered himself amply repaid by the discovery of many links required for a connected history of California. His health, meanwhile, did not improve, and he suffered, moreover, from an affection of his eyes, in consequence of which, I, who had been the companion of his journey, became his amanuensis and was thus enabled in some degree to lighten his labors.

At the end of 1850, we continued our journey to California, crossing the country to Acapulco and thence to San Francisco, where Mr. Greenhow soon became actively engaged in the

examination and argument of contested land titles. These professional duties interfered with, but did not altogether suspend his historical studies, and as they approached conclusion under his careful hand, he became anxious to submit them to the public. But he was not permitted to witness this consummation of his labors. His career was terminated on the 27th of March, 1854, by a violent casualty which occurred in San Francisco—a city in which his high integrity and moral worth had won for him the popular esteem at a time when society was almost disorganized.

Before this sad event Mr. Greenhow had finished stereotyping the whole of the first, and part of the second volume of this work; and he left nearly all of the manuscript for the remainder, in such a condition that it may be put to press with such slight corrections as his own judgment would probably have dictated in revising the proof-sheets.

I am deeply impressed with the responsibility imposed on me by his death; but I can only endeavor to carry out the will of the author, whose instructions in this respect, I often received, for he seemed to have a conviction that the task of publication would devolve upon me. Whilst I esteem it not only an honorable duty but an affectionate trust, to guard and extend a reputation which is the sacred heritage of his family, I commit this work to the public with the most perfect confidence in the fidelity with which it was prepared, and in its national value as a History. I have had the consolation to receive the warm sympathy of many enlightened and distinguished men who knew the author and were familiar with his labors; but I would be unjust to my own feelings if I did not thus publicly express my thanks to the Honorable JARED SPARKS, and to my friend BRANTZ MAYER of Baltimore, whose familiarity with many of the subjects of this history, enabled him to render me the aid so graciously given.

ROSE O'NEALE GREENHOW.





## INTRODUCTION.

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IN the following pages an attempt is made, for the first time, to present in a continuous historical narrative, the principal events relating to the countries bordering upon the northern half of the Mexican Gulf, and to California, from the period of their discovery by Europeans, to their incorporation with the United States.

In order to show more distinctly what countries are included in the earlier portion of these volumes, it will be premised that the name of *Florida* was applied in 1512, by the Spaniards to the peninsula now so called, on the north-east side of the Mexican Gulf, and was subsequently extended by them to the whole division of America north and north-west of that great arm of the Atlantic. In the following century, after large portions of this division had been abstracted and occupied as provinces by the English and French, the latter nation, extending its settlements from the Atlantic westward to the Mississippi, explored and took possession of the vast regions drained by that river and its branches, which received the appellation of *Louisiana*;—whereupon the Spaniards, to prevent further encroachments on territories which they regarded as exclusively their own, established themselves in the country adjoining Louisiana on the south-west, and annexed it to their kingdom of New Spain as the province of *Texas*.

The present work will not be expected to embrace a history of the whole division of America thus originally included by the Spaniards in Florida, nor on the other hand, will it be confined to the comparatively small portions now known as Florida, Louisiana and Texas; but will comprehend all the countries drained by streams entering the Mexican Gulf on the north and those immediately adjacent, between the Atlantic on the east, and the great river called Rio Bravo, Rio Grande and Rio del Norte, on the south-west. These countries are now all within the limits of the United States, to which they have been annexed in various ways. The history of each after its annexation, will be related only so far as regards its connection with the remaining portions, and attention will be directed particularly to the regions adjoining the Mexican Gulf, in which the most important events occurred.



The early history of these countries, presents few of the events, so varied in character and brilliant in immediate results, which have rendered Mexico a land of romance; and the writer, in tracing it, finds no opportunity for the indulgence of his fancy, being restricted within the limits of the probable and of the ordinary. The great expeditions of the Spaniards into Florida, ended with one or two exceptions, in the destruction by disease or starvation of all who engaged in them; and the heroes by whom they were conducted, could only exhibit their powers in the passive courage with which they endured those dreadful but common-place evils. Then followed the settlements of the Spaniards and the French, which never amounted to more than a few paltry villages and plantations on the sea-coast or the banks of the large rivers, and were long considered unworthy to be made the subject of dispute or negotiation between the governments of European nations. It was not indeed, until the present century, that attention was directed towards the territories on the northern side of the Mexican Gulf, and that the vast influence which they might exercise on the political condition of the world began to be perceived. The territories which the Spaniards abandoned as worthless, because no gold was found in them, and afterwards occupied only to prevent the development of their resources and to keep them forever as a desert between Mexico and the possessions of other nations, are now rapidly filling up with a numerous and enlightened population, and in all probability are destined to become the seat of a power greater than that of Spain and the Indies in their palmy days.

The most interesting portion of the history of these regions is that connected with their occupation by the Americans, in the progress of which, many new and important questions of political law and national right have arisen, while rules, if not principles of action, have been asserted at variance with those previously regarded as established. These new views are daily receiving the sanction of the people and government of the United States, notwithstanding the opposition made to them by European powers retaining interests in America. The circumstances connected with the annexation of Florida, Louisiana, and Texas to the United States, therefore merit the closest investigation, in order that the important questions which have thus arisen, may be placed in a distinct and proper light for the judgment of the world. With this object the present work has been undertaken, which will not be without use, if it shall contribute to expose and correct a single error of fact or reasoning.

The history of Florida, Louisiana and Texas, has, at least for more than a century, been related in works devoted either specially to some portion of them, or to the United States, Spain, England, France, Mexico, or the whole of America *generally*. In those of the latter class,

sufficient space could not be assigned for the necessary details, even if the authors had found time to investigate them; whilst in the others, it was of course impossible to present, with the requisite distinctness, many events of a minute character which occurred in remote districts, but which materially affected the interests of the whole. These countries indeed remained almost isolated until their occupation by the Americans; their inhabitants having no communication with the adjoining possessions of other nations, and very little with those of the power to which they belonged; whilst the different portions, even when under the dominion of different nations, were generally dependent on each other, and liable to be affected by any measure bearing materially upon one.

In presenting, therefore, the history of these countries they should be considered as one; and no point of time, subsequent to that of the first discovery of their coasts, should be selected for its commencement. The most recent and important events in one portion, will be found to be intimately connected with those which occurred in another during the life time of the companions of Columbus, and cannot be properly estimated without reference to the political systems and the views of national law prevailing among civilized states at that remote epoch. The condition of the whole has moreover, until their annexation to the United States, often depended upon political movements in Europe, of which none of the works above mentioned has shown or could show the entire influence; while statesmen, relying on these works for information as to the past, have been and may again be led to the most serious errors and difficulties, in their demands or admissions.

In the correspondence which led to the Florida treaty of 1820, the facts are often incorrectly represented; yet, no means have been taken to verify them, while the correspondence is referred to as authority on points concerning the limits of Louisiana and on many others relating to the extent and boundaries of Texas. To attempt to oppose such authority is a task from which he who undertakes it may not reasonably expect a grateful return, especially when his representations do not invariably support the views maintained by many distinguished negotiators and statesmen.

These pages are the results of the study of the countries in question, pursued for several years of anxious research and reflection, in the course of which, not only have all the printed works and maps hitherto cited as authorities, been consulted, but many others adduced, together with a mass of official manuscripts which have slumbered for more than a century and a half in the archives of Paris, Madrid and Mexico, and still remain unpublished. In discussions of boundaries, undue importance is commonly attached to *maps*, when, in fact, they prove little but the opinion of the geographer or draftsman who construct-



ed them, while many were only designed to advance a public claim or private speculation. Their historic value depends on their accordance with facts and reason, and upon the moral and political character of their authors.

In the following work, the history of the discovery and settlement of the countries to which it is devoted, is carefully traced; and all other circumstances worthy of note respecting them, are recorded with the minuteness in each case which its importance seemed to require. Especial attention has been given to the negotiations and treaties between the nations interested in those countries, showing not only all the stipulations actually made concerning them, but likewise the political condition in which they were placed by the spirit or proper construction of each agreement. Moreover, the extent of geographical knowledge with regard to that part of America at particular periods, is proved by references, the authority of each of which is critically examined. This species of information has been found by the author indispensable in the study of the numerous narratives of expeditions, which have been consulted, and absolutely necessary for understanding the true meaning and bearing of treaties; while the researches necessary for obtaining it have occupied a large portion of the years spent in preparing these volumes for the public.

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CHAPTER I.

1492 TO 1516.

THE FIELD OF THIS HISTORY—GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES—MOUNTAINS—RIVERS—CLIMATE—THE MISSISSIPPI AND ITS TRIBUTARIES—THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI—STREAMS OF THE EAST COAST—THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION—EUROPEAN DISCOVERIES—SPANISH GOVERNMENT IN WEST INDIES—EARLY MAP OF WEST INDIES—DISCOVERY OF FLORIDA, GULF STREAM, AND PACIFIC.

THE part of America to which the earlier portion of the following history relates, extending on the north side of the Mexican Gulf, from the great river known as Rio Bravo, Rio Grande, or Rio del Norte, and eastwardly to the Atlantic, was discovered and traversed in various directions by the Spaniards, within fifty years after the existence of the New World had been ascertained by Columbus. At that period, and during the remainder of the sixteenth century, these countries and the whole division of the continent farther north, were included under the general name of FLORIDA, bestowed by the Spaniards in commemoration of Easter Sunday, the day on which land was first seen in the vicinity of St. Augustine.



In the course of the following century, several large portions of this division bordering upon the Atlantic, were successively occupied by the English, the French and the Dutch; and the name of Florida became gradually restricted by all nations, except the Spanish, to the territory south of the Savannah river. The French, then penetrating westward from their settlements on the St. Lawrence, explored and occupied the regions drained by the Mississippi, to which they assigned the appellation of Louisiana, in honor of their sovereign, Louis XIV.

Florida was thus farther reduced in extent; and the Spaniards, in order to restrain the encroachments of other European nations upon territories which they considered as exclusively their own, in virtue of the papal concession, as well as of their discoveries and settlements, established themselves in the region next adjoining Louisiana on the west, and annexed it to their kingdom of Mexico or New Spain, as the Province of Texas. This last establishment was formed in the early part of the seventeenth century, Texas being the name of the principal tribe of the Cenis nation or confederacy of Indians, dwelling between the Red river and the Trinity. The Spaniards however persisted until a much later period, in applying the name of Florida to the whole division of America north of the Mexican Gulf; treating the colonies of the other European nations in those countries as illegal intrusions.\*

Such were the circumstances under which the names of Florida, Louisiana and Texas were severally applied by the French and Spaniards to these parts of North America. The present work will, of course, not embrace the history of the whole division of the continent thus originally called Flori-

\* See for instance the "*Ensayo Chronologico para la Historia de Florida.*"—A Chronological history of Florida, by Don Andres Gonzales Barcia, under the anagram of Gabriel de Cardenas Z. Cano, Historiographer to the crown of Spain, published at Madrid in 1723,—in which all the events in the English and French, as well as in the Spanish colonies, north of the Mexican Gulf, are related as parts of the history of his Catholic Majesty's "great Kingdom of Florida." The work is curious and valuable, and reference will be frequently made to it in the following pages.

da; nor will it, on the other hand, be confined to the comparatively small portions now known respectively as Florida, Louisiana and Texas. It is intended to present in the first portions of these volumes, a complete account of the discoveries and establishments of the French and the Spaniards, in the regions adjacent to the northern side of the Mexican Gulf and the Mississippi, which were first explored and occupied by the people of those nations; as well as of the various disputes and agreements to which they gave rise, until those countries were incorporated with the United States, of which they now form such large and important divisions.

This is indeed a wide field, but the most important events have occurred in the immediate vicinity of the Mexican Gulf or of the lower Mississippi, which will accordingly form the principal scenes of the history. These events have been hitherto presented, either in works specially devoted to Florida, Louisiana, Texas, or to the States in which they are now subdivided, or they are to be found scattered through the annals of Spain, France, Great Britain and the United States; so that it is difficult, if not impossible, to preserve the connection between causes and effects, so essential to render a history reliable. The great questions which have been agitated since the commencement of this century with regard to Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, have been, in consequence, almost always misrepresented by those to whom the statesman looks for information; and acts of signal injustice have been committed, and disputes and wars between nations have arisen, which might have been avoided by a display of the historical evidence in a more accurate form. The object of this work is to supply the want thus indicated, by exhibiting the countries bordering upon the northern sides of the Mexican Gulf as a whole; and tracing their connections with each other and with the rest of the world, in such a manner as to afford the means of correcting the errors of public opinion respecting the past, and of equitably adjusting the important questions which may hereafter be raised.

The early history of these, as of all other parts of America,



must necessarily be devoted in a great measure to the details of discoveries and explorations, for the ready comprehension of which a general knowledge of the geography of the countries will be indispensable; and a sketch of the principal natural features of the regions drained by streams entering the Mexican Gulf on the north, will accordingly be presented, leaving the more minute description of particular points to the parts of the work specially relating to them.

As an introduction to this view, it will be proper first to remark the North American continent in its three great natural divisions or sections, as indicated by the inclinations of its surface towards the three great basins of the ocean upon which it borders. Of these sections, the Arctic, including all the territories drained by streams which flow into the Arctic or North Polar Ocean, forms about one-third of the continent. It would be needless to say more of it here, than that it is remarkable from the general smoothness of the surface, and, from the sterility of the land and its frosty climate, is entirely uninhabitable by a fixed population. The Pacific section, embracing all west of the great chain of mountains which traverses both the continents, nearly parallel to their western coasts, from Behring's Strait to the Strait of Magellan, is no less remarkable from the irregularity of its superficial conformation; being almost every where intersected by lofty ridges separated only by narrow valleys.

The Atlantic section of North America comprises about 2,204,887 square miles, or one-seventh of the whole continent; and of this portion four-sevenths are drained by streams flowing into the Mexican Gulf, which, with its prolongation the Caribbean Sea, may be considered as occupying a position in the New World similar to that of the Mediterranean in the old. A particular description of this Gulf will be required in this place, in order clearly to exhibit the peculiarities of the regions which it separates—peculiarities scarcely less broad and striking than those which distinguish Europe, Asia and Africa from each other.

The Gulf of Mexico is a part of the Atlantic Ocean occupying a wide and deep recess on the eastern side of the Ameri-

can continent, between the 18th and 31st parallels of latitude. In form, it approaches an oval, extending in greatest length, from east to west, one thousand miles, and from north to south, eight hundred; its whole superficies being about six hundred thousand square miles—rather more than half that of the Mediterranean and its interior seas. On the east, it communicates with the Atlantic by two passages, which are separated by the interposition of the great island of Cuba. By the northern of these passages, called the Bahama Channel, between Cuba and the southern extremity of the peninsula of Florida, the communication is direct and immediate: the southern passage, between Cuba and the north-east extremity of the peninsula of Yucatan, connects the Mexican Gulf with the Carribbean Sea, which joins the Atlantic by numerous openings between the islands of the West Indian chain or archipelago. Through these last mentioned openings, the great intertropical current caused by the rotation of the earth, enters the Carribbean Sea, the waters of which, receiving the same impulsion, are carried between Cuba and Yucatan, into the Mexican Gulf. This powerful current then continues along the shores of the latter, south-westward, northward, eastward and south-eastward, constantly augmented by the influx of great rivers, and rushes out through the Bahama Channel between Cuba and Florida, forming the well known Gulf-stream of the Atlantic, the effects of which are perceptible near the coasts of Europe. The force of this current is such as to embarrass the entrance of vessels into the Gulf by the northern passage, or their departure from it by the southern, or their navigation against the line of direction of the waters along the coasts; so that those propelled by wind are obliged usually to take circuitous courses, in order to avail themselves of eddies or counter currents, and to escape the dangers from rocks and sand banks, on which they might be drifted during calms or whilst their true position cannot be ascertained by astronomical observations.

Northward from the Mexican Gulf, the Atlantic section of America extends through forty degrees of latitude, to the Frozen Ocean. In the vast distance of more than two thou-



sand five hundred miles, with an average breadth of nearly two thousand, the only notable interruptions of the continuity of the land, are presented by the great Lakes communicating with the Atlantic through the St. Lawrence and Hudsons Bay which is connected with the same ocean by Hudson's Strait; while the only remarkable elevations of surface, are those of the Apalachian or Alleghany chain, which stretches northward from the 33rd degree of latitude to the 46th, separating the waters flowing directly into the Atlantic, from those entering it through the St. Lawrence on the north, and through the Mississippi on the west. The breadth of the continent between the Mexican Gulf on the east and the Californian Gulf on the Pacific side, does not exceed, at the widest, six hundred miles, measured on the 28th parallel of latitude. Farther south the territory separating the waters of the two oceans diminishes gradually in width until it is reduced to only one hundred and twenty miles, in the Isthmus of Guazecualco or Tehecatepec, the northern boundary of the Mexican Gulf,—over which one of the great lines of travel and commerce between that sea and the Pacific, is probably destined to pass. This intervening territory west and south of the Gulf, is nearly equally divided, by the ridge or SIERRA MADRE of the chain separating the waters of the Pacific from those of the Atlantic, whose mountains are often visible from the sea. The immediate environs of the Gulf are, however, flat every where on the northern and generally on the other sides; and are bordered, in many places, by low and narrow islands, enclosing shallow bays or sounds, into which several of the larger rivers discharge their waters. The only islands not thus immediately contiguous to the mainland, are a few small points of coral rock and sand, within a hundred miles of Yucatan and the northern extremity of Florida, which contribute to increase the dangers of the navigation, arising from the force of the great current already described.

The territories north of the Mexican Gulf, differ in climate no less than surface from those south of that sea. The latter are all situated in the torrid zone, and are rarely

visited by rain, except during the summer months; while the northern regions are at all times subject to the fall of water from the heavens, though usually more in winter than at other seasons of the year. From these differences of climate and the greater extent of the northern division of the continent, the quantity of water poured into the gulf from the north, greatly exceeds the contributions from the other side. The Mississippi alone supplies more than all the remaining streams together; while there are several other rivers, on the same side, superior in that respect to the Santander, the Panuco, the Alvarado, the Guazecualco, the Tabasco or the Usumasinta, the only large streams emptying into the Gulf from the south. The flow of water from the northern territories is however not uniform throughout the year; for the sources of the greatest rivers are situated among mountains on which the snows accumulate in winter and are melted by the returning sun, so as to produce floods in the spring, as regular as those occasioned by summer rains in northern streams.

Of the countries on the southern side of the Mexican Gulf, which may be comprehended under the general name of Mexico,—the most valuable portions, are the table lands among the vast mountain chains, where the climate is mild and equal, and the soil, in some places, very fertile. These portions, have supported, and still support, large numbers of people, in that semi-civilized state which is so favorable to population, where the wants are few and the means of subsistence easily attained; but they are small in extent, when compared with the whole territory, and lie in patches or tracts, separated from each other by high ranges of rugged mountains, or by wide sandy plains, opposing barriers to intercourse, which must ever prove disadvantageous to that division of the New World. The civilization of Europe and the United States, at the present day, while it stimulates labor and increases its products, at the same time gives rise to new necessities, for the gratification of which, each portion of a country must have facilities of communication with all other parts of the world; and in these facilities, Mexico must



be always deficient, not only from the causes indicated, but also from the want of good harbors and the general insalubrity of the regions contiguous to the eastern and western coasts.

Some of the low countries on the south-east side of the Gulf, have however supported a population, not inferior to that of any other part of the world, in comparison with the extent of their surface. A large part of the peninsula of Yucatan, is literally covered with remains of edifices, scarcely less remarkable, in number, extent, or elaborateness, than those of Egypt or India; erected at periods whereof no record remains, but possibly as remote as those in which the pyramids were raised, or the temples of Ellora excavated. These remains demonstrate not only the populousness of the country and the advancement of its inhabitants in the arts, but also the strength and long duration of their political system;—yet, in this territory, the rains are confined to a few weeks of every year, while the character and form of the surface is such, that very few streams or springs of water are to be found during the dry season; so that the inhabitants are subjected to a still farther tax on their labor, for the construction of reservoirs, scarcely less remarkable as works of art than the edifices and temples we have mentioned.

In a description of the countries north of the Mexican Gulf, the first objects of attraction should be the rivers, of which not less than ten, of large size, may be counted entering the sea, within an extent of coast, of as many hundred miles. Several of these streams are navigable at all times, and others, during their floods, to considerable distances in the interior; some however, as already mentioned, terminate in shallow bays or inlets, forbidding the entrance of any but the smallest vessels, though they may afford a free passage to those of much larger draught, above the neighborhood of their mouths.

Of the Mississippi, the chief of these streams, it is difficult to determine what should be stated in a limited space. The river which, under that name, enters the Gulf of Mexico,

nearly in the middle of its northern coast, at the 29th parallel of latitude, in fact traverses, drains, and connects together about one-seventh of North America, comprehending the greater part of the continent between the parallel above mentioned and the 48th degree, where its northern sources are to be found. Over this vast surface, its branches spread in all directions;—many of them wide, deep and rapid, affording passage for large vessels, for hundreds and even thousands of miles, from their confluence with the main trunk, to the vicinity of the sources of all the other principal rivers of the continent, which flow either into the Atlantic, the Arctic, or the Pacific oceans, directly or through their great gulfs or bays. In fact, of the states now composing the American Federal Republic, not less than twenty contribute water to the Mississippi; and of these, sixteen communicate with the Mexican Gulf by navigable streams falling into the same great canal.\*

The Mississippi, which is called the main stream, though inferior in all respects to the Missouri above the point of their union, originates near the 48th degree of latitude in the centre of the North American continent, immediately west of Lake Superior, and after flowing for some distance, wide and deep, it crosses a ledge of rocks under the 45th parallel, where it forms the celebrated cataracts known as the Falls of St. Anthony. Near the 43d degree, it receives the Wisconsin, and near the 39th, the Illinois; both large streams flowing from the east, of which,—particularly of the latter,—much will be said in the following pages. At a short distance below the mouth of the Illinois, the Missouri rushes in from the west, and the waters which before receiving this accession, were comparatively clear and smooth, are driven into thick and yellow whirlpools, laden with mud and trunks of trees, brought down by the mighty torrent. The Ohio

New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, and Alabama, as well as Minnesota, may be and are reached by vessels from the Mississippi; while Maryland, Michigan, North Carolina, and Georgia, send forth small streams to its great tributaries.



next enters under the 37th parallel, bringing its waters from the western slope of the Alleghany mountains, and from a vast and fertile region between that chain and the Mississippi; though it appears to the eye to increase but little, the volume or force of the great river. Farther south, many considerable streams flow into the Mississippi on both sides, but no very large ones from the east; while on the west, it receives the Arkansas near the 34th degree, and the Red River near the 31st, which, like the Missouri, have their sources among the Rocky Mountains, in the vicinity of those of the principal rivers emptying into the Pacific.

The direct distance from the source of the Mississippi to its mouth is about fourteen hundred miles; the sinuosity of the river is however so great that the line of its passage is nearly double that length, extending thirteen hundred miles above the mouth of the Missouri, and the same distance below that point. In its course southward as far as the 35th degree, it is confined, except in a few spots, by banks of sufficient height to prevent its overflow at any time, but south of that parallel the country in most places on the eastern side, and everywhere on the west, lies beneath the level attained by the waters in their usual annual floods, and consequently is inundated by them to a considerable extent in each direction. The elevated places, on the eastern side of this portion, are the terminations of ridges running thither south-westward from the Alleghany mountains, and some of them form high cliffs, overhanging the stream. The low country on the west, increases constantly in breadth as it is nearer to the Gulf, on which it extends to a great distance, not only on that side, but also east of the mouth of the Mississippi; and it was probably, at some period long past, covered by an arm or prolongation of the sea, which has been gradually filled up by the deposite of mud, sand, and trees, so as merely to leave a passage for the river. In this manner the surface of the regions liable to be inundated is always raised after each overflow, and the mouth of the Mississippi is constantly carried farther south, by the deposits formed about it on the edge of the Gulf.

The floods of the lower Mississippi, are the results of the sudden influx of water from its great tributaries, produced either by the melting of the snows in the mountains, where their sources are situated, or by the abundance of rain during certain seasons of the year, in the countries through which they respectively pass. The periods of the influx from the different streams are generally regular and successive, so that the waters from one river have usually been carried off by the great trunk to the sea, before those from another have reached it. It however sometimes occurs, that the floods from two or more rivers simultaneously, enter the Mississippi which consequently is raised above the usual height and extends its inundations over a wider space. These extraordinary floods must ever be very injurious to the inhabitants of the countries they visit; particularly as the only means as yet employed and perhaps the only possible means of protection, must serve to increase the height and violence of the torrents. The artificial embankments, always confining the river to its channel, and preventing it from spreading, necessarily elevate the surface at the floods, and they also raise the bottom, in consequence of the increase of the deposite upon it, which is not counterbalanced, as experience has shown, by the impulse thus given to the rapidity of the current. As the embankments are continued, the elevation of the river above the surrounding country must increase, unless new channels are opened for carrying off the superabundant waters to the Gulf; and the inhabitants must be placed in the same perilous condition, with those on the lower Po, the surface of which, at the distance of six miles only, is usually above the level of the roofs of the highest palaces in the city of Ferrara.

The floods acting upon the soft and yielding soil which in general composes the borders of the lower Mississippi, produce constant changes in its course. Thus its banks, on the one side against which the current strikes, are undermined and carried away, while on the opposite side, where the water is comparatively tranquil, deposits of mud and sand are found, which gradually rise into shores. Moreover the



necks of the peninsulas inclosed by the innumerable windings of the stream, are frequently cut through, and new channels are thus made, the old ones being gradually converted into lakes by constant deposits at their extremities, and then filled up by those made during the floods. These changes however must necessarily be confined within narrow limits, except perhaps in the region adjacent to the Gulf, where some one of the outlets, now inconsiderable, may become enlarged either naturally or by artificial aid, so as to enable it to carry off the greater part of the waters.

The Mississippi is at all times navigable by large vessels to the mouths of all its principal tributaries, which moreover may be ascended to great distances, except when their waters are very low. The Red River, if the obstructions from the accumulation of drift wood were removed, and the Arkansas, might be thus navigated for more than a thousand miles each, during a certain portion of the year;—the Ohio and the upper Mississippi, much farther; and the Missouri for more than two thousand miles to its falls,—beyond which its branches extend, wide and deep, into the recesses of the Rocky Mountains.

The territory drained by all these streams, is equal to two fifths of that of Europe. Among these lands, may be found every form of surface, from the wide level prairie, or the soft marshy alluvial, to the rugged mountain peak:—their climate ranges from the frozen to the torrid; they produce almost every article,—animal, mineral and vegetable,—required for the use of man; while every facility for intercourse, among the different portions and the rest of the world, is presented by their connected rivers.

A large portion of these territories, including nearly all west of a line drawn from the sources of the Red River, to those of the Mississippi proper, are indeed irretrievably barren, and other portions, especially those bordering upon the Gulf are unhealthy; the remainder is however not surpassed by any other division of the earth of equal extent, in fertility and variety of productions, in amenity and salubrity of climate, and in facilities for communication throughout. In

all these respects the advantages of the Mississippi and its regions are peculiar. Thus the Nile receives not a single stream, within fifteen hundred miles of the sea, in which long distance, the habitable portion of its valley does not extend beyond the reach of its waters at their flood, while the communication between its upper and lower countries, is interrupted by cataracts and other impediments. The River of the Amazons is probably superior to the Mississippi in length, in volume of water discharged, and in extent of surface drained, but its navigation, is rendered unsafe by numerous whirlpools and rapids, while the regions through which it passes, all situated within the torrid zone, and near the Equator, differ so little in climate soil and productions, that few inducements are offered to the inhabitants of any one portion, to go to another, thus, in a great measure, preventing the healthy circulation of commerce. The same observations may be applied with few restrictions, to the Rio de la Plata, and the Ganges;—of the other great rivers of the world, nothing is known, calculated to throw doubts upon the claim of the Mississippi, to the first place, as a channel or link for commercial intercourse.

It would be incompatible with the plan of this work to describe particularly the great streams which flow into and form the Mississippi. The Ohio and its principal confluent—the Tennessee, Cumberland, Wabash, Miami, Kenhawa, and Alleghany,—bring to the main river of our country the tributes of a vast region on the east, destined, probably, to sustain a population equal to any other of the same extent on the globe. The lower portions of the Mississippi and Missouri, and their tributaries, the Illinois, Des Moines, and Osage, flow through regions no less fertile and salubrious; while the territories drained by the Arkansas are not so valuable as those already described, nor are they equal in fertility to the valley of the Red River, which, of itself, would be sufficient to form a rich and productive empire.

From this difference in the extent and surface of the countries surrounding the Mexican Gulf, the quantity of water poured into it from the continent is greater on the northern



than on the other sides. South of the Rio Bravo, which enters the Gulf on the west near the 26th degree of latitude, no stream is to be found comparable in magnitude with many falling into that sea farther north; while the Mississippi supplies a much larger amount of water, and drains a much more extensive territory than all the others together. Between these two principal rivers are the Colorado, the Brazos, the Trinity, and the Sabine; and east of the Mississippi, the Tombigbee, the Alabama and the Apalachicola, all navigable hundreds of miles in the interior, besides many others which are only small by contrast with those in their vicinity. The peninsula gives origin to numerous small streams falling into the seas on both sides; and to one large river, the St. John, which traverses it in nearly its whole length from south to north, discharging its waters into the Atlantic near the line of junction with the mainland.

The Apalachicola, the Alabama and the Tombigbee all have their sources among the southernmost ridges of the Alleghany or Apalachian chain, which thence extends north-eastward to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The countries traversed by these rivers are among the most fertile and agreeable in America or in the world, and are perhaps destined to contain a vast population: yet they remained, as will be shown, neglected and almost unknown for nearly three centuries after their discovery. The Sabine and the Trinity flow through plains or undulating regions, probably exceeding in natural advantages those first mentioned east of the Mississippi. The Brazos and the Colorado rise in the elevated region adjoining New Mexico, from which they however derive but a small proportion of their waters, that being the most arid and sterile portion of America, east of the great dividing ridge of the Rocky Mountains. The lower countries through which they flow, though generally less inviting than those farther east, include nevertheless many large tracts of territory capable of yielding the most valuable productions in abundance.

The Rio Bravo, Rio Grande, or Rio del Norte,—each of which names it bears in different parts of its valley,—is more

remarkable for length than for the extent of surface it drains, or the quantity of water it discharges. No other river in the world, except the Nile, receives such inconsiderable accessions in so great a distance from source to mouth. Rising among the Rocky Mountains, near the 40th degree of latitude, it flows southwardly along the base of that chain, from whose eastern declivity it collects the waters in a course of eight hundred miles before turning towards the sea. Thus far, in its transit, it is the "Rio del Norte"—the River of the North;—in the other eight hundred miles of its journey to the Gulf, it is the "Rio Grande"—the Great River,—or, "Rio Bravo"—the Bold River;—and is, probably, the same known in the sixteenth century as the River of Palms. Its only confluent, of any size, are the Rio Puerco, or Muddy, and the Rio de Conchos, both of which remain dry during a considerable portion of the year. Indeed, except in summer, when rain is most abundant, and the snows are melting on the sierras, this celebrated river is evidently less, at its mouth, than at the distance of a thousand miles above!

The valley of the Rio Grande or Rio Bravo, seems designed by nature as a barrier between nations. If a line be drawn through the channel of the stream, from mouth to source, and thence northwardly, direct to the western extremity of Lake Superior, a great extent of territory on both sides will be found to include very few spots not absolutely uninhabitable. Proceeding westward from the line thus indicated, these peculiarities increase, until we reach a broad desert stretching northward, from the southernmost point of the Californian peninsula, through the whole extent of our continent. This inhospitable region will, in all likelihood not only remain uninhabited except by the most sparse and reckless population, but can hardly be traversed without imminent danger from want of food and water. A similar belt of desolation,—rather narrower but quite as sterile—intervenes on the south, between the valley of the Rio Bravo and the *productive* districts of Mexico; so that the two flanks of this wilderness are completely sundered, while their differences of climate, surface, productions, and of all the circumstances



which influence the habits and character of men, would very soon destroy community of feelings and interest between people of the same stock.

Such, at least, would seem to be the decree of nature, if Geography alone were allowed to decide the intercourse of mankind; yet under the stimulus of trade, the quest of precious metals, and the inventive power of Art, even these lonely wastes may become the highways of continuous traffick, and the regions they separate be linked together by the controlling influence of commerce.

The history of the Aboriginal inhabitants must begin with their discovery by Europeans in the XVI. century, for no reliable record or tradition regarding them has been preserved for our instruction. In fact, very little was known of the land or its people till a much later period, yet the narratives of the first discoverers, correspond sufficiently with those since obtained, to warrant the assumption that, in the interval, no material change had occurred in the character, customs, and languages of the natives. Indeed, their condition at the beginning of the last century, may be said to have been identical with that of two hundred years before. The Indians of those days were all savages, of a dusky-red or copper color; with dark hazel or black eyes; straight, stiff, black hair; prominent cheekbones, and other well known peculiarities common to aboriginal Americans and distinguishing them from the people of all other regions. They are not, however, to be classed among the lower grades of barbarians. Although they engaged in war and subsisted chiefly by the chase, yet, for a large portion of the year, they dwelt in huts, clad themselves in skins, engaged their women in agriculture, and possessed at least the rudiments of social, political, and religious systems. A number of individuals occupying a certain tract, composed a tribe, under the direction of a chief or chiefs whose tenure of office was generally hereditary; while a number of such tribes formed a confederacy or nation, whose sovereignty reposed either in some distinguished individual, or, more commonly, in an aristoc-

racy of hereditary chiefs. The right of succession invariably passed, among all the savage nations of North America, through the *female* line; so that, as a general rule, no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe, while, at his death, a chief was succeeded by the son of his nearest female relation.

Their religious ideas were exceedingly vague. All the tribes are said to have entertained some notions of an overruling providence and of a future existence; yet, so far as these elements of spiritual government are known to have controlled the aborigines, they seem to have increased rather than mitigated their licentiousness and ferocity. Moral obligations appear to have been unknown;—their wisdom was but cunning; and generosity or confidence were considered only as evidences of folly and weakness.

Much has been written, in regard to these and other aborigines of the New World, to prove their descent from the people of the Old World, or to show, at least, that the Mexican and Peruvian civilizations were imported from Europe or Asia. Upon these subjects, *every thing* that is known should, perhaps, be stated, or, the question should be left altogether untouched. It appears, however, to be now generally conceded that neither anatomy nor natural history; neither astronomy nor the languages, habits, mechanical arts, sciences, governments, religions, and ceremonies of the aborigines, compared with those of the Old World at any period with which we are acquainted, afford sufficient grounds for believing that communications had taken place between the continents. Whatever seems identical, is, in all likelihood, but the result of the common nature and wants of the human race; while the variations are sufficient to show that, if intercourse ever occurred, it could only have been at a period almost infinitely remote.

Of the nations or confederacies occupying the countries adjacent to the northern sides of the Mexican Gulf, more will not be said, at present, than may be necessary to show their respective positions. It should however be observed, that the names by which Indian nations are known among us,



are, in many cases, inaccurate as to the people to whom they are applied—some being of European origin, while many are merely epithets of ridicule or abuse bestowed by the people of other countries. The narratives of the early expeditions of the Spaniards, French and English, through the New World, vary considerably in regard to names, not only of nations, but also of countries, towns, rivers and lakes; and these discrepancies will be found not merely between accounts of different expeditions, but between accounts of the same expedition, and even where the names are expressly given as obtained directly from the natives of the country visited. This is however not surprising; for independently of the obstacles to a clear communication of ideas between parties entirely ignorant of each others' tongue, and the difficulty of expressing the sound of one language by the orthography of another, experience shows that barbarians rarely have fixed or precise appellations for the objects above mentioned, to which they usually apply general terms, with the occasional addition of some qualification suggested by local circumstances. Thus, the names given, by savages, to rivers, lakes, and seas, will commonly be found to mean *water*; their country is *the land*; their town is *the town*, and they themselves are *men*.\*

\* Many instances, in proof of these observations, will be cited in the following pages, and many others might be adduced. Thus, the Esquimaux of the polar regions are called Eski-mautik or fish-eaters, by which name they were known on the St. Lawrence. The Iroquois are said to have been so called by the French, from their frequent use of an exclamation of approval, resembling *Irok* in sound; while the Hurons received their name from their mode of dressing the hair, so as to resemble the *hure* or head of the wild boar. The Muscoghees were termed Creeks by the English traders, from the number of small streams in their country. The natives of the region on the west side of the Mississippi near the Gulf, were distinguished by the odious and unjust title of Attakappas and Okelousas, or red man eaters, among those of the left bank of the great river. The wandering Camanches call themselves Patoka; the bold Dacotas of the Upper Mississippi disdain the unmeaning appellation of Sioux, bestowed upon them by the early French traders. The great river itself bore an infinite number of names in different regions through which it flows; the Indians dwelling on its upper waters, called it Mescha-sibia, Missi-sippi, meaning Great Water; among the Chickasas, who reached it at the Chickasa Bluffs, it was River of the Cliffs, and the Choctas knew it as Okiinna-chitta, Great Water-path.

Considering these countries as divided by the Mississippi, we find the eastern portion inhabited, at the earliest period to which our knowledge extends, by several great tribal confederacies. On the coasts of the Atlantic, from the Santee to the southern part of the peninsula of Florida and the contiguous islands, the dominant nation was the Yamassee, a bold race, long the terror of Spaniards and afterwards of Englishmen, by whom, with the aid of other Indians, they were exterminated about the year 1725. Farther west, on the upper waters of the Alatomaha, the Chattahoochee or Apalachicola, and the Alabama, dwelt the Muscoghees—since called Creeks by English traders—the most extensive and powerful of all those nations, emigrants from which, under the name of Istisemoles or Seminoles,—meaning wildmen or runaways,—were constantly invading the peninsula of Florida, and driving the aboriginal Calos or Calooses to its southern extremity. Still farther west, on the Mobile and Pearl rivers, near the Gulf of Mexico, were the Choctas, fierce, cunning and false, the most influential power of the lower Mississippi regions; while immediately adjoining them on the north, between the headwaters of the Tombigbee and those of the Yazoo, was the small but compact and resolute nation of the Chickasas, ever at war with the Choctas, from whose confederacy they were most probably seceders. The simple and hardy Cherokees possessed the mountains, in which lie the head-springs of the Savannah, the Chattahoochee, the Tennessee, the Cumberland and the Santee, secured from all attacks, by the inaccessibility and uninviting character of their country. Lastly, between the Cherokees and the Atlantic, in the regions of the Santee and the Pedee, were the Catabas, inferior to none of their neighbors in courage, cunning or any of the other virtues of savage life.

Interspersed among these great confederacies, east of the Mississippi, were numerous smaller ones, of whom little more is known than their names, though they appear to have been each attached to the greater nations either as allies or subjects. Of these should be mentioned the Uchees, dwelling on the right bank of the Chattahoochee below its falls, who



though forming part of the Muscoghee confederacy, spoke a language not corresponding in a single word or point of construction, with that of any other people with which it has been compared. Another remarkable nation was the Natches, on the eastern side of the Mississippi, less erratic in their habits, more systematic in their forms of government and religion, but, at the same time, more ferocious and licentious than any other savages north of the Mexican Gulf, except those on the opposite side of the river. These Indians, though known by a different name, were probably only a separate portion of the same nation, as they resembled each other in all respects. Here also was presented an anomaly more curious even than that observed in the Uchees; for, among the Natches were two tribes apparently equal in rank with the others, and having as far as is known, the same forms of government and religion, and the same customs, though each spoke a language entirely distinct from any other used in the country.\*

The regions between the Ohio river, the Lakes and the Mississippi, were occupied by numerous nations, of whom little is known, except of those in the lands traversed by the Illinois river, where an extensive confederacy was established, calling themselves Linni, or Illini, or Innini, meaning Men,—the Illinois,—so frequently mentioned in the early history of Louisiana. East of them, in the countries traversed by the Wabash and the Miami, were the Miamis or Twit-towees; while interspersed among them, were the powerful Shawnees, emigrants no doubt from some distant land, speaking a language wholly different from any other as yet examined, and distinguished by their boldness and nomadic habits.

Still farther east, between the head streams of the Ohio and the Hudson, the whole territory south of Lake Ontario was possessed by the celebrated confederacy of the Five Nations—Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, and Mohawk,—called Iroquois by the French; whose influence, in surround-

\* See the particular account of the Natches, page 301 et seq.

ing regions, was more constant and extensive than that of any other Indian people north of the Mexican Gulf.

All the aboriginal nations dwelling between the Mississippi and the Atlantic, derived most of their subsistence from agriculture; those farther north and east were supported almost entirely by hunting or fishing, and much more deserved the name of barbarians than the inhabitants of the lands bordering the Mexican Gulf. Of the early condition of the Indians west of the Mississippi, but few and unsatisfactory accounts have been preserved. The only extensive confederacy known to have existed in that quarter,—resembling in character or customs the people east of the Mississippi,—was that of the Cenis, occupying the country between the Sabine and the Trinity, from one of whose tribes that part of America derived its name of Texas. On the Red river resided many small nations, the most noted of whom, in history, were the Adayes, the Natchitoches, the Nasonis, and the Cadadokios. Beyond the Trinity the country was thinly inhabited: the people on the sea coast supported themselves chiefly on roots and fish; while the headwaters of the streams were the haunts of sturdy wanderers, known under the names of Apaches, Camanches, and Lipans, who subsisted wholly by the chase of buffaloes in the more northern prairies.

Of the religious, social, and political systems of these aborigines, the very little that is known has been acquired at a comparatively recent period, when long intercourse with civilized people had obliterated many characteristic traits. There is reason to believe that at the discovery, as well as in later days, the Indians of these regions were infinitely divided, each nearly independent, but, in most cases, forming groups cemented by conquest, community of speech, or any other simple bonds of union. Their languages were numerous, though nearly all bore degrees of resemblance in construction, which were sufficient to indicate the likelihood of a common origin. Thus, contiguous tribes generally understood each other, while the inhabitants of large tracts might be said to speak the same tongue, though the dialects of any two tribes dwelling some distance apart differed considerably.



Tribes, or groups of tribes, were found, however, without a word used by any of those surrounding them; while, in some instances, two or three languages, radically distinct, were spoken by different portions of the confederates of the same nation, and even of the same village. These anomalies were especially noticed in the vicinity of large streams, and evidently arose from the mixture of people caused by the facility of emigration. Between the Mississippi and the Rio Bravo, the nations have been as yet less carefully studied, and their relations to each other, as well as their individual traits, are, of course, still historically undetermined.

As to the forms of aboriginal government, the law of force was probably paramount;—the weak in body, mind, or tribal power, became subject to stronger organizations, and the respectful acquiescence acquired by one through his superiority, ripened, in time, into hereditary right. Nothing however, like a regular monarchical system, or absolute despotism, seems to have been tolerated among any of these nations. They were generally governed by persons distinguished in war or council, or by their descendants; and in the history of the discovery of these regions or of the attempt to occupy them, we rarely find any individual singled out for overweening power, or even influence, over his people.

The preceding general observations with regard to the natives found by Europeans in the countries bordering upon the northern sides of the Mexican Gulf, may be applied with little variation to the aborigines of any other large portion of the New World, except the regions intervening between that Gulf and the Pacific on the south, and of the southern continent extending upon the latter sea for some distance south of the equator. In each of these last-mentioned portions of America, known by the general but incorrect names of Mexico and Peru, the people were at the time of their discovery by Europeans, far advanced in the arts of social life, and even in many of the sciences; while their monuments and records prove that this redemption from the savage state was possibly coeval with the dawn of civilization in the Old World. Inferior monuments have been discover-

ed in several places on the continent, and in the countries traversed by the upper streams of the Rio Bravo, the Colorado, Gila, and the Yaqui,—midway between the Mexican and the Californian Gulfs,—but the history of those who reared them is as yet a matter of conjecture. In all other parts of America, from the Arctic Sea to the Straits of Magellan, nothing is left to show that the natives had ever arisen above the condition of those who at the beginning of the sixteenth century were found occupying the regions north of the Gulf of Mexico.

The valleys of the Mississippi and of its eastern tributaries and many parts of the continent between the Alleghany mountains and the Atlantic, contain extensive mounds, ramparts, and terraces of earth and unhewn rock, among which a few grotesque idols of clay or stone, resembling those of the Mexicans, and some metallic ornaments, have been discovered. These works tend to justify the presumption, that the people by whom they were formed were more numerous and more inclined to labor, than their successors of a recent period; but they indicate no superiority in the arts of civilized life, possessed by any one of the Indian nations occupying those countries at the time of their discovery.\*

The history of these countries is of a less romantic cast than that of the regions farther south, while on the other hand, it is perhaps, not less worthy the attention of philosophers and statesmen. North of the Mexican Gulf there were no rich and populous nations to plunder and enslave;—the people were savage, and the land, though offering to industry all that it could desire, held out no temptations to adventurers. The same spirit however which led the Spaniards to Mexico and Peru, directed their first expeditions to Florida; and the same rude hands that tortured Montezuma, Guatimozin, and Atapualpa, were afterwards employed in the

\* These Ancient Works have been brought distinctly before the world, by the account of them presented in the various explorations of Earth Works in the valley of the Mississippi, published by the Smithsonian Institution within the last six or seven years. Mr. Gallatin was mistaken in his assertion that not one of these mounds “has ever been found east of the Alleghany mountains.”



vain search for gold on the Savannah, and the Red river; for pearls among the muscle shoals of the Tennessee; or in despoiling the poor Catabas, Muscoghees and Choctas of their corn and bear's feet. These expeditions were made by the Spaniards, before an Englishman had occupied the American continent; while the first establishments of the French and Spaniards, in the neighborhood of the Mexican Gulf, long preceded the examinations of those regions by any other civilized people. No Englishman had seen the waters of the Mississippi when Joliet and Marquette explored it from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas, or when La Salle completed the survey of its course to the sea. Expectations even more extravagant of attaining wealth and dominion by the occupation and commerce of the territories traversed by the great river, subsequently led the French, for some time, to exert themselves in peopling that portion of America; while the apprehension of their success brought the Spaniards into the regions next adjoining on the west; and though the spirit thus raised soon sank into indifference, its consequences were very important in determining the fate of the American world. The English, meanwhile, in search of permanent homes came quietly in small parties, seldom exceeding a few families; and, under the nominal protection of charters from their government, settled on the Atlantic coasts, whence they gradually made their way into the interior, until they came into collision with the colonies of other and more adventurous Europeans.

With these geographical and ethnological outlines of the regions to be first examined, we shall proceed to the history of their discovery and planting.

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The discovery of the countries north of the Mexican Gulf which we are now to consider, began within twenty years after the first voyage of Columbus across the Atlantic. That voyage was made, as every one knows, under the supposition, then reasonably entertained by Geographers, that Asia extended eastward to the Atlantic,\* and with the hope, no less reasonable, of reaching the south-eastern portion of that continent, to which the general name of India, or The Indies, was applied in Europe, through a western route, more direct and expeditious than any other then believed to be practicable. The islands thus found by Columbus, were in consequence regarded as lying in the immediate vicinity of the great empire of Cathay or China, the farthestmost part of the Indies, of the extraordinary wealth, population and refinement of which, accounts had been brought to Europe by the Venitian traveller Marco Polo, two centuries before; and they were accordingly called the West Indies, and their inhabitants were styled Indians, and these appellations were in time extended to all the countries and people found on the western side of the Atlantic. The name America, first proposed in 1507 by a schoolmaster of Lorraine,† was never

\* This idea will be found expressed in all the maps of the world, constructed during the forty years, immediately following the first voyage of Columbus, and in many of a more recent date. The map of the world, by Ruysch, in the Latin edition of Ptolomey's Geography, published at Rome in 1508, represents Newfoundland as the easternmost point of Asia, that is to say, as occupying the place of Kamchatka; farther southwest, Cathay or China corresponds with the Atlantic States of the American Union, its seaport city of Zaitoun or Amoy, holding the position of St. Augustine; and still farther in the same direction, Bangala or Bengal appears instead of Mexico, from which the east coast of India extends to its termination opposite the island of Ceylon. The West India islands, appear at about the same distances, from the south-east coast of China, as they really are from that of Florida, though nearly in their true positions with regard to Europe and to Newfoundland. The eastern part of Cuba only is given, as that island had not been circumnavigated; and a note on the map states the probability that Hispaniola might be the Cipango, (Japan) mentioned by Marco Polo. The Atlantic coasts of the new continent, south of the islands, are delineated with some approach to correctness from Darien to Brazil; no attempt being made to supply what was unknown with respect to the interior of the coasts on the other side. The map is indeed constructed with remarkable honesty throughout, exhibiting the utmost care, on the part of its author, to insert nothing except upon what was then deemed sufficient authority.

† Martin Waldseemüller, or Hylacomylus, as he styled himself, in a small geographical work, entitled "*Cosmographiæ Instructio, insuper quatuor Americi Vesputii navigationes*," and published at St. Die in Lorraine in 1507.



adopted by the Spaniards; nor was it generally used in any part of the world until the following century.

These West Indies were discovered by the Spaniards, or more properly by the Castilians; for Spain was the general appellation of the whole peninsula south of the Pyrenees, which then contained four separate and independent sovereignties, Arragon, Castile, Navarre and Portugal. The sovereigns of Castile and Arragon were united in marriage, but their dominions remained as distinct as before; and though the commission to Columbus, and all other acts relative to the new countries, were issued in the names of the united sovereigns, yet, the possession of those countries was secured to the crown of Castile. All that is said of Spain or Spaniards, in connection with the early history of America, is therefore to be understood as referring exclusively to the kingdom and people of Castile.

The united sovereigns of Castile and Arragon, and the king of Portugal, were then the principal naval powers of the world: and in order to prevent all disputes between these two parties, it was agreed by a treaty, concluded in 1494, that a meridian traversing the Atlantic in its whole length, and passing through a point, situated three hundred leagues west of the Cape Verd islands, should separate the seas and lands in which they might respectively pursue their discoveries and conquests in future; all pagan countries east of that line being left at the disposition of Portugal, while the other powers should enjoy the same rights exclusively on the west. This treaty, founded upon grants made to each of the parties separately, by the head of the Roman Catholic church, the highest authority then acknowledged in the Christian world, long formed the basis of all public law, with regard to the new countries: it was soon subjected to a rude test, by the determination of the fact, that the eastern portion of those countries, south of the equator, lay east of the meridian of partition; but the Spanish government made no attempt to evade the application of the rule established, in this case which was certainly not anticipated, and the territory in question called Brazil, was accordingly occupied and possessed by Portugal.

The sovereigns of France and England were by no means satisfied with this exclusion from the countries beyond the Atlantic, and in defiance of the authority of the church, they encouraged

their respective subjects to make voyages for discovery and settlement, in the prohibited directions. Of the expeditions of the French before 1524, little, or rather nothing is known, more than sufficient, to render it probable, that such voyages were made across the Atlantic. The first expedition from England, was that of John Cabot and his son Sebastian, in 1497 or 1498, concerning which, the laborious researches of ingenious persons have only served to show, that those navigators saw the land of the New World, in and north of Newfoundland. It has also been asserted, that they, or one of them, discovered the passage now called Hudson's Strait, and explored the coasts of the continent southward, as far as the entrance of Chesapeake bay, but whether in this voyage, or in others which Sebastian is supposed, on most slender grounds, to have made in 1499 and 1517, still remains undetermined.\* Nor were the Portuguese restrained by their treaty with the Spanish sovereigns, from engaging in the search for a western passage to India, for which object voyages were made in the beginning of the following century by the Cortereals, from Lisbon to the coasts previously visited by the Cabots; and to these navigators likewise has been attributed, the discovery of the passage leading to Hudson's bay, to which they are said to have given the name of the Strait of Anian. Certain it is, that the existence of a wide channel, opening to the Atlantic, near the 60th degree of latitude, and supposed to communicate with the Pacific on the west, was known in the middle of the sixteenth century, long before the voyage of Hudson.†

Under the assurance afforded by the Papal concession and the treaty of partition, the Spaniards eagerly prosecuted the exploration of the western coasts of the Atlantic, and soon discovered many other islands of the West Indian archipelago, together with

\* Those who are curious with regard to these voyages, should consult the *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, by Richard Biddle, Esq., of Pittsburgh, published at Philadelphia in 1831, in which all that has been said on the subject is collected and reviewed. This is a work of great research, and still greater ingenuity; but it is evidently an argument for the establishment of the claim of Sebastian Cabot, and no one should read it, in order to form correct opinions, without referring to the originals of all the authorities quoted.

† See the map of the New World, in the celebrated geographical work called "*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*," by Abraham Ortelius, published at Antwerp in 1572, in which Hudson's strait and bay are both distinctly represented. The discovery by Hudson took place in 1612.



a long line of coast, extending continuously eastward and southward, from Honduras to and beyond Brazil. These discoveries were effected for the most part, in virtue of capitulations or contracts between the government and the conductors of the expeditions, expressing the amount of means, such as vessels, men, arms, supplies, and expenses, to be furnished by each party, and the proportion to be allowed to each of the advantages which might result from the enterprise. Thus, Columbus made his voyages across the Atlantic under a capitulation, assuring to him and his heirs and successors in perpetuity, the titles and prerogatives of High Admiral and Viceroy, of all the countries which he might discover, together with one-tenth of all the property found in them. How shamelessly these assurances were disregarded, history affords abundant proofs; while it likewise presents a painful consolation in the fact, that those who endeavored to profit by the injustice and indignities heaped upon the great navigator, themselves underwent the same fate in almost every instance. In some cases, however, expeditions were made by governors of colonies, and even by private individuals, having no authority whatsoever from the sovereign, and under the hope either of obtaining some immediate compensation, or of afterwards effecting a contract with the crown, for the possession or use of the countries which they might discover and occupy. For those to whom such concessions were made, the title of *Adelantado*, anciently borne by the governors of frontier provinces in Spain, was revived, in token of their peculiar mission, to advance (*adelantar*) and extend the dominions of their sovereign as far as possible; and under this title, which was first held by Bartolomé, the brother of Christopher Columbus, many of the most renowned discoverers and conquerors in the New World, prosecuted their enterprises.

The Spaniards were, however, for a long time after the discovery of the West Indies, by no means content with the results of their expeditions. The new countries were rich in precious metals, agreeable in climate, fertile in soil, and admirably adapted for the production of spices and other articles, which had been previously procured only with great expense from southern Asia: but population was wanting to render these advantages available. The inhabitants of all the West Indian territories discovered

during the twenty-five years following the first voyage of Columbus, were indolent savages, unaccustomed to labor in any way; and Europeans would not undergo the perils and difficulties of a voyage across the Atlantic, in order to work under a tropical sun, at wages no higher than they could obtain in their own countries. The earliest settlements were made in the large and fertile island, called Hayti by the natives, and La Española, or Hispaniola—the Spanish Island—by its European discoverers, now commonly known as St. Domingo, from the name of the principal city, which was, for several years after its foundation by Columbus, the seat of government of the trans-atlantic dominions of Spain. In order to derive revenue from this island, its aborigines were at first subjected to a poll-tax, payable in gold or silver, which served only to banish them all to the inaccessible mountains and forests of the interior; and permission was then granted to individuals to open mines and form plantations of sugar and indigo, on which the natives might be compelled to work, though under restrictions imposed by the humanity of Queen Isabella for their protection, civilization, and conversion to Christianity.\*

\* The principal sources of information in the remainder of this chapter, are the old Spanish historians and chronicles, viz : “*Decades de rebus Oceanicis, et Novo Orbe*,” *Decades of the affairs of the New World*—containing historical accounts and descriptions, written in Latin, in the form of epistles, by Pietro Martire, better known as Peter Martyr, an Italian priest, residing in Spain at the time of the first discoveries : “*Historia General de Indias*”—*General History of the New World*—the earliest work of that kind, by Gonzalo de Oviedo, first published in 1535 : “*Historia General de Indias*,” another *General History of the New World*, by Francisco Gomara, including all the events prior to 1551 : “*Historia General de los Hechos, de los Castellanos, en las Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano*,”—*General History of the Deeds of the Castilians in the Islands and Mainland of the Ocean*—by Simon Herrera, the great repository of facts with regard to America prior to 1566 : and lastly, the invaluable “*Coleccion de Viajes y Descubrimientos de los Españoles*,” or *Collection of Documents relative to the Voyages and Discoveries of the Spaniards*, since the latter years of the fifteenth century, by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, which have thrown so much light on the early history of the New World. These works are all so well known that any observations on them here would be superfluous. They have been carefully searched for facts relating to the conquest of Mexico, and to the other brilliant achievements of the Spaniards in the New World; but they have been sadly neglected by those engaged in tracing the discoveries of that nation on the northern side of the Mexican Gulf, which have been most inaccurately described by our historians, as will be sufficiently proved in the following pages.



Queen Isabella died in 1504 and the Spaniards, being thus entirely freed from the restrictions which she endeavored to enforce in behalf of the Indians in Hispaniola, increased the labors of those people to such an extent that their numbers rapidly diminished, from fatigue, disease, and desertion; so that it became necessary to make expeditions to the other islands, in search of persons to supply their places, and afterwards to import negroes for that purpose from Africa. Some large fortunes were accumulated by the Spaniards in this way; by far the larger proportion of those who engaged in those plantations, however, lost their capital, and the most courageous and enterprising among them were driven to other pursuits, more exciting, though in general not more profitable, as will hereafter be shown. The disappointed planters became leaders of expeditions for discovery and conquest, in the course of which large empires were found and subjugated, whose inhabitants were exterminated or reduced to slavery, under the pretext of extending a religion the fundamental principle of which was peace to all mankind.\*

On the death of Queen Isabella, her dominions, including all the new countries discovered or claimed by the Spaniards on the western side of the Atlantic, descended to her eldest daughter Juana, the wife of Philip of Austria, sovereign of the Netherlands, who was immediately proclaimed King of Castile. He, however, died soon afterwards; and his widow being an incurable maniac, the government of her dominions was administered by her father, King Ferdinand of Arragon, in her name, jointly with that of her infant son Charles, who was then Prince of the Nether-

\* The proclamations which the leaders of these expeditions were enjoined to address to the natives of the countries invaded by them, "in the best manner possible," is a most curious document in illustration of the ideas of that age. The Indians are thereby informed that God created a man and a woman, from whom all the people of the earth are descended; and that in process of time he appointed one man, St. Peter, to reign over all, after whose death others succeeded, maintaining the same authority to the present day; and that one of those successors of St. Peter, called Popes, reigning at Rome, had given the possession of all the New World and all its people to the King of Spain, to whom the natives of the country were required immediately to submit, as dutiful subjects, under penalty of being enslaved, or put to death if obstinately refusing. It is worthy of notice that neither Christ nor the Virgin, nor any saint except St. Peter, is mentioned in the whole proclamation, which is drawn up with great care, so as to leave the utmost latitude to those charged with the execution of its provisions.

lands, heir to the crown of Castile, and heir-apparent to that of Arragon. Ferdinand, one of the most artful, selfish, and faithless of men, caring nothing for his daughter, and hating her son, as he had hated her husband, conducted the affairs of her kingdom, in all respects, with a view to the advancement of his own interests. To the trans-atlantic possessions, he indeed devoted much attention, so far at least as concerned the increase of the revenues derivable from them, one-half of which were secured to him by the will of Isabella; and with this object, every species of cruelty and oppression towards the natives was allowed and encouraged, in defiance of the express provisions of that will, so long as it brought gold into the royal coffers. The immediate direction of the affairs of those countries was left almost entirely at the discretion of the president of the council of the Indies, the famous Cardinal Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, the old and implacable enemy of Columbus, a minister in every way worthy of such a master, heartless, unprincipled and venal, who bestowed all offices and employments on his own creatures and dependants, and protected them in the commission of all acts of violence and extortion, whilst they in return gratified his avarice or vindictiveness. The office of admiral and viceroy of the Indies was indeed conceded, in 1508, to Diego Colon,\* the eldest son of Columbus, in virtue of a judicial decision on a suit brought by him against the government, in the course of which every species of chicanery had been employed by the king and the cardinal to rob the great navigator of the merit, as well as the reward of his discoveries. but this act of tardy justice was accompanied by so many restrictions on the powers, and so many charges on the revenues of the admiral, that his authority was rendered little more than nominal; and the whole period of his residence in the West Indies was passed in struggles with the innumerable auditors, judges, comptrollers, treasurers, and other functionaries, by whom he was surrounded, all holding their appointments from the crown, and responsible to it alone, or rather to the Bishop of Burgos, as its representative.

\* The family name of the discoverer of the New World was Colombo or Colomo, which he altered to Colon, on establishing himself in Spain, as a precaution no doubt, against the prejudices which a foreign appellation might raise against him.



About the time of the arrival of the viceroy Colon in Hispaniola, expeditions were begun from that island to the surrounding countries, in the course of which many important discoveries and conquests were soon effected. Thus Alonzo de Ojeda and his followers, among whom were Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific, and Francisco Pizarro the conqueror of Peru, betook themselves to the mainland immediately south, where they founded Darien and other settlements; Juan de Esquivel and Francisco de Garay, subdued the island of Santiago or Jamaica; Diego de Velasquez, accompanied by his secretary Hernando Cortés and his lieutenant Panfilo de Narvaez, established himself in Cuba, Isabella, Fernandina, or Juana, as it was successively called; and Juan Ponce de Leon, with a band of desperate ruffians aided by a pack of bloodhounds, overran the island of San Juan or Porto Rico, of which they nearly exterminated the aborigines. The viceroy, on his arrival, being shocked by the accounts which he received of the conduct of these chiefs, endeavored to restrain them; and with this object, he commissioned Juan Ceron to supersede Ponce de Leon in the government of Porto Rico; but the latter, trusting to his credit with the cardinal minister, seized Ceron and sent him as prisoner to Spain. The daring captain had, however, calculated too far upon his influence at court: for the King and the Bishop, considering it politic to sustain the authority of the viceroy on this occasion, confirmed the appointment of Ceron, who returned to Porto Rico as governor in 1511, and the conqueror of the island found himself reduced at once to a private station, in which he remained for some time, though not unemployed, as will be hereafter shown.

At that time, notwithstanding the activity of the Spaniards, very little was known of the continent adjacent to the West India islands. Cuba, which was supposed by Columbus to be the easternmost portion of Asia, had been but recently circumnavigated; the coast of the mainland on the south had been imperfectly traced from Honduras eastward to Darien; and the Lucayos, or Bahama islands, north of Cuba, had also been visited by the Spaniards. Of all that lay between Honduras on the south, and the southern limit of the discoveries of the Cabots and the Cortereals on the north—whether Newfoundland or

Chesapeake Bay—nothing had been learned; unless possibly some points on the peninsula of Florida might have been seen by Europeans, as seems to be indicated, though obscurely, in a map of the West Indies published in Ptolomey's Geography at Strasburg in 1513, of a part of which the following is an exact copy.\*



Under these circumstances, abundant fields for adventure were offered to the Spaniards in that part of the New World; and no man was more capable of conducting such enterprises than Juan Ponce de Leon, the deposed governor of Porto Rico. During his three years of misrule in that island, he had accumulated an immense fortune by the plunder of the wretched

\* This map may have been interleaved after 1513; as was the case, sometimes, with editions of Ptolomey.



natives; and being still in the prime of life, he determined to engage in some new enterprise, by which he might increase his wealth and his reputation. In Porto Rico, as in every other part of the New World, the Spaniards had received from the Indians confused accounts of rich and powerful nations, occupying delightful countries, in the direction of the setting sun; and Ponce de Leon becoming convinced, from the answers made to his enquiries, that such a nation existed in a region called Bimini, said to be situated north-west of Porto Rico, beyond the Bahama islands, resolved to go in search of it. To this adventure he is said to have been moreover stimulated, by the report that Bimini contained a stream or fountain, possessing the desirable property of restoring those who bathed in it or drank its waters, to all the vigor of youth, whatsoever may have been their previous infirmity or decrepitude; and if so, he merely yielded faith to that which the best and wisest men of his day would have hesitated to pronounce impossible.

Three vessels were accordingly equipped by Ponce de Leon, in the harbor of San German, now Guadianilla, on the west coast of Porto Rico, from which he sailed on the 3d of March, 1512, in search of Bimini. Taking his course north-westward, he soon found himself among the islands of the Lucayos group, north of Hispaniola and Cuba, of which he visited several, including Guanahani, now Cat Island, supposed to be the first land seen by Columbus in the New World, and named by him San Salvador. There one of the vessels was repaired; and the voyage being resumed in the same direction, the Spaniards, on Easter Sunday, the 27th of April, saw land stretching from north to south across their course. The weather being unfavorable for approaching the shore, they ran along it northward until the 2d of May, when they anchored in latitude of 30 degrees 8 minutes; and Ponce de Leon landing on the same day, took formal possession of the territory, with religious ceremonies, in behalf of the sovereigns of Castile, bestowing upon it the name of Florida, from its verdant and flowery appearance, as well as in commemoration of the day of its discovery, called Pascha Florida,—the Feast of Flowers,—in the Roman Catholic Calendar.

The accounts of all voyages made at that time, are so vague and inexact, especially as regards geographical positions, that it is

always difficult, and generally impossible, to identify places mentioned in them. No means of ascertaining longitude were then known; and the instruments as well as the methods for determining latitudes were so imperfect, that errors of two and three degrees were often committed by the most skilful navigators. If the latitude of the spot at which Ponce de Leon landed in Florida, be correctly stated, it must have been midway between the present city of St. Augustine, and the mouth of the large river of St. John.

Resuming their voyage, the Spaniards endeavored to proceed along the coast towards the north, but were prevented by the current, which sets southward in the vicinity of the land, and which carried them to the mouth of a river, named by them, Rio de la Cruz, most probably Mosquito Inlet, near the 29th degree of latitude. There they again anchored, and sent parties ashore in search of fresh water, who were soon surrounded and attacked by bands of daring savages: some of these people, who were made prisoners and carried on board of the vessels, on being questioned as to their country, seemed to say that it was an island called Cautio; but nothing could be extracted from them respecting Bimini, or any other rich or civilized region. Continuing the voyage towards the south, Ponce de Leon, on the 8th of May, reached a projecting point of land which was named Cape Corrientes, on account of the violence of the current sweeping around it to the north; and was certainly the same now known as Cape Canaveral, in latitude of 28 degrees and 18 minutes. Farther south, he entered a large bay, probably Sandwich gulf, where he was again beset by savages in canoes, who endeavored to carry off the anchors of his vessels; and beyond this place, he observed a multitude of islands, stretching in a line or chain towards the west, which were called Los Martires—the Martyrs—from their resemblance, when seen at a distance, to persons undergoing various modes of torture. This chain was traced to its termination; and the Spaniards thence sailing north-eastward, reached the western side of Florida, which they coasted in that direction, probably as far as the junction of the peninsula with the mainland. Returning to the south, they observed another small group of islands west of the Martyrs, to which they gave the name of Las Tortugas, in grateful remembrance of the



plentiful supply of turtles obtained there; and Ponce de Leon having in the meantime received some vague accounts of a rich country, governed by a powerful sovereign called Calos, which was supposed to be Bimini, again took his departure, full of hope of attaining the great object of his voyage.

It is impossible to ascertain the course of the Spanish vessels from the time of their leaving the Tortugas islands, on the 21st of June, until their arrival, on the 25th of the following month, at the Great Bahama island; it is not probable that they again saw the mainland of Florida, though they appear to have once landed on the north-west side of Cuba. At the Great Bahama, they found a Spanish vessel from Hispaniola, commanded by Diego de Miruelo, in company with which, they again set out in search of Bimini: they, however, suffered severely from storms, in one of which, Miruelo's vessel was lost, though her captain and crew were saved; and their provisions being nearly exhausted, Ponce de Leon resolved to return, with one of his ships, to Porto Rico, leaving the others under Juan Perez de Ortubia, to prosecute the discovery. They accordingly separated on the 17th of September, and after a boisterous and difficult passage, Ponce de Leon entered the harbor of San Juan, in Porto Rico, on the 18th of October. The other vessels, under Ortubia, arrived soon after, bringing no accounts of Bimini; but Antonio de Alaminos, the pilot of one of them, had observed the great current now called the Gulf Stream, which rushes northward between Florida and the Lucayos islands, a discovery of itself sufficient to give importance to the expedition.

Such were the particulars of the first visit made by Europeans to the portion of the New World, now occupied by the United States, of which authentic accounts have been preserved. Florida was supposed to be an island, and was thus represented on maps for some time afterwards; and agreeably to the ideas of geography then prevailing, it was considered as possibly identical with the Cipango, (Japan) described by Marco Polo, as lying eastward of Cathay or China. So well convinced had Ponce de Leon become of the existence of some rich country in that direction, that he immediately proceeded to Spain, where he obtained a commission as Adelantado of Florida and Bimini, for the exclusive conquest and possession under the crown, of any countries

north-west of Cuba and Hispaniola. He was, however, at the same time, charged with the command of a squadron, destined for the chastisement of the natives of the small islands east of Porto Rico, on account of their barbarous treatment of the crews of several Spanish vessels thrown upon their coasts; and with this view, he landed in Guadalupe or Guacaná, as it was then called, in the spring of 1515, with a large body of men, and some women. But the Spaniards were there surprised by the savages, who killed nearly all the men, and carried off the women; so that Ponce de Leon was obliged to retreat with the remainder to his vessels, and to sail for Porto Rico, where he passed the following five years as governor, without making any attempt to prosecute his examinations in the west.

A grand discovery had been effected in the interval between these two voyages, which led directly and indirectly, to others more important. In 1513, the ocean now called the Pacific, was first reached at the Bay of Panamá, by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the commandant of the Spanish settlement on the north side of the isthmus at Darien. This sea was of course supposed to be the Southern or Indian ocean, bathing the southern shores of Asia; and the place at which it was thus first seen, was believed to be situated not very far south-east of China, and probably near the great island of Java, described by Marco Polo as lying in that direction: in confirmation of which idea, the Indians, on the coast of Panamá, were unanimous in their accounts, of rich and populous kingdoms in their vicinity, towards the south and the west. Balboa immediately communicated the news to his sovereign, praying at the same time, for authority and means to prosecute his discoveries: but ere his despatches arrived in Spain, Pedrarias Davila, a nobleman of high rank and distinguished reputation for valor and loyalty, had been appointed governor and captain general of Golden Castile—as the Darien countries were named—and was on his way with a large armament to the West Indies, carrying instructions to seize Balboa, and bring him to trial, for certain illegal acts imputed to him. Davila arrived in Darien in 1514, and having examined Balboa, the latter was acquitted upon his reports, and was invested by the king with the title and powers of Adelantado of the South Sea. Ere this appointment had been made however, the two



commanders in the Isthmus were at war with each other. A reconciliation was effected, and a marriage contracted between Balboa and the daughter of Davila; but the mutual hatred of the parties soon broke forth again, and the discoverer of the Pacific, having fallen into the hands of his ruthless father-in-law, was tried, condemned, and executed in 1516, just as he was preparing an expedition for the conquest of the rich countries in the south, afterwards subdued by Francisco Pizarro.

In the preceding year, 1515, the Admiral Diego Colon was obliged to proceed to Spain in consequence of a law suit brought against him by the government, for which a mass of witnesses had been summoned, to prove that his father had, in reality, discovered no part of the new world. About the time of his arrival, in January, 1516, king Ferdinand of Arragon died, leaving no children by his second queen, in consequence of which his throne descended to his daughter, the insane Juana. Her son Charles, then sixteen years of age, being declared to have attained his majority, assumed the government in his own name and in that of his mother, over all the wide and rich dominions of Castile and Arragon, including the greater part of Spain and Italy, in addition to his paternal possessions in the Netherlands. His accession to the throne, forms an important epoch in the history of America and in that of Europe; for, as in the latter continent, the religious reformation then began, against the progress of which he resolutely exerted all his power, so at the same time were those discoveries effected in the New World, which contributed to fix its destinies by establishing the supremacy of Spain over a great portion of its territory.

## CHAPTER II.

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1516 TO 1527.

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DISCOVERY OF THE COASTS OF THE MEXICAN GULF AND THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI—CONQUEST OF MEXICO BY THE SPANIARDS—FIRST ATTEMPTS OF EUROPEANS TO OCCUPY THE ATLANTIC COASTS OF FLORIDA.

At the moment of the death of Ferdinand of Arragon, his successor Charles was in Flanders, the country of his birth and education; and Cardinal Ximenes, who governed Castile as Regent, seized the occasion of the absence of the Admiral Colon from the West Indies, to entrust the direction of those colonies to three monks of the order of St. Jerome, who immediately proceeded to Santo Domingo, and entered upon their new duties. The reverend governors were, however, not more successful than the viceroy had been, in enforcing obedience to their authority, especially in the distant colonies, the chiefs of which reigned supreme, each in his own territory, so long as he could secure the favor of the cardinal minister Fonseca in Spain. The most refractory, as well as most energetic of those chiefs, was Diego de Velazquez, who had obtained the appointment of governor of Cuba, and was rapidly acquiring wealth by the sale of lands and Indians, as well as by the cultivation of his own extensive estates in that island. Under his direction, the settlements of the Spaniards already extended along both coasts of Cuba, towards its western extremity; and his little capital, Santiago, was becoming the principal resort of adventurers from other parts of the West Indies, and from Europe, in consequence of the encouragement offered in the way of grants and employments to those who could pay for them or earn them by services to the governor.



Velazquez was indeed, according to the Spanish system, likewise environed by officers, intended as checks and spies upon his proceedings: but he knew how to manage them; and they were probably not of a very high order, at least with regard to qualifications, judging from the fact that Amador de Lariz, the Contador, or comptroller of the royal revenues of the island, could not read.

Among the adventurers thus brought to Santiago in 1516, were a number of officers and soldiers from Darien, who being discontented with the state of things in that country after the execution of Balboa, obtained their discharge from Davila, and came to Cuba to seek their fortunes. Of these officers, one deserves particular mention, namely, Bernal Dias del Castillo, then a young captain, who fifty years later, when a grave and worshipful Regidor of the city of Guatemala, indited a narrative of the stirring events in which he was engaged after his arrival in Cuba, more interesting than any other in any language without the limits of fiction.\* The adventurers, as usual, immediately on arriving in Cuba, solicited grants of lands and Indians; but being unable to make the necessary presents to the governor and his attendants, their petition remained unnoticed, and their funds thus rapidly diminishing, they were glad to accept the proposition of a certain Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, to join him in an expedition towards the west, in search of some country which might offer inducements for trade, plunder, or settlement.

\* "*Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*," a True history of the conquest of New Spain. It was first printed at Madrid in 1632, and has been translated into English and all the other languages of western Europe. The best of these versions is, however, but a pale and lifeless reflection of the original, which stands in history as unique and inimitable as *Don Quixote* in romance. The other authorities for the circumstances related in this chapter in addition to those already named are—"Cronica de la Nueva España," a chronicle of the conquest of Mexico, by Francisco Lopez de Gomara—the letters of Cortés to Charles V, printed at different times and places, and various accounts in the collections of Ramusio, Hakluyt Purchas, Navarrete and Ternaux Compans.

The author of this history is familiar with the writings of Solis, Robertson, and Prescott, all of which, and especially the beautiful work of Prescott, have been carefully examined and compared by him, while engaged in the sketch of the conquest of Mexico, inserted in the present chapter. Here however, as elsewhere, he has relied exclusively, on the original evidence, in the original language, wheresoever it was attainable; and his statements of facts, as well as his conclusions, will be found in some cases, to differ materially from those of the eminent historians above named.

Three vessels were accordingly equipped for the contemplated expedition, and Antonio Alaminos who had accompanied Ponce de Leon to Florida, was engaged as chief pilot. Velazquez took shares in the enterprise, towards which he contributed one vessel: he was also desirous that Cordova should promise to bring him in return some slaves for his plantations; but Bernal Dias and other cavaliers having refused to embark on those conditions, the idea was abandoned.

All being prepared, these vessels took their departure on the 8th of February, 1517, from a harbor on the north-west side of Cuba, which had been selected as the place of rendezvous; and sailing around the western extremity of the island, they continued their voyage towards the west for twenty days, when land was discovered. On approaching it they were agreeably surprised by the appearance of a large city; and they were soon surrounded by boats filled with people, who seemed to be much more intelligent and civilized than any other inhabitants of the New World as yet seen by Europeans. From these people they procured small trinkets of gold, curiously wrought, in return for their own articles; and agreeably to an invitation from one who appeared to be a person in authority, a few of the Spaniards landed, and endeavored to reach the city. They passed on their way large temples and other buildings of stone, containing idols of the same material, in which pieces of gold were also found, and of course seized by the Spaniards; but ere they had proceeded far, they were suddenly attacked by a numerous body of men, armed with spears, bows and arrows, and were forced to return to their vessels.

The country thus discovered, was believed by the Spaniards to be called Yucatan, from some misunderstanding of the answers given by the natives to their questions; and the place at which they first landed received the name of Cape Catoche, from the frequent use of the expression Cotoch, by those people. Not considering it prudent to remain there any longer, the adventurers sailed along the coast towards the west, and then finding it turn to the south, they traced it in that direction to a great distance, observing many cities, temples, and other signs of civilization on their way. Near two of the largest of these cities, (of which they afterwards learned the names to be Quimpechi, or Campeachy, and Potonchon,) they landed, as well as at other places, in order



to procure water: but they were every where met by overwhelming bodies of armed natives, who drove them back to their vessels, and in one of these engagements nearly a quarter of their number were killed, while many others were wounded.

After leaving Potonchon the Spaniards reached the entrance of a large bay, which the pilot, Alaminos, on examination, believed to be the western opening of a strait, separating Yucatan from the continent. By this time their provisions were nearly exhausted, and they had suffered greatly from disease, as well as from the spears and arrows of the natives; in consequence of which, it was agreed that they should return to Cuba. They accordingly bestowed upon the bay, the name of Terminos, as indicating the termination of the land as well as of their own discovery at that place; and taking their course to the north, they soon encountered a storm by which they were driven about at random for several days. The pilot then proposed, that instead of attempting to reach Cuba by the route followed on the way to Yucatan, they should sail northward to Florida where he had already been with Ponce de Leon, and from which the current would soon carry them to their island. This being agreed to, they were conducted to a bay on the south-west side of the peninsula, where the vessels were anchored, and the men landed to refresh themselves. But misfortune still pursued them, for they were attacked by the ferocious natives and obliged to retreat ere their casks could be filled with fresh water. In consequence of this, they tortured with thirst during the remainder of their voyage to Cuba, where they at length arrived, at a harbor called Puerto de Carenas, on which the city of Havanna now stands.\*

Messengers were immediately sent to bear the news of the discoveries with the gold to the governor; and the greater part of the adventurers soon followed, accompanied by two natives of Yuca-

\* Havanna was the name originally given to the western portion of Cuba, on the south side of which, a town was founded in 1514, called San Christobal, or St. Christopher. The place proving unsuitable, its inhabitants were transferred to one on the north side of the island, which received the same name; and thence they were again carried in 1519, to the Puerto de Carenas, where the town of San Christobal de la Havanna finally rested. Here, as in innumerable other cases, the name of the Saint was dropped in common language, though it is generally used in official documents; and the highest ecclesiastical authority in that part of Cuba, is styled the Bishop of San Christobal de la Havanna.

tan, as living evidences of the civilization of the inhabitants of that country. Velazquez lost no time in preparing to avail himself of the advantages thus presented, by obtaining a commission from the Hieronymite governors in Hispaniola, to explore and trade in the new regions, while he also despatched agents to Spain, to procure more extensive powers from the cardinal minister. For the first objects, he equipped four vessels, the command of which was given respectively to Juan de Grijalva, Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco de Montejo, and Alonzo de Avila, the whole being under the direction of Grijalva. Hernandez de Cordova had died soon after his return, of wounds received in Yucatan and in Florida. The pilot Alaminos, Bernal Dias del Castillo, and many others who had been engaged in the former expedition, also took part in the second, as officers and shareholders.

The town of Matanzas, on the north-west side of Cuba, was on this occasion, the place of rendezvous, from which the vessels sailed on the 5th of April, 1518; eight days afterwards, they reached the island of Cozumel, near the west coast of Yucatan, on which and at other places on that side, they landed, before reaching Cape Catoche, the north-east point of the peninsula. Thence they pursued their course, as in the former expedition, along the northern and western shores of Yucatan, frequently landing and fighting with the natives, to the bay of Terminos, the limit of the discoveries of Cordova in that direction, from which the coast again turned to the west. Continuing onwards, they passed the mouths of the Tabasco and the Guazecualco rivers, from the latter of which the land again trended to the north; and they soon beheld rising from the borders of the sea, the lofty rugged volcanic mass, named by them Mount San Martin, in compliment to the person who first descried it.

Beyond Mount San Martin, Alvarado entered a river, to which his name was in consequence assigned; and a little farther north, several sandy islands were observed near the coast, one of which was called *Isla de Sacrificios*,—Isle of Sacrifices,—from the remains of human bodies hanging in a temple erected upon it. Another island, two leagues farther north, received the appellation of San Juan, in honor of the Saint on whose day, the 24th of June, it was reached; and the space between it and the main-



land, affording good anchorage and protection against storms, the little squadron remained there several days.

The mainland opposite the islands, was low and sandy, and presented no signs of vegetation for some distance from the sea; but mountains of extraordinary height, one of them (Orizaba) a beautiful cone, white with snow, were observed in the interior. Not far from the anchorage, was a town containing stone buildings, which, or the country around it, was called Culua or Ulua; and from the people of this place, with whom the Spaniards soon engaged in trade, confused accounts were received of a vast and rich empire in the interior, of which Mexigo, or some word resembling it in sound, appeared to be the name either of the whole, or of the chief city or province. The vague reports thus collected, were confirmed by the superior intelligence and civilization of these people, and the neat workmanship of the articles of silver and gold, as well as of cotton, which were obtained from them in exchange for beads, knives, and other trifles; and so well convinced was Grijalva of the existence of the great empire which they described, that he—most unfortunately as it proved for himself—sent Alvarado in one of the vessels to convey these treasures, with accounts of the discoveries to the governor of Cuba.

After the departure of Alvarado, which took place in the beginning of July, Grijalva, with the three remaining vessels, continued the voyage along the coast northward, to the mouth of a river entering the sea, near the 32d degree of latitude, which was named Rio de Canoas—Canoe river—from the number and size of the canoes used by the natives. This was the same stream afterwards called the Panuco, or Tampico, on which the town of Tampico now stands. Grijalva desired to proceed farther; but the pilot Alaminos did not consider it prudent to do so, as the vessels were leaky, and the weather began to be tempestuous: and they accordingly returned along the coast towards the south. Grijalva then wished his men to remain and form a settlement in the country, somewhere near the islands of San Juan and Sacrificios; they however unanimously refused to run the risks, and insisted on returning to Cuba, where they arrived after a long and difficult passage in October.

In the meantime, the governor of Cuba had been very anxious

with regard to the vessels, in search of which, he, in August, sent another under the command of Christobal de Olid; but soon after the departure of the latter, Alvarado arrived, bringing news of the reported existence of the great and rich empire called Mexico, in the interior of the country beyond Yucatan, as well as gold wrought and in bullion, to a large amount, obtained by trading chiefly at Ulua and its vicinity. These accounts excited the strongest sensation in Cuba, and were soon transmitted to the other colonies in the West Indies. The discovery of Yucatan had been considered important, but rather as an indication of the vicinity of India; the observations of Cordova not favoring the supposition that precious metals were found there. On this second occasion, gold enough had been obtained in a few days, at a small town on the coast, to defray all the expenses of the expedition; and the ambitious and grasping Valazquez, therefore determined immediately to prepare an armament, sufficient for the conquest of this new country, in anticipation of the receipt of a commission to that effect from Spain.

Considerable progress had been made in the equipment of this force when Grijalva returned to Cuba; and he moreover learned, to his great mortification, that another person had been appointed to command it. The reports of Alvarado had not encouraged Velazquez to rely on the devotion of Grijalva to his interests as exclusively as he desired; and although that officer had evinced the utmost bravery, skill, and general capacity in the conduct of his expedition, there was reason to suspect, that if entrusted with more extensive powers, he might not be content with receiving merely such a portion of the honors and profits accruing, as the governor should be pleased to assign to him. Panfilo de Narvaez, the lieutenant governor, had been sent to Spain to present the petition of Velazquez for authority to make conquests in the west, or he would no doubt have received the command; candidates were, however, not wanting, and the governor was soon induced to select from among them his former secretary, Hernando Cortés. This person was then about thirty-three years of age; he had come to the West Indies in 1504, without fortune or friends, in search as he declared, of gold; but had not, until a few months previous, engaged in any regular pursuit, except during the short period of his secretaryship, after which he remained for



several years on bad terms with Velazquez, and was regarded only as a dissipated intriguing adventurer. He, however, at length became reconciled to the governor, the sister of whose mistress he married, receiving upon that occasion, the office of Alcalde of Santiago, together with a large grant of lands in the island.

These favors were speedily followed by his appointment to the command of the expedition destined for the conquest of the rich countries in the west. In person, the new commander was handsome, strong and active; in disposition, gay and good humored; and his courage had been proved in the wars with the Indians, as well as in numerous private quarrels and combats; but nothing had been observed in his conduct or character, indicating the mighty genius, which was soon to develop itself.

The utmost energy and efficiency were immediately displayed by Cortés in the preparations for his expedition; every resource which the country could afford in the way of vessels, arms, ammunition and other materials, was put in requisition, and capitalists were thus induced to subscribe their funds in aid of an enterprise, which gave such promises of success. In this manner, ten vessels were soon ready for sea, and a large number of men were enlisted at Santiago and other ports in the island, where the vessels were in due time to stop and receive them. The governor had, meanwhile, become thoughtful and melancholy; for his own observations, as well as the remarks of those around him, showed clearly that he had made a capital mistake as regarded the advancement of his personal interests, in selecting Hernando Cortés to conduct the expedition; and this error was soon followed by another, in rendering his feelings of jealousy apparent to the object of them, whom it only stimulated to greater exertions. He at length resolved to deprive Cortés of the command; but ere he could carry his determination into execution, the daring leader of the forces quitted Santiago with all his vessels and three hundred men, for another harbor, where he hastily took on board the people and provisions collected, and then continued his voyage to another still farther in the direction of the countries to be invaded. Proceeding in this manner from port to port along the south side of Cuba, constantly increasing his strength, and constantly pursued by the agents of Velazquez, carrying authority for his arrest, he reached Havanna; and from

that place, on the 10th of February, 1519, he took his final departure for Yucatan, with eleven vessels and more than six hundred men, in defiance of all the efforts of the friends of the governor, to whom he sarcastically sent the most special assurances of his fidelity and attachment.

Soon after the departure of Cortés from Cuba, the agents of Velazquez returned from Spain, bringing him the long expected commission to conquer and possess the new countries. When the accounts of the discovery of Yucatan reached Europe, the young king Charles had recently arrived in his Spanish dominions from the Netherlands, surrounded by noblemen and favorites of the latter country, on one of whom, the Admiral of Flanders, he immediately bestowed not only Yucatan, but Cuba also, to be held as fiefs of his crown. This act however caused so much indignation among the Castilians, that the concession was revoked; and Cardinal Fonseca, whom Velazquez had secured by large presents, succeeded in obtaining for him a commission of Adelantado, to discover, settle, and occupy any territories not already actually possessed by Spaniards, in the West Indies; and to govern and hold them for his own use and advantage, under certain conditions, as well as to transmit those privileges to his heirs. The splendid prize thus held out to Velazquez might, nevertheless, be snatched from his grasp, as he was convinced that no reliance could be placed on the honor of the person whom he had entrusted with the command of his forces in the west: but he had no alternative, except patiently to await the progress of events; and to this he resigned himself, cursing the folly which had led him to be so egregiously duped.

The news of the discoveries of Cordova and Grijalva, caused preparations to be commenced in other parts of the West Indies for expeditions in the direction pursued by those navigators. Juan Ponce de Leon was collecting the means for a new voyage to Florida, in virtue of his commission as Adelantado of that country; Pedrarias Davila despatched forces under Hernandez de Cordova, through the continent, westward from Darien; and Francisco de Garay, the governor of Jamaica, devoted a portion of his immense wealth to the equipment of four vessels, which sailed from that island in the spring of 1519, under Alonzo Al-



varez Pineda, to explore the seas and coasts beyond Cuba. The departure of these armaments, moreover, induced private individuals in Hispaniola, to send vessels laden with arms, ammunition and provisions for their supply, and articles for trade with the natives on the coasts of the new countries, all of which arrived, as will be seen, very opportunely for the success of the expedition.

In the meantime, Cortés, with his squadron, reached the Isle of Cozumel; and on the opposite shore of Yucatan, he succeeded in rescuing from captivity, a Spaniard who had long remained in that country, and who rendered him important services in the sequel, by his knowledge of the people and their language. Thence he pursued the same course which had been taken by Grijalva, along the coast towards the west; and after a variety of adventures, including several conflicts with the Indians, especially on the Tabasco river, he, on Good Friday, the 21st of April, 1519, anchored between the little island of San Juan and the mainland, near the town of Culua, or Ulua, where Grijalva had obtained the first definite accounts of the rich empire in the interior.

Of this empire, for which Mexico was supposed to be the general name, farther information was procured at Ulua by Cortés; and ambassadors soon after appeared from its sovereign, Montezuma, bringing presents of gold in large masses, richly wrought, and various other curious or valuable articles, but requiring the strangers at the same time to quit the territory. This of course served only to stimulate the cupidity of the Spaniards, and to lead them to complain, that they should be limited by the instructions of the governor of Cuba, to exploration and trade, instead of being left at liberty to conquer and occupy a country thus abounding in wealth. Their artful chief, who had left no means untried during the voyage to acquire their confidence, did not fail secretly to foment this dissatisfaction; and when it had reached the proper degree, he put in execution the first measure of the scheme of self-aggrandizement which he had devised. He began by yielding to the clamorous entreaties of a large number of the officers and men under his command, that a settlement should be formed in the country; and accordingly on the burning sand, opposite to the island of San Juan, the streets and squares

of a city were traced, to which was given the name of La Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz—The Rich City of the True Cross—in honor of the day of their arrival at the place, and in token of the wealth of which it was to become the depository. Having appointed two of his most trusted adherents as Alcaldes or chiefs of the municipality of the new settlement, he formally surrendered into their hands, the instructions and the commission of Captain General, which he had received from the governor of Cuba. This was accepted, of course, most reluctantly, and Cortés was then induced, with great hesitation, and after long entreaty, to assume the government of the country until the pleasure of their lord, the king, could be learned. A large proportion of the officers were attached to the interests of Velazquez and had witnessed the elevation of Cortés above themselves with feelings of jealousy, which on this occasion burst forth in threats and imprecations; but they had to deal with one who was not to be intimidated, and their leaders, after a few days passed in prison and chains, submitted to the overpowering influence of the master spirit.

This serious farce having been thus satisfactorily played out, Cortés despatched a vessel to Spain, carrying all the presents received from Montezuma, together with letters\* from the municipality of the new city and from himself to the king, under the charge of two of his friends, Puertocarrero and Montejo, who were to solicit immediate succors, as well as the confirmation of his appointment as Governor and Captain General, independent of any other authority in the West Indies. He then marched with a portion of his men along the coast towards the north, and having found a spot† at the distance of thirty miles in that direc-

\* Of the letter of Cortés, which was dated July 16, 1519, neither the original nor any copy is now known to exist; it was probably, however, not materially different, as to the facts at least, from that addressed at the same time by the municipality of Vera Cruz, of which a copy was published, with other interesting documents relating to the same period, at Havanna, in 1843, by the enlightened Contador, Don José de Zamora, since Regent of the Audiencia of Cuba.

† This place was, however, abandoned, soon after the conquest, for another at the mouth of a small river, about eighteen miles farther south, where the city of Vera Cruz subsisted, until the end of that century: it was then again transferred to the spot first chosen, opposite to the island of San Juan, on which a strong castle had been shortly before erected, and there it now stands. The site last abandoned, is marked by a small village called la Antigua,—the Old Town,—twelve miles north of the present city; and the same name is given to the river which flows by it.



tion, more suitable for a first settlement, it was determined that the Rich City of the True Cross should be established there, in preference to the site previously chosen. Forts, magazines and dwelling-houses were accordingly erected; and treaties of peace having been concluded with the surrounding cities and districts, the fearless commander destroyed his vessels, in order to cut off all means or hopes of retreat, and commenced his march into the interior in the month of August.

The Spaniards, however, had not proceeded far from the coast, ere they were recalled by the news that four ships had appeared off Vera Cruz. They were those of Garay, under Pineda, whose departure from Jamaica has been already mentioned. From that island, Pineda sailed around the western end of Cuba, and thence northward until he made the land, probably near the mouth of the Apalachicola river, whence he endeavored to pass eastward, through the supposed channel north of Florida. Finding his course barred by land in that direction, he turned and traced the coasts carefully to some distance westward, and then southward, observing in his way the mouths of several rivers, particularly of one, corresponding nearly in position and evidently identical with the Mississippi, which he named *Rio del Espiritu Santo*, (river of the Holy Ghost,) and of another, called by him *Rio de Palmas*, (river of Palms,) which may have been the same, now known as the *Rio Grande* or *Rio Bravo*.

At length, in the beginning of August, Pineda reached the place where Cortés had established his city of Vera Cruz; and as the Spaniards in the West Indies were always mistrustful of each other, he took the precaution, before anchoring, to send a few men ashore, to make enquiries. These men were carried before Cortés, who easily induced them to enter his service, and to engage in a scheme for the capture of the vessels; Pineda, however, having had his suspicions excited, sailed away northward, to a river which he had already visited, near the 22d degree of latitude, where he found a large city, called *Panuco*, in the midst of a fertile and populous district. This was, no doubt, the same which had received from Grijalva, the name of *Canoe river*; yet Pineda considered himself the discoverer, and accordingly took possession of the country in the

name of his sovereign; and after remaining there sometime, engaged in trading and in repairing his vessels, he returned to Jamaica in October.

This voyage was important, as it served to prove, that the Florida discovered by Ponce de Leon was a peninsula and not an island; and that the Atlantic did not communicate with the

\* The account here presented of the voyage of Pineda, is derived chiefly from Navarrete, who has given in the second volume of his Collection, a copy of the patent, or commission, granted by Charles V, to Garay, in 1521, to settle and possess the country north of the Panuco, as will be hereafter related; the preamble to which patent recapitulates the principal discoveries made by Pineda, during the voyage in question. Accompanying this paper, is a fac-simile of the chart sent to Spain by Garay, in support of his petition, of which a reduced copy is here presented:



In this chart, which is curious as being the earliest representation of the coasts of the Mexican gulf, and is remarkably correct, considering the circumstances, the mouth of the Rio del Espiritu Santo is placed somewhat farther west than the entrance of the Mississippi should be; probably in consequence of the current, against which Pineda had to struggle in sailing along that coast, rendering his estimates of the distance passed over too great. The same error as to the position of the mouth of the Mississippi, is, however, found in all maps of the gulf before the last century.



Pacific or with the Indian ocean, west of Cuba, but was bounded in that direction, by land, enclosing a great gulf or interior sea. The shores of this sea, first called by the Spaniards the Gulf of Florida, and afterwards the Mexican Gulf, were delineated on the chart sent to Spain by Garay with the report of the voyage, in a manner so nearly exact, as to show that Pineda had conducted his survey with extraordinary care and success, considering the time employed on it, and the means at his disposition. The countries seen by him were, indeed, for the most part, low and barren: there were, however, reasons to suppose, that the interior regions might be rich and populous, especially those contiguous to Panuco; and Garay accordingly sent back the vessels in the following year, under Diego de Camargo, to form a settlement at that place, while he at the same time, took measures to procure from Spain a commission to conquer and possess the territory.

Meanwhile, the ship sent by Cortés to Spain, under the direction of the able pilot Alaminos, took her course across the gulf to the north side of Cuba, where, one of the envoys, in express contravention of his instructions, insisted on landing, in order to visit his plantation; and some of her crew deserting her at that place, conveyed accounts of all that had occurred, to the governor at Santiago. Great was the rage of Velazquez on learning the daring step taken by his faithless captain: but he did not despair; and trusting to his influence in Spain, to prevent the concession of any further powers to Cortés, he began the equipment of a large force, which he prepared to send to Mexico under his lieutenant, Panfilo de Narvaez, in order to re-establish his authority and punish the usurper.

Ere the envoys of Cortés arrived in Europe, the king of Arragon and Castile, or king of Spain, as he chose to style himself, had been raised by election, to the imperial throne of Germany, which he occupied for nearly forty years, as the emperor Charles V. This election was by no means satisfactory to his Spanish subjects, as he immediately afterwards manifested the strongest anxiety to leave them, in order to enjoy his higher powers and dignities in Germany; and insurrections broke out in various parts of Castile and Arragon, with the object of depriving him of the crowns of those kingdoms. The disturbances were, however, quelled by concessions on promises; and by the same means

moreover, Charles obtained the supplies of money required to make a suitable appearance on the grand theatre on which he was to play his part. Among these concessions was, probably, the solemn act, in the form of a royal decree,\* by which the West Indies, including all the territories west of the Atlantic, secured to Castile by the Papal grant and the treaty of partition with Portugal, were declared to be irrevocably and inalienably annexed to the crown of the former kingdom; while the ministerial council for the direction of the affairs of those dominions was extended and raised to the rank of the other bodies of the same character, under the immediate supervision of the sovereign.

It was in the beginning of September, 1519, during the existence of this disturbed state of things in Spain, that the envoys of Cortés arrived in that kingdom, and presented themselves before the president of the Council of the Indies at Valladolid. They were received, contrary to their hopes, with coldness and harshness by Fonseca, who used every means to prevent them from seeing the emperor, while he at the same time labored earnestly, to support the claims of Velazquez. They however, after waiting several months, succeeded in procuring an audience with their sovereign, who treated them with much condescension, accepted the presents of gold and other articles received from Montezuma, and promised to listen to their representations at Co-

\* The decree to this effect, issued by the emperor at Barcelona, on the 14th of September, 1519, is as follows:

“By donation from the Holy Apostolic See, and other just and legitimate titles, We are Sovereign of the West Indies, of the islands and the mainland of the ocean, discovered or which may be discovered; and they are incorporated with Our Royal Crown of Castile. And as it is Our will, and We have promised and sworn, that they shall ever remain united thereto, for their greater duration and strength, We prohibit their alienation. And We decree that they shall at no time be separated, or disunited, or divided, in the whole or in part, or in their cities, towns or settlements, from Our Royal Crown of Castile, in any case, or in favor of any person whomsoever. And considering the fidelity of Our vassals, and the labors of the discoverers and settlers, in proceeding thither, to explore and occupy them, in order that they may have greater certainty and confidence in their perpetual union to Our Royal Crown, We promise and give Our Royal Word, for Ourselves and for the kings, Our successors, that they shall never be alienated or divided, in whole or in part, or in their cities, towns or settlements, for any cause or reason, or in favor of any person whomsoever: and if We, or Our successors, should make any donation or alienation, contrary to what is here above set forth, it shall be null and void, as We here declare it.”—*Recopilacion de Leyes de Indias*, Lib. III. Tit. I. Ley. I.



runna, where he was to embark in May following for Flanders. But at the time and place thus appointed, Charles had to attend to the affairs of the admiral Diego Colon, who was reinstated in his viceroyalty at Santo Domingo, and to many others of a pressing nature; so that he had no leisure to devote to a matter apparently so little important, as a question of authority between a West India governor and his subordinate. He accordingly sailed from Corunna for the Netherlands on the 22d of May, 1520, without seeing Montejo and Puertocarrero, and left the settlement of their business in the hands of the cardinal, who of course decided it in favor of Velazquez. The propriety of such a decision can scarcely be denied, though considerations of justice probably had little effect in producing it; for it was certainly incumbent on the minister to sustain the regularly constituted and legal authority, which had been so audaciously violated by the trickery of Cortés, in defiance of his duty to the government as well as of good faith to Velazquez. Messengers were accordingly sent to bear to the governor of Cuba a complete confirmation of his powers, with authority to punish to the fullest extent, the rebellious captain of his squadron. Ere they arrived there, however, Velazquez had already despatched a large fleet to Vera Cruz with that object; notwithstanding the opposition made to his proceedings by the Hieronymites in Española, who sent Vazquez de Ayllon, an influential member of the Audiencia or Supreme Court, to accompany the expedition, and to prevent as far as possible, any violence against Cortés. Velazquez awaited the result with but little anxiety, as he conceived that whatsoever might be the influence of Cortes over his men, it must fail on the appearance of a superior force, sustained by the authority of the crown and headed by an officer so distinguished as Panfilo de Narvaez.

But Velazquez was destined to suffer still greater disappointment, from this attempt to subdue the mighty spirit unadvisedly raised by him in the appointment of Cortés to the command of his first armament.

Immediately after the departure of Pineda from the vicinity of Vera Cruz in August, 1519, Cortés having placed a small garrison there, under Gonzalo de Sandoval, one of his most devoted followers, departed with the others towards the interior; and

crossing the stupendous mountain range which runs through that part of the continent, he reached a wide expanse of elevated territory, containing many fertile tracts, thickly inhabited by industrious people, who though barbarous in some respects, were little inferior in general civilization to those of western Europe. These tracts were all highly cultivated; and the adventurous Spaniards saw rising before them, large and populous cities, abounding in palaces, temples and other edifices of stone laboriously carved, while their cupidity was excited to the utmost, by the profusion of utensils and ornaments of gold and silver, displayed on every side. The country was divided into a number of principalities or republics, all of which were subject in some degree, to Montezuma the sovereign of the valley of Anahuac,\* and lord of the great city of Tenochtitlan or Mexico, situated in the midst of a lake, surrounded by mountains. Towards this capital, did Cortes, with his four hundred and fifteen followers, direct his course, alternately fighting and treating with the various powers on the way, and always gaining strength, either by victories or alliances. The poor Indians, armed only with clubs, bows and arrows and spears, unacquainted with gunpowder, with horses, and even with iron, were, notwithstanding the bravery which they often exhibited, soon cowed into submission before their terrible invaders, who, clad in impenetrable mail, mounted on animals of monstrous form and size, and dealing forth thunderbolts, as deadly as those from heaven, were regarded as the dire instruments of some incensed deity.

\* The name Anahuac signified "the country on the water," and seems to have been originally confined to the valley containing the capital, and to have been afterwards extended to all the territories over which the sovereign of that valley obtained authority. Tenochtitlan, the name of the capital, meant a cactus or prickly pear growing on a rock; and it arose from a tradition—or, perhaps, gave rise to the story—that the Aztecs, the dominant race in those countries, who are supposed to have arrived there from the north-west about the year 1325 of the Christian era, were induced to establish themselves on the spot, in consequence of the favorable omen drawn from the appearance of an eagle, holding a serpent in his claws, and perched on a cactus growing from a rock in the middle of the lake, as now represented on the Mexican dollar. The name of Mexico is said to have been derived from the war god Mexitl, the special protector of the capital; but this is somewhat doubtful. After the conquest, it was applied by the Spaniards first to the capital city, re-built on the ruins of Tenochtitlan, then to the valley, and then to the whole country, which was, however, always denominated New Spain in official documents.



Three months were thus passed in combats and negotiations, in which short time, Cortés had displayed all the qualities of a consummate general, and of a profound politician; and he had acquired an influence over his own men, which rendered them obedient to his commands in every respect, notwithstanding the bitter animosity entertained towards him by a large number. At the end of this period, the Spaniards had reduced to submission the powerful states of Tlascala and Cholula, which formed the outworks or barriers of the imperial domains of Anahuac; and in the beginning of November, they entered the great valley containing that state, and saw the towers and temples of Tenochtitlan, standing out from the bright surface of the lake, in which the city sat like Venice "throned on her hundred isles." The emperor, Montezuma, astounded by their successes, had invited them to visit him in this capital, where they accordingly established themselves in one of his palaces, situated in the centre of the city. Cortes soon after seized the unhappy monarch, and conveying him to that place, made use of his power and of the reverence in which he was held by his people, to extort from them, not only abundant supplies of provisions, but also large amounts of gold, silver and jewels.

In this manner the Spaniards remained in Tenochtitlan for several months, in a condition between that of masters and captives; accumulating riches in their quarters, from which they could, however, seldom venture to stir, and loading their royal hostage with every species of indignity in private, though they evinced the utmost respect for him in presence of his subjects. Whilst thus awaiting the arrival of succors and of the confirmation of his powers from Spain, Cortés could not avoid observing, that the irritation as well as the confidence of the inhabitants was increasing, and that his own men, on the other hand, were daily becoming more depressed and discontented. The partizans of Velazquez among the Spaniards, were ready at any moment, when an opportunity should offer, to depose their actual leader from the command; while the others cursed his temerity, when they reflected on their critical situation, especially when the ominous shrieks of human victims fell on their ears, from the principal *Tēocalli* or temple, opposite their quarters, on which

those horrible sacrifices were daily made in propitiation of the offended deities of Anahuac.

At length in May, 1520, when the Spaniards were nearly exhausted with anxiety and watching, and their leader was straining every faculty of mind and body to preserve his authority over them, and his influence with the people of Tenochtitlan through the agency of their wretched captive monarch, information was received, that a large fleet had arrived at San Juan de Ulua; and letters soon after came from Sandoval, the commandant of Vera Cruz, stating that those vessels were sent from Cuba, under Panfilo de Narvaez, who was charged by Velazquez, to take the command of all the Spanish forces in that country. Cortés was of course much disturbed by this news; but he was one of those with whom difficulties and dangers serve only to call their powers into action. From the centre of the capital of Anahuac, he opened communications with the officers of Narvaez on the coast, several of whom were speedily gained to his interests, by presents and promises; and having thus prepared the way, he suddenly quitted the city with all his men except eighty-three who were left to guard Montezuma and the treasures, and marched rapidly towards Vera Cruz. Near that place he was joined by the faithful Sandoval and his little garrison, and with this addition to his strength, he fell upon Narvaez in his quarters at an Indian town not far from the squadron, and wounded and made him prisoner ere he could summon his guards to the defence. Such was the effect produced by this energetic movement, that the troops of the captive commander immediately threw aside the authority of Velazquez, and enlisted with shouts of joy under the banners of his rival.

Cortés was thus enabled to return, with nearly three times his original force, to the capital, where he, however, found the people in open insurrection, in consequence of the violent and overbearing conduct of his lieutenant, Alvarado. Nor did his arrival, with this additional strength, serve to allay the storm. A dense throng constantly surrounded the quarters of the Spaniards, intercepting their supplies of food and water, and murdering all who ventured out in search of them; and their courage increasing with their numbers, they soon commenced an attack with fire, stones and arrows, in the course of which, their captive sover-



eign, attempting to address them, fell a victim to the rage of his exasperated subjects. Cortés having thus lost his principal means of restraining the people, found it indispensable to abandon Tenochtitlan; and after several unsuccessful attempts, in which many of his men were killed, or made prisoners and immediately sacrificed on the temple, he effected his retreat, though with great loss, through the city and over the long and narrow causeway of Tacuba, on the dreadful night,—*la noche triste*,—of the 1st of July. The particulars of that celebrated retreat, of the harrassed march of the Spaniards across the valley of Anahuac, and of their decisive victory at Otumba, on the 8th of the same month, have been so often and so graphically described, that it would be superfluous to dwell on them.

For some months after the battle of Otumba, the Spaniards were engaged in recovering their influence over their former Indian allies, and in reducing some smaller states to submission; after which they prepared for another attack upon Tenochtitlan. In the meantime they received many additions to their numbers, as well as to their materials, from various sources. Two vessels which had been despatched from Cuba with reinforcements and supplies for Narvaez, fell into the hands of the commandant at Vera Cruz, where they anchored without suspicion, while others arrived from Europe and the West Indies, bringing arms and munitions of war for sale, as well as adventurers whom the fame of the achievements of Cortés attracted to his service. The ships sent by Garay from Jamaica, under Diego de Camargo, to form a settlement at Panuco, after remaining there some time, were attacked by the people, who destroyed one of them and compelled the others to leave the river; and the crews of the latter, carried the vessels to Vera Cruz, from which they proceeded to join the army in the interior.

Thus strengthened, Cortés re-entered the valley of Anahuac, in the beginning of the year 1521, at the head of more than twelve hundred Spaniards and ten thousand Indian auxiliaries, chiefly from Tlascala; and having soon subdued the cities surrounding Tenochtitlan, and with infinite labor constructed and launched several small vessels on the lake, the capital was invested on all sides by his forces, in the middle of June. It was defended by the new emperor Guatimozin and his people, with all the con-

stancy and energy which despair and desperation could inspire; but the superiority of European arms and discipline, rendered the Spaniards irresistible, and the standard of Castile was planted among the ruins of Tenochtitlan on the 13th of August. The emperor and all his family were made prisoners; a large proportion of the inhabitants, fell in the siege, while others fled in various directions, spreading terror wherever they appeared and rendering the task of conquest more easy to the Spaniards.

Immediately after the capture of the city, parties were sent, in various directions under leaders of approved courage and fidelity, to explore and reduce to submission the contiguous portions of the empire, which was soon effected with little opposition in any case. Cortés himself remained in Anahuac, where he endeavored to restore confidence among the natives, and to induce them to return to their homes; and the same energy and efficiency which had distinguished him in the war, were employed in the re-establishment of peace and the removal of all signs of devastation. The horrible religion of the country was every where abolished, with little difficulty; for the people regarding their gods as false or impotent, hastened to place themselves under the protection of those whose worshippers were endowed with such irresistible powers. The blood-stained Teocallis were overthrown and their materials were employed in the construction of churches, palaces and fortresses; the fair city of Mexico, on a plan more regular and conformable with European customs, was founded among the ruins of Tenochtitlan; and the empire of the Montezumas was converted into the Castilian kingdom of New Spain.

Such were the principal occurrences of an enterprisé, extraordinary in events as in results, and more extraordinary, perhaps, than any other recorded in history, considering the magnitude of those events and results, when compared with the means by which they were produced. It was effected as already shown, by a few hundred Spaniards, entirely without legal authority from their government, and under circumstances which would have placed them at the present day in the category of pirates and robbers: and pirates and robbers they were, in the design as well as in the conduct of their expedition, undertaken as it was, solely with the object of plunder, and accompanied at every step by acts of basest falsehood and perfidy, and cold and cruel barbarity,



in all of which, their leader was ever foremost. The romantic splendor of the achievement, and the magnitude of its consequences, have, however, thrown these deeds into obscurity, and have rendered the places in which they were committed classic grounds. The sandy shore of Vera Cruz, the circumvallations of Tlascala, the pyramid of Cholula, the great square of Mexico, the plain of Otumba, and all the other theatres of the conquest—are now visited by travellers from all parts of the civilized world with an interest scarcely less intense than that excited by the fields of Cannæ, and Hastings, or the ruined walls of Saguntum. Every fact relating to Cortés and his followers, which can be gleaned from chronicles or manuscripts, is eagerly seized, and subjected to the same critical analysis which would be bestowed on memorials of the Crusades or the Norman invasion of England; and the historian who portrays the deeds of those Spanish heroes, if not carried away by the enthusiasm which the subject seldom fails to create, is obliged, under pain of being charged with pedantry and affectation, to soften down the rugged points in their characters, and to excuse or palliate their enormities.\*

\*Of the many accounts of the Spanish conquest of Mexico by authors who took no part in it, those of Solís and Prescott stand deservedly pre-eminent; and the latter work would seem to render superfluous, any farther attempt to illustrate that interesting portion of Mexican history. Solís, a Spaniard, writing in the seventeenth century, could not have been expected to regard with severity these acts of his countrymen; and the imagination of Prescott rendered him peculiarly susceptible of the magic influence exerted by his subject over all who have placed themselves within its circle. It is, indeed, impossible as yet to obtain a correct idea of those events without a careful study of the original authorities, such as the Despatches of Cortés, the Narrative of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, and the History of the Conquest by Gomara; and the subject still remains open for the exercise of some cold judgment in the investigation of its details, as well as in assembling them for final decision. This revisal has become the more necessary since the second conquest of the same countries—scarcely less extraordinary than the first—by the forces of the United States under Scott, who has thus proved himself inferior to no leader of his age in military capacity, and to no man of any age in observance of the dictates of humanity towards friends and foes. It would be improper here to attempt a comparison between the circumstances of these two memorable expeditions; but the belief may be expressed with confidence, that such a comparison, when made, will show the difficulties surmounted in 1847, by the genius and skill of the American commander, and the courage and perseverance of his troops, to have been not less formidable in every respect, than those over which Cortés and his Spaniards triumphed in 1520

Several voyages of discovery had meanwhile been made towards the countries north and west of Cuba, in the course of which, much additional light was thrown on the geography of that part of the New World. The first of these expeditions was conducted by Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, already mentioned as a member of the Audiencia or high court of Hispaniola, who being in want of laborers for his sugar plantations, joined with some other persons, in equipping two vessels, and sailed to the Bahama islands, in the summer of 1520, in quest of Indian slaves. Not succeeding in his object in that archipelago, Ayllon continued his course towards the north-west, and near the 33d degree of latitude, made the land at the mouth of a river, which was called the Jordan, after one of his crew; the point of land at its entrance being at the same time named Cape Santa Helena, in honor of its discovery, on the 18th of August, the day dedicated to that saint, in the Roman Catholic calendar. From that point, Ayllon, according to his account, explored the coasts as far north as the 37th degree of latitude,\* landing in many places, the names of which are recorded by him; and having on the last occasion enticed on board of his vessels a number of stout savages, he sailed with them for Hispaniola, on the way to which, however, one of the vessels was lost or carried by her crew to Vera Cruz, while the greater portion of the captives in the other, died from despondency. The name of Santa Helena was, forty-five years afterwards, given to an island in latitude of 32 degrees 28 minutes, and is now applied to a contiguous inlet, at the mouth of the large river Combahee, forty-five miles south of Charleston in South Carolina. The Jordan has been considered identical with every large river in succession between the Savannah and the Cape Fear inclusive. The statements of Ayllon are, however, like those of all his cotemporaries, so vague as regards geographi-

\* In the commission granted by Charles V. to Ayllon, in 1523, to occupy this country, it is described from the reports of his first voyage, as "a land of which no knowledge has hitherto been obtained, situated in 35, 36 and 37 degrees of north latitude, north of the island of Hispaniola; and from all that has been seen or learned, it is believed to be very fertile, rich, and well adapted for settlements, containing many trees and plants similar to those in Spain, and the people being more docile and likely to become civilized, than those of Hispaniola or any of the other islands as yet discovered; and you have also learned, that the greater part of this land is ruled by a man of gigantic size; and that pearls and other articles for trade may be found in it, &c."



cal positions, that it is almost impossible to ascertain to what point they refer.

In the following year, 1521, whilst the siege of Tenochtitlan was in progress, Juan Ponce de Leon made his second expedition from Porto Rico, in virtue of his commission as Adelantado of Florida and Bimini, which terminated most disastrously. Having reached the western side of the peninsula of Florida, he landed, with a number of men, in a bay which seems to have been either Charlotte harbor or Tampa bay, and thence began his march into the interior, in search of the rich dominions of king Calos, supposed to lie in that quarter. Ere they had proceeded far, however, the Spaniards were assailed by the warlike natives, who, from the thick matting of shrubs and vines covering those regions, showered their arrows upon the invaders, and soon forced them to retreat to their vessels. In this conflict, Ponce de Leon received several wounds, which were so serious, that it was thought necessary to carry him to Cuba; and there he soon after died, leaving his name engraven on the great continent of America, in characters which will survive the monuments of the mightiest monarchs of his day.\* One of his vessels, on her return, was driven, or more probably carried intentionally across the gulf to Vera Cruz, where her men deserted her and entered the service of Cortés, whom they aided in the completion of his conquest.

Cortés during the progress of his expedition, employed every means to obtain a confirmation of the powers assumed by him; with which object he had despatched to the emperor from time to time, letters detailing the occurrences of his enterprise, accompanied by remittances of gold, and presents to many influential persons. But Charles V. was then in Germany, and his attention was engrossed by his efforts to put down heresy in that country, and to establish his supremacy in northern Italy, where

\* The following inscription on the tomb of the discoverer of Florida—

Mole sub hac fortis requiescant ossa Leonis,  
Qui vicit factis nomina magna suis.

is somewhat more elegant, but not less bombastic, than that which was placed a century later, over the remains of a much better man—Captain John Smith, the hero of the settlement of Virginia—beginning,

Here lies one conquered, that hath conquered kings,

it was fiercely contested by his rival Francis I. of France; so that Cardinal Fonseca was left at liberty to pursue his course of enmity to Cortés, and of favor to Velazquez and his other adherents and dependants. The Admiral Colon, who had returned to the West Indies, endeavored to obtain the viceroyalty of New Spain, in exchange for his actual government; but his suit was denied, and Cortés was summoned, in the spring of 1522, to receive with due honor, one Christoval de Tapia, formerly an inspector of the revenue in Hispaniola, who arrived at Vera Cruz with a commission as Captain General, to supersede him in the government of the territories added, by his valor and skill, to the dominions of their master. Cortés was, however, not to be so easily stripped of the fruits of his toils: there was in his disposition, as much of the fox as of the lion, and in that age of universal deceit and faithlessness, no one was more profoundly versed than he in all the arts of falsehood and dissimulation. The new governor was received with every mark of respect; but he was immediately engaged in a discussion as to the extent of his powers, during which his weak mind became so distracted by doubts and apprehensions of violence and treachery, that he was soon glad to relinquish his perilous dignity, and quit the country. About the same time the emperor returned to Spain, and the agents of Cortés having obtained a hearing, succeeded in establishing the claims of their chief, who was accordingly appointed Governor and Captain General of New Spain, while Fonseca and Velazquez were both disgraced and deprived of all their powers and honors.

Scarcely had Cortés received his commission as Captain General of Mexico, than he was called to repel an invasion of his rights on the part of another rival. Francisco de Garay, the governor of Jamaica, had, in 1521, obtained, through the influence of Fonseca, a patent of Adelantado, empowering him to possess the country discovered by his officer Pineda, in 1519, and especially the portion called Amichel, by the natives, extending northward from the Panuco river, the limits of which, on the side of New Spain, were to be determined by Christoval de Tapia, the Captain General, appointed at the same time. With this object Garay equipped a squadron of eleven vessels, carrying eight hundred and fifty Spaniards, and a number of Indians, well



provided with horses, artillery, and all other materials for conquest and occupation; and in order to lose no time, he took with him the plan of a city,\* to be called Garaia, which might be immediately located at any convenient spot, and for which all the municipal officers were appointed before leaving Jamaica. With this large armament, Garay departed from his island on the 26th of June, 1523. At a port in Cuba, where he stopped, news was received that Cortés had already formed a settlement called San Estevan, on the Panuco, and had attached the contiguous country to New Spain, agreeably to authority from the emperor; Garay, however, persevered in his course, except, that instead of proceeding directly to Panuco, he sailed for the mouth of the River of Palms, also discovered by Pineda, farther north, at the entrance of which he anchored on the 25th of July. Up this river an officer was sent, with one of the vessels, to explore; but he returned after going fifteen leagues, with the report that all was desert and barren: and the governor thereupon, determined to march with the greater part of his forces to Panuco, where the ships under Grijalva, who conducted the navigation, should join him with the remainder.

The old Spanish historians represent the River of Palms as entering the Mexican Gulf under the tropic of Cancer, about thirty leagues north of the Panuco, according to which, it would be the same now called the Santander: though the fact that the River of Palms seems to have been always considered as the largest stream in that quarter, rather favors the supposition of its identity with the Rio Bravo or Rio Grande, falling into the Gulf, thirty leagues farther north, under the 26th degree of latitude. This latter opinion is also supported by the accounts of the length of time employed by Garay and his men on their march to Panuco, in which it is expressly stated, that he crossed two rivers, one of them so large and rapid in its current, that eighty horses were drowned in it; whereas there is no stream meriting the name of a river, in the whole distance between the Santander and the Panuco. The march was most distressing to the Spaniards, who suffered dreadfully from hunger and thirst, from the difficulties occasioned by mountains, marshes, lagoons, impenetrable thickets interwoven with vines, and above all, from the torment

\* "He founded a city in the air," says Herrera.

of venomous reptiles and insects, the poisonous bites of which caused many deaths, and intolerable annoyance to all;\* and when at length they reached the bank of the Panuco, they found a strong body of troops drawn up on the other side, under one of the officers of Cortés, who exhibited a royal order, forbidding them from trespassing upon that territory. The majority of Garay's officers and men immediately quitted his service, in which they were imitated by the captains and crews of several of his vessels on their arrival; and he was, himself, soon, reduced to the necessity of accepting an invitation from Cortés, to proceed to Mexico, in order that they should treat upon their pretensions in personal conference. The conqueror received his rival at the capital, with great respect, and a compromise was made between them: but ere any part of it could be carried into effect, Garay died suddenly on Christmas day; and for more than two hundred years afterwards, no attempt was made by the Spaniards, to extend their settlements in the country adjacent to the western side of the Mexican Gulf, northward of Panuco.

In the meantime, Magellan had made his celebrated voyage from the Atlantic, through the strait now bearing his name, into the South Sea, afterwards called the Pacific, and thence north-westward across the latter ocean, to the East Indies, where he met his death. The survivors of his crew returned to Europe in 1523; but the accounts brought by them were fatal to the expectations entertained by the Spaniards of conducting the intercourse between their country and India through this new route, which was twice as long as that around the Cape of Good Hope, exclusively secured to Portugal by the Treaty of Partition, and infinitely more difficult and dangerous. In compensation for this disappointment, the countries brought under the dominion of Spain by Cortés, to which the general name of Mexico was commonly applied, were not only extensive, fertile, agreeable, and rich in precious metals, but were moreover inhabited by a large population, accustomed to labor, who might be compelled to

\* In a letter from one of this party, quoted by Peter Martyr in his 8th Decade, the writer says:—"We came to the land of misery, where no order, but everlasting toil and all calamities dwell; where famine, heat, poisonous mosquitos, noisome worms and flies, persecuting bats, arrows, entangling thickets, devouring quicksands, and muddy lakes, conspired to afflict us."



exert themselves for the advantage of their conquerors, in agriculture, mining, or the mechanical arts. From the comparative vicinity of these countries to Europe, they might be rendered more important to Spain even than India; and other empires equally large, rich, well peopled, and conveniently situated, might be discovered, in the interior of the vast continent west of the Atlantic. All these advantages were fully appreciated by Cortés, who exerted every means in his power, to explore and reduce to submission the more distant regions of New Spain; while Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro were engaged in preparing for their first expedition, in search of the golden lands, which they believed, from the reports of the natives at Panamá, to lie south-west of that isthmus.

The expectation of deriving advantage from a western route to India, was however not abandoned in Europe. It was certain, from the examinations made by Magellan and those who preceded him on the eastern coasts of the New World, that the Atlantic and the Pacific were not connected at any point, between the 52d degree of south latitude, in which Magellan's Strait was situated, and the Isthmus of Darien; and Cortés soon after the completion of the conquest of New Spain, assured himself that no passage existed through that country, or any other, between Darien and Florida. Such a channel might, however, still be found farther north, nearly in the direct line between Europe and India, which would afford a route preferable in many, if not in all respects, to that around the Cape of Good Hope; and in the expeditions made with this object, as well as in search of rich countries, the coasts of the northern continent on both seas and large portions of the interior were first explored.

The emperor Charles V. and Francis I. king of France, had by this time become fairly engaged in their struggle for the dominion of the European continent; Henry VIII. of England preserved a wise neutrality, alternately favoring each of the rivals, as he deemed it necessary to maintain the balance between them. Italy and Flanders were the principal theatres on which their contest was carried on; but Francis was determined also to have his share of the navigation and commerce of the ocean, and of the territories of the New World, in defiance of the Papal Bull and the Treaty of Partition: and as a first measure for this purpose, he

despatched Giovanni Verrazzano, a Florentine navigator, with four ships, in the beginning of 1524, to examine the western coasts of the Atlantic, in search of passages to the Pacific, or of countries worthy of being conquered or settled by the French, while he himself led a large army across the Alps into the Milanese.

According to Verrazzano's report of his voyage,\* he first saw the coast of the New World on the 20th of March, 1524; and having run along it southward and northward for a few days, he landed in the 34th degree of latitude, where he found a low sandy shore, intersected by many inlets, beyond which were broad plains, and extensive forests, all corresponding exactly with the part of North Carolina, near Cape Fear. Thence he sailed fifty leagues north-eastward, and again landed, probably near the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, where he met several parties of natives, whose canoes and hunting and fishing implements, as described in his report, were precisely similar to those seen in that quarter, by the English sixty years later. A hundred leagues farther north, he reached an agreeable place, in the form of a bay or lake, among steep hills, into which a large river discharged itself; leaving this spot with great regret, he continued his voyage along the coast to the east, fifty leagues, and thence north, twenty-five leagues, passing a large island in his way, until he at length entered an excellent harbor, in latitude of 41 degrees 40 minutes, where he remained some time, engaged in repairing his vessels. This harbor is universally admitted to be Newport in Rhode Island; and it appears no less probable, that the large river discharging its waters, in a bay surrounded by hills, was

\* A translation of a part of this report was published by Hakluyt, in the third volume of his Collection. A manuscript of the original in Italian, is preserved in the Magliabecchian Library, at Florence, from which a copy made by G. W. Greene, Consul of the United States at Rome, may be found in the first volume of the second series of the transactions of the New York Historical Society, accompanied by a translation by J. G. Cogswell, Esq. The report is dated on board of the ship *le Dauphin* at Dieppe, July 8, 1524; in it Verrazzano declares his object in the voyage to have been to reach Cathay or China by a western route. Mr. R. Biddle, in his curious memoir of Sebastian Cabot already mentioned, with his usual facility in drawing conclusions from slender premises, supposes Verrazzano to have been engaged in his second voyage, in the service of England, as the pilot of the *Mary* of Guildford.



the Hudson.\* Having completed his repairs, Verrazzano put to sea again on the 5th of May, and traced the coast to the 51st degree, in which the northern part of Newfoundland is situated; and thence he struck directly across the Atlantic to France.

The report of Verrazzano's voyage, contains the earliest accounts known to exist, of the portion of the American continent, between the 34th and 50th degrees of latitude; and there is no reason to believe, that those countries had ever been seen by Europeans, unless the southernmost may have been discovered by Vazquez de Ayllon in 1520, and the northernmost by John and Sebastian Cabot in 1497, which is very improbable in either case. Verrazzano is said to have left France in the following year, on another voyage across the Atlantic, from which he never returned. In this latter year, 1525, the forces of that nation were overthrown by those of Charles V. at Pavia; and Francis I. fell into the hands of his rival, who kept him for some time in close captivity at Madrid. The cares and expenses consequent upon this misfortune, and those occasioned by the wars and intestine troubles which ensued, prevented the French from making farther attempts to discover or settle in the New World for ten years; whilst the dominion of Spain was constantly taking deeper root in that quarter.

Two years after the voyage of Verrazzano, the earliest attempt was made by Europeans to settle the countries north of the Mexican Gulf. Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon who, as already related, visited the coasts on the Atlantic about the 34th degree of latitude in 1520, in search of slaves, was induced by one of the natives thus brought away by him, to believe, that a part of the continent in that vicinity, called Orista or Chicora, abounded in gold and pearls; and he in consequence proceeded to Spain, where he in 1523, obtained from the emperor a commission to conquer, settle and possess the whole region extending on the ocean, between the 35th and 37th parallels, on the usual terms, except that the natives were, in no case, to be enslaved, or forced to labor against their will, or treated in any way otherwise, than

\*The learned and exact Diedrich Knickerbocker, in his History of New York, which will, or should, live as long as the Hudson flows, nevertheless declares, that Verrazzano's description of the place thus visited by him, corresponds no more with the mouth of that river, than with his—the historian's—nightcap!

as free subjects of his majesty; and that every gentle means should be used to civilize and convert them to the Christian faith.

These last provisions could scarcely have been acceptable to Ayllon. The emperor had, however, been induced, chiefly by the energetic remonstrances of the justly celebrated Father Bartolomé de las Casas—the best man ever sent from Spain to the New World—to espouse the cause of the aborigines of his Indian dominions; and though all his efforts for their protection, in the countries already occupied by Spaniards, had proved vain, he resolved that they should enjoy their entire liberty in those which might be settled in future. The efforts of the emperor had considerably checked the practice of transporting the Indians from one country to another; but this served to raise the price of the slaves in the islands, where they were chiefly used, and in consequence to increase their toils, by which means their numbers were rapidly diminishing: and as laborers other than Spaniards, were indispensable for the maintenance of those colonies, encouragement had been given, with the reluctant assent of Las Casas, to introduce negroes from Africa, who were found perfectly adapted for the services required from them. Special permission was still often granted to enslave the Indians, in countries where they ate human flesh, or pertinaciously resisted the attempts to christianise them; and the facility with which charges of this kind might be substantiated, was sufficient to neutralise, in a great degree, the effect of the humane prohibitions of the general laws. In Mexico those laws were utterly unavailing; and but for the stronger measures adopted at a later period, the aborigines must have been soon exterminated there, as in the islands, by the cruel and oppressive treatment of the conquerors, after their possession had been fully assured.

Ayllon was bound by the terms of his capitulation, to begin his enterprise in the following year, 1524; but he was unable to do so, in consequence of which, the Council of the Indies was about to prosecute him for a breach of contract. He, however, obtained a prolongation of the period, and at length in July, 1526, sailed from Hispaniola for Chicora, with six ships, carrying five hundred men, a large number of horses, and abundant supplies of arms, ammunition and provisions. After a long voyage, the squadron reached the Jordan, which was determined



by observation, to be in latitude of 33 degrees 40 minutes, corresponding very nearly with the mouth of Cape Fear river; but on attempting to enter, the largest ship struck on the bar, and went to pieces. The country was then explored to some distance in the interior, and along the coast towards the north; and a spot was thus found, fifty leagues beyond the Jordan, where the people were landed, and a settlement, called San Miguel de Gualdape, was begun. Ayllon had already been undeceived, with regard to the supposed riches of the country; no signs of precious metals were seen, and the oysters, though excellent as food, yielded no pearls. The natives, moreover, soon began to harass the settlers, and as the autumn advanced, fevers broke out among them, which soon carried off a large number, including the head of the enterprise. Dissensions then arose as to the right of commanding, which led to combats, murders and executions; and when at length it was resolved that the settlement should be abandoned, only one hundred and fifty survived, of the five hundred who had landed there a few months previous.\*

Thus ended the first attempt to establish a European colony in the division of the New World, now forming the Republic of the United States. Of its position, no exact information is given in the accounts of the expedition; but it was probably near Cape Lookout, in North Carolina, perhaps on the spot now occupied by the town of Beaufort.

The West Indies, and especially Mexico, were, meanwhile, the scenes of continual violence and treachery. The successes of Cortes and his followers, had brought to those countries crowds of adventurers from Spain, for the most part men of desperate character, ready for any enterprise, however lawless or dangerous, which promised gold or renown. Some of these uniting in bands under leaders bearing commissions, penetrated the continent in various directions in quest of plunder; while others more fortunate, obtained grants of lands, with assignments of Indians, whom they subjected to the most cruel labors and privations, in defiance of all laws for the protection of those people. By this oppression, the natives were naturally driven to

\* The account given by Navarrete in the third volume of his Collection, page 72, has been here followed exclusively; being much more full and reasonable than those of the old historians.

retaliations and insurrections, which were in all cases fearfully avenged by their powerful masters; and the Spaniards being, moreover, in many parts, at war with each other, the destruction of human life from all these causes, was incalculably great.

Cortés had found his appointment as Captain General of New Spain, only the commencement of his troubles. - Charles V. was too sagacious and too suspicious, to leave such a man unrestrained, at the head of such a country as Mexico might be rendered by him; and the conqueror was accordingly beset on all sides by rivals and enemies with powers to annoy him, while every ship from Spain brought some new ordinance curtailing his privileges. He, nevertheless, continued the prosecution of his plans for reducing the country to submission, and civilizing and converting its inhabitants, as well as for exploring the adjoining regions, until 1525, when he was superseded in his governorship, and obliged to spend the following three years in retirement.

The emperor had, within that period, granted many commissions for discovery and conquest in the New World, under one of which, Francisco Pizarro was engaged on his second expedition, in search of the rich countries south-east of Panamá, supposed by him to bear the name of Peru; while Pedro de Alvarado, was establishing his authority in Guatemala, under a similar patent, and Francisco de Montejo as Adelantado of Yucatan, was ravaging that peninsula, and defacing its wonderful monuments. A patent had been also conceded by Charles V. for the subjugation and settlement of the territories north of the Mexican Gulf, and an expedition was in progress with that object, the particulars of which will be related in the following chapter.



## CHAPTER III.

1526 TO 1544.

DISCOVERY OF THE INTERIOR OF FLORIDA BY THE SPANIARDS—EXPEDITIONS OF PANFILO DE NARVAEZ AND HERNANDO DE SOTO—DISCOVERY OF THE RIVER OF ST. LAWRENCE BY THE FRENCH UNDER CARTIER.

THE attempt made by Panfilo de Narvaez in 1520, to deprive Cortés of the command of the expedition for the conquest of Mexico, and its signal defeat by the latter, have been already mentioned. Narvaez lost an eye on that occasion, and was kept in close confinement in México by his successful rival, for three years; at the end of which he was liberated, through the intercession of Garay, and allowed to proceed to Spain. There he joined the enemies of Cortés in their intrigues, which led to the removal of the conqueror from the government of Mexico, and to the many annoyances consequent upon it; and as a recompense for these exertions, Narvaez obtained in 1526 a commission as Adelantado of Florida, together with the means of equipping an armament for the conquest and occupation of that country.

The patent granted to Narvaez embraced the whole region bordering upon the northern sides of the Mexican Gulf, from the River of Palms, the northern boundary of the Province of Panuco, northward and eastward, to the Atlantic, including the peninsula of Florida; all of which he was to subdue, settle, possess and govern, and to transmit the possession and government to his descendants, on condition of yielding to the crown a certain proportion of the precious metals, and revenues, derivable from them, and of using every means to convert the natives to the Catholic faith. Notwithstanding the discoveries of Magellan

and others, showing the great breadth of the Pacific, the Mexican Gulf was still supposed to be bordered on the north-west by China; and Narvaez probably expected to reach the northern part of that Empire, where some of the largest and richest cities in the world had been seen by Marco Polo.\* Yet on the other hand, he could scarcely have supposed, that those places could be subdued, or even plundered by the small forces which he should be able to carry with him in his expedition.

Under this commission Panfilo de Narvaez sailed from Cadiz in June, 1527, with six ships and six hundred men for Hispaniola, in which island and in Cuba he was detained until the spring of the following year. This delay caused him to lose a number of his men by death or desertion; but he was not disheartened, and taking his departure from Cuba in the beginning of March, 1528, he on Good-Friday, the 13th of that month, anchored in a bay on the south-west side of the peninsula of Florida, to which the name of Santa Cruz,—the Holy Cross,—was given, in respectful commemoration of the day. This bay was entered, contrary to the advice of Diego de Miruelo, the pilot, who had accompanied Ponce de Leon and Garay in their expeditions, and who recommended another and much better harbor, discovered by himself, farther north. The Adelantado, however, having received from the Indians accounts of a rich and populous kingdom called Apalache, situated in the interior, at some distance uncertain, could not restrain his impatience; and he immediately landed with three hundred and forty men, and forty horses, on the shore of the bay. Some of his vessels were then despatched to Cuba, whilst the others were ordered to proceed along the coast northward to the Bay of Miruelo; and having made these dispositions he departed with the troops in search of Apalache, on the first of May.

The Bay of Santa Cruz was most probably the same, now called Charlotte Harbor, on the south-west side of the peninsula, near the 27th degree of latitude: on the day after leaving it,

\* See the map of the world, attached to the historical and geographical collection, entitled "Novus Orbis," by Simon Grynæus, published in 1532, in which Tenochtitlan or Mexico, is placed in the south-east part of Cathay or China, about five hundred miles due south of Cambalu or Peking, and the latter city stands near the head waters of the Panuco river.



Narvaez reached another and larger bay, which if the former supposition be correct, would be the Bay of Tampa; and from this latter place, were sent the last communications, received from the Adelantado, by the vessels before their departure. Of these vessels, one was soon lost; the others wandered along the coasts for some months, stopping at various places, in hope of meeting with their commander, and his troops, until they were forced by want of provisions to return to Cuba. In the following year the vessels revisited the coast with no more success; and notwithstanding all the efforts employed by the wife and family of Narvaez, nothing was heard of him or of any of those who accompanied him, for eight years.

In the meantime, many events of great importance had occurred in the New World. Cortés wearied with the annoyances to which he was continually subjected in Mexico, went in 1528 to Spain, where his appearance excited the strongest interest among all classes. He was received with distinction by the emperor, who conferred on him the title of Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca, with large grants of lands in various parts of Mexico, besides confirming him in the government of that kingdom; in addition to which, he was authorised exclusively, by a commission of Adelantado and Admiral of the South Sea, to discover, conquer and possess on the usual conditions, any new countries west of those already under his jurisdiction. Notwithstanding all these marks of favor, Cortés found himself on returning to Mexico, in 1530, nearly without power, in consequence of the extensive privileges and immunities allowed to the Audiencia or High Court, established during his absence, and composed for the most part of persons inimical to him, without whose assent he could undertake nothing; and he was in fact obliged to make actual war on this body, and to expel its president, Nuño de Guzman, before he could establish himself in the capital.\*

As soon as he had resumed his authority in Mexico, Cortés in virtue of his powers as Admiral of the South Sea, caused voyages to be made on that ocean, the coasts of which were thus traced north-westward to the 30th degree of latitude, the Peninsula of California being at the same time discovered. This new country was also, as Hispaniola and Florida had been, con-

\* Gomara Cronica de la Nueva España, Chap. 186.

sidered identical with Japan; and the conqueror of Mexico, not choosing to trust to others the charge of exploring and subjugating it, sailed thither himself, with a large force in 1535, and spent a year on its rocky coasts and arid mountains. But whilst thus engaged, he learned to his dismay that he had been deprived of all his authority in New Spain, by the arrival of Don Antonio de Mendoza, a nobleman of high rank and influence, as Viceroy of that kingdom; and he was afterwards subjected to innumerable annoyances from legal prosecutions, which embittered the remaining period of his residence in the New World.\*

Of the other remarkable occurrences in the New World, during the period in question, it will be sufficient here to mention the discovery and conquest by the Spaniards, under Pizarro, of the great and rich Empire of the Incas, on the western side of the Southern Continent, to which the name of Peru was applied, as that of Mexico had been to the regions subjugated by Cortés, through erroneous interpretations of the accounts first received from the natives. In Europe, the rivalry between Charles V. and Francis I. led to many bloody battles; but these were all thrown into the shade, by the grand events of the divorce of Henry VIII. of England from his Queen Catherine, the aunt of the emperor, and his marriage with Anne Bolen, which gave so much strength and encouragement to the cause of religious reform, then in progress under the direction of Luther and Calvin.

Soon after the entrance of the Viceroy Mendoza into Mexico, in the spring of 1536, four naked wild looking men arrived at the town of Culiacan, near the entrance of the Californian Gulf, where a Spanish settlement had been recently formed, and announced themselves the survivors of the party, who had invaded Florida in 1528, under Panfilo de Narvaez. They were, Alvaro Nuñez de Cabeza de Vaca, the Treasurer and Chief Alguazil, Captains Andrea Dorantes and Alonzo del Castillo, and Estevanico, a negro: after a few weeks passed at Culiacan, they were sent on to Mexico, where their adventures were related to the Viceroy; and Cabeza de Vaca then proceeded to Spain, and presented to the emperor a narrative of his travels and sufferings,

\* Particular accounts of these voyages will be found in the first chapter of the History of Oregon and California, by the author of this work.



from which is derived all that is known of the movements and fate of Narvaez and his followers, subsequent to their departure from the Bay of Santa Cruz, in May, 1528. In accounts like these, founded entirely on the recollections of persons who had been exposed, as will be shown, for nine years, to the most dreadful hardships and dangers, it would be unreasonable to expect accuracy of detail, on any points, not immediately affecting the person of the narrator; Cabeza de Vaca seems, however, to have always spoken the truth, with regard to matters of which he was himself a witness; and though but one spot mentioned by him can be identified with certainty, his descriptions are sufficiently distinct to indicate his general course with considerable approach to precision.\*

According to the narrative of Cabeza de Vaca, the march of Narvaez and his followers from the Bay of Santa Cruz, was, from the commencement, attended with difficulties and perils. The country, as correctly described by Cabeza de Vaca, is flat and sandy, or marshy, covered for the most part with thick woods, through which the Spaniards could penetrate only with great labor; and they were moreover obliged frequently to construct rafts or bridges, in order to cross the ponds and rivers which lay in their way. They at first obtained food by hunting; but their supplies from this source were precarious, and they were obliged to depend chiefly on the fruit of the cabbage-palm, with which the southern parts of the peninsula abound.

Their course appears to have been northward, at a short distance from the sea, which was visited by Cabeza de Vaca, and a few men, at the mouth of a river, probably the Suwannee, or some other entering the north-east angle of the Mexican Gulf. At length, in the middle of June, they crossed a very large river, which seems to have been the Apalachicola, and the country beyond it was found to be the long desired land of Apalache, where they expected to reap the fruits of their toils in the plunder of rich cities. Only a few wigwams could however be discov-

\* "Los Naufragios de Cabeza de Vaca," &c.—first published at Valladolid in 1554; one of the most curious of the early accounts of the proceedings of the Spaniards in America. Translated into English by Mr. Buckingham Smith, and published, for private circulation, by Mr. Geo. W. Riggs, Jr., of Washington, January, 1851, since the above was written by Mr. Greenhow.—Ed.

ered, from which the terrified natives fled on their approach; and when they had advanced to some distance, probably as far as the centre of the present State of Alabama, it was determined by unanimous consent, that they should return to the coast and seek their vessels, in order to go back to Cuba.

Some men were accordingly sent to look for the vessels, under Cabeza de Vaca, who proceeding southward along the banks of a large river, named by them the Magdalena, reached, in a week, a place called Aute; and thence continuing in the same direction, they soon became involved in a labyrinth of creeks and inlets, communicating with an extensive arm of the sea. After looking some time in vain for the vessels, the party returned to Apalache; whereupon Narvaez determined to go with all his men, to one of the inlets thus discovered, and there to build vessels for their conveyance to Mexico or Cuba. The whole party accordingly removed to the shore of a bay, where they began the construction of vessels. This was a work of much difficulty, as they had only one carpenter in their number, and no iron for nails, except their stirrups, and such portions of their armor as they could safely dispense with; they, however, labored diligently, and in the end of September, five barques or large boats had been completed, each twenty-two cubits in length, which were considered sufficient for a voyage along the coast of Mexico. These barques were made of sawn planks, coated with pitch from the pine trees: the trunks of palmettoes served as masts; ropes were twisted of horse hair, and the shirts of the men were sewn together for sails. Their horses were killed and the meat was dried for food on the voyage; the skins of the legs being carefully stripped off, to be used as bags or bottles for fresh water; the remainder of the provisions consisted of Indian corn, which was to be parched from time to time as it might be required. A long search was made for stones to be employed as ballast and anchors, but not one could be found, nor had one been seen in the country.

On the 29th of September their preparations being completed, the Spaniards embarked, two hundred and forty-five in number, each boat carrying forty-nine. When all had taken their places, the vessels sunk nearly to the edges in the water; and nothing could have been more gloomy and unpromising than their condition and prospects, as they floated westward through the bay,



to which, in commemoration of the slaughter of their steeds, they gave the name of Baia de Cavallos, or Horse Bay.

With regard to the places here mentioned, the accounts of the expedition of Narvaez, and of others soon after made by the Spaniards through the same countries, as well as the maps of that period, leave no reason to doubt, that Apalache, or the land of the Apalaches, was the south-east division of the present State of Alabama, and the adjoining portion of Florida, immediately contiguous to the Apalachicola or Chatta-hoochee\*—Rock river—on the west. At the beginning of the last century, beyond which our exact knowledge of those regions or their inhabitants does not extend, they were occupied by three principal tribes of the great nation or confederacy of the Muscoghees, since called Creeks, namely—the Coweeta, the Apalachoocla, and the Uchee.† The Apalachoocla or Apalachicola, whose name has been given to the lower part of the river, was considered as the oldest tribe of the nation; and its chief town, on the west bank of the river, twenty-five miles below the falls, was sacred to peace, while the Coweeta town, twelve miles farther north, was dedicated to the god of war. Oocla or Acoola or Agoola, as variously pronounced by different tribes, signified a Town or Tribe; and as this was a common termination of the names of towns or tribes in that part of America, it seems most reasonable to suppose, that the Apalache visited by the Spaniards under Narvaez in 1528, was Apalach-oocla the town, or tribe, or territory of the Apalaches. The river Magdalena was most probably the Choctā-hatchee—Choctā river—which rises in the country of the Muscoghees, and empties into an arm of the Mexican Gulf called Choctā-hatchee bay, communicating on the west with the Bay of Pensacola, by the long and narrow sound of Santa Rosa; and this bay of Choctā-hatchee may have been the Baya de Cavallos, on which the Spaniards embarked.

From the place of embarkation, the Spaniards pursued their voyage towards the west, for seven days, before reaching the open Gulf, which they at length entered through a strait, between the mainland and an island—most probably through the entrance of the Bay of Pensacola, which is just ninety miles in that direction, from the eastern extremity of the Bay of Choctā-hatchee.

\* Hatchee or Hoochee meant a River in the languages of nearly all the nations of that part of America.

† See Bartram's account of his visit to these three towns in 1774.

Thence they continued their navigation westward along the coast, suffering constantly from insufficiency of food, and often from thirst, as their horse-skin bottles proved useless; and they were obliged, in many cases, to have severe combats with the natives, in order to procure fresh water.

Wending their way thus slowly along the coast, the Spaniards, at the end of a month, had reached a small cluster of islands near the mainland, where they were attacked by a numerous party of natives in canoes, who chased them during the whole day, and annoyed them considerably by volleys of stones and arrows. "Thus," writes Cabeza de Vaca in his narrative, "we continued our voyage through that day [November 1st] until the hour of vespers; when, my boat being the foremost, I observed a point of land, beyond which was a very great river, and I halted at an islet off the point, to wait for the other boats. The governor, [Narvaez] however, would not come up, but chose rather to remain in a bay very near, where were many small islands; and there we joined company, and *took up fresh water from the sea into which the river poured in a torrent*. As we had eaten our corn raw for two days, we landed upon the island to parch some; but finding no wood there, we agreed to go to the river beyond the point, *a league distant*: on going there, however, the current was so violent that we were entirely unable to enter, and were driven away from the land, notwithstanding all our efforts and labor to reach it."

The river here mentioned could have been no other than the Mississippi, the only stream flowing into the Mexican Gulf, or into any other sea from North America, the waters of which remain so pure and unmixed with those of the sea, as to be potable at the distance of a league from their outlet. This outlet had been already seen in 1519, by Pineda, who represented it on his chart, under the name of Rio del Espiritu Santo; or the merit of discovering the greatest river of North America, if not of the whole world, should have been assigned to Panfilo de Narvaez and Cabeza de Vaca.\*

The mouth of the Mississippi is the only spot mentioned in the

\* This observation of the mouth of the Mississippi by the Spaniards in 1528, is not noticed in any work hitherto published, except the original narrative of Cabeza de Vaca; the discovery of the great river being elsewhere universally ascribed to Hernando de Soto.



account of the expedition of Narvaez, which can be identified with certainty. Before reaching it, the Spaniards had suffered much; but there begun the disasters of the party. Not only were they prevented from entering the great river, but they were also driven by the violence of its current during the night, so far out to sea, that their boats were separated, and two disappeared. The three remaining boats continued their voyage along the coast westward five days longer, at the end of which, a dreadful storm arose, and the unfortunate men, exhausted by want of food and water, and by incessant labor at the oars, were unable to prevent their slender skiffs from being dashed to pieces on the shore. The boat commanded by the Treasurer and one other, were cast together upon an island, and eighty persons, composing about the half of those on board, succeeded in reaching the land; the third boat containing the Adelantado, was wrecked, as afterwards learned, farther west, where her crew all perished in various ways.

The island on which Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were thrown, is described by him, as being five leagues in length, by half a league in breadth, and distant half a league from the mainland; and as they had spent five days on their passage to it, from the mouth of the Mississippi, it was more probably one of the islands near Atchafalaya Bay, on the coast of Louisiana, about a hundred and fifty miles from the great river, than that of Galveston, the next large island on the west, which is situated at more than double that distance. It was temporarily occupied by Indians of large stature, who repaired thither in the cold season, to obtain food from the roots, growing abundantly in the marshy places on that coast: these people soon surrounded the Spaniards in great numbers; but to the surprise of the latter, they were treated with kindness, and supplied with food and fuel by the natives, which induced Cabeza de Vaca to fear that he and his companions might be reserved as sacrifices to the gods, or to glut the appetites of their new friends. This dread was however soon removed, when it appeared that the natives regarded their visitors as physicians or sorcerers, who could cure their diseases by charms and medicines; and the Spaniards accordingly exerted themselves in the performance of their supposed functions, praying to the Virgin for aid in their

efforts, to secure the favor of the savages: but they seem to have had little success, as more than half of their patients died of a disease of the stomach, before the spring.

In the meantime, the number of Europeans on the island had been reduced to about fifteen. Of the others, several had been drowned in an attempt to put to sea in one of the boats, which they had repaired, and a few had gone to the mainland, resolved to make their way if possible to Mexico: but they had for the most part perished from hunger, which drove some to cannibalism, or from sickness, fatigue or despair; and they were fully justified in applying to the place the name of *Isla de Malhado*—Isle of Misery.

In this island and the adjacent country, *Cabeza de Vaca* and his companions spent three or four years in wretched slavery, making annual peregrinations, with the tribe to which they were attached, in various directions, in search of food: sometimes to the marshes, where they dug for roots; then to the oyster beds on the sea shore; and during a certain period of the year, to sandy wastes in the interior, covered with the cactus, which produces an agreeable fruit called the tuna, or prickly pear, resembling the fig. Of the positions of these places, it is impossible to learn any thing definite, from the narrative of the Treasurer; nor is any one of the numerous names mentioned by him found in any other account of that part of America. His general descriptions are, however, perfectly conformable with what we know of the face of those countries, and of their climate and productions; and his minute accounts of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, are confirmed in all respects, by subsequent observers.

At length, probably in 1533, *Cabeza de Vaca*, *Dorantes*, *Castillo*, and the negro *Estevanico*, succeeded in escaping from their masters, and directed their course towards the west, in hopes of reaching some spot occupied by their countrymen. Their journey with this view occupied three years, during which they were obliged to ramble in various lines of march, according to circumstances, exposed constantly to hardships of all kinds. The whole powers of their bodies and minds were necessarily devoted to the great object of obtaining food; and they were often obliged to pass many months with one tribe of Indians whom they had conciliated ere they could procure provisions, sufficient for their



supply, until they could reach another tribe. Sometimes they travelled as merchants or pedlars, trafficking in stone, arrow-heads, paint, salt, and other articles in request among the Indians; and when it could be done with prudence, they boldly announced themselves as children of the sun, and thus acquired much consideration. They, however, depended chiefly on their medical skill; and the Treasurer relates several amusing anecdotes of their practice, one of which from being misinterpreted has been made the grounds of unjust imputations on his veracity.\*

The observations of time, place and direction, made by men under such circumstances could not have been very precise; and their recollections were doubtless often inaccurate on those points. Enough however may be gathered from the narrative of Cabeza de Vaca, to show through what countries he passed, in his route from the north-western shore of the Mexican Gulf to the entrance of the Gulf of California. Thus we learn that his course was at first south-westward, at no great distance from the gulf, through a level region, traversed by many rivers, and presenting alternately forests and large tracts of open ground or prairie—this must have been Texas. He then found the country rough and arid; and agreeably to the advice of the Indians, he turned more to the west, and crossing some mountains, he arrived in a valley, through which ran a large river, flowing from the north. This river was most probably the Rio del Norte; the valley was thickly peopled, and the Spaniards remained in it several months, during which they followed the stream up towards its sources, in a desert region, inhabited by wild Indians, who lived entirely by hunting hump-backed oxen or buffaloes. Thence they crossed a great chain of mountains, to another territory, more fruitful, agreeable and populous, than any seen in their way, which was certainly Sonora; and directing their course along the banks of a river, probably the Yaqui, they reached the shores of the Californian Gulf, where they first received distinct accounts of their countrymen at Culiacan. There they finally arrived, as already stated, in 1536, eight years after their landing in Florida; having

\* In the abstracts of his narrative, Cabeza de Vaca is represented as asserting, that he restored a dead man to life, by prayers and by blowing on him; whereas, he merely states, that a man believed by him and all others around to be dead, recovered, as was afterwards learned from an Indian.

made one of the longest journies, and passed through some of the most painful adventures ever recorded.

Such were the principal circumstances attending the first expedition of the Spaniards, through the countries north and north-west of the Mexican Gulf, according to the evidence of the active, intelligent and courageous Treasurer. From Culiacan, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions proceeded to Mexico, where they were interrogated as to their adventures, by the Viceroy Mendoza and by Cortés. They had themselves seen no signs whatever of wealth, or civilization, in the territories traversed by them; but they had every where received confused accounts, of rich and powerful nations, dwelling north of their line of route: and the Viceroy, being desirous to learn the truth of these rumors, despatched Friar Marcos de Niza, a Franciscan friar, in company with the negro Estevanico, in search of the nations in question. At the end of a year the friar returned, and declared that he had visited a delightful region, called Cibola, which was situated far north-west of Mexico and contained many large and magnificent cities, inhabited by a numerous, wealthy and refined population; and the right of conquering this country, and converting its occupants to christianity, immediately became the subject of contest, between various aspirants, including Cortés and Mendoza, each of whom caused expeditions to be made for that purpose, in the direction indicated by the friar.

Cabeza de Vaca meanwhile, not daunted by the perils and sufferings which he had encountered in Florida, did not hesitate on his arrival in Spain in 1537, to solicit from the emperor a commission and means to explore the regions north of the Mexican Gulf more fully, in order to ascertain the truth of the rumors which he had heard of rich countries in that direction. His suit was however refused; not from the idea that his search would prove vain, but from the superior influence exerted by another applicant for the same favor.

Amongst those who most distinguished themselves in the conquest of Peru, by their bravery and military skill, and who obtained the largest shares of the spoils, was Hernando de Soto. At the conclusion of that conquest, he was about forty years of age, and not content with holding a secondary position in Peru, he proceeded to Spain, where he appeared at the court, in great



splendor, about the time when Cabeza de Vaca began to urge his claim, for the command of forces to be employed in Florida. The wealth and renown of Soto and his connection by marriage with a powerful noble family, soon enabled him to obtain the government of Cuba; and he then proposed to Cabeza de Vaca, who was entirely without means or interest, that the latter should undertake the conquest of Florida, at his expense, and for their joint benefit. The proposal was accepted, but the contract was not completed: and Soto thereupon asked and obtained from the sovereign a commission of Adelantado of Florida, in addition to his government of Cuba; while Cabeza de Vaca was obliged to content himself with the direction of a small force destined for the occupation of the river of La Plata, from which he derived no other advantage than the materials for another narrative of adventures and sufferings.

\* Of the accounts of the expedition of Hernando de Soto those most worthy of reliance are—

"*Relaçam Verdadeira, &c.*," in English, "A true relation of the conquest of Florida by the Spaniards under Don Hernando de Soto," written in Portuguese, by one of the adventurers, whose name is unknown, and first published at Evora in 1557. The original is very rare—but two English translations have appeared; the first by Hakluyt, in 1609, and reprinted in 1846 in the fourth volume of the valuable collection of tracts relating to America, by the learned and indefatigable Peter Force of Washington; the other published anonymously in 1686.

The narrative of Luis Hernandes de Biedma, the factor of the expedition, presented to the Council of the Indies, by the writer in 1544, immediately after his return from Florida. The original still remains unpublished in the archives of the Spanish government; a French translation, which is somewhat obscure, and most probably incorrect, in many points, is given by Ternaux Compans, in his "*Recueil de Voyages, &c.*," printed at Paris in 1841.

In the same French Collection is also a translation of a letter addressed by Soto, to the Municipality of Havanna, from the place of his disembarkation in Florida on the 9th of July, 1539, and sent by the ships returning to Cuba, immediately before his departure for the interior; it however throws very little light upon the expedition.

The most full and valuable account in every respect, is that given by Herrera in the 6th and 7th Decades of his History of the Indies, derived from numerous authorities, published and unpublished, to the latter of which, he had access in his quality of Historiographer of the Indies.

The above may be considered as evidence of the occurrences of the expedition. The celebrated History of the Conquest of Florida, by the Peruvian, Garcilaso de la Vega, entitled "*La Florida del Ynca*," first published at Lisbon in 1605, is no doubt, as declared, founded on original evidence; but the facts are so much distorted by the extravagant dress in which they are all presented, that the work deserves to be classed rather with bombastic romances, than with authentic histories.

Immediately on receiving his commission as Adelantado of Florida, Hernando de Soto raised his standard, under which six hundred men, including several of high rank and large fortune, were soon enrolled as volunteers or recruits; and ten vessels having been prepared for their transportation, they sailed from San Lucar, near the mouth of the Guadalquivir, in April, 1538. In due time they arrived in Cuba; but Soto was detained in that island, by the cares of its government until May of the following year, on the 18th of which month he departed with his forces, from Havanna, for the coast of Florida. His squadron consisted of five large ships and four small vessels, carrying together about seven hundred men,\* and three hundred horses; their progress was delayed by calms, but in eight days they reached the entrance of a harbor on the western side of the peninsula of Florida, which had been previously selected as the place of disembarcation by officers sent for the purpose from Cuba. Some difficulties occurring there, from want of knowledge of the channel, Soto landed the men and horses at the entrance and then proceeded with the vessels to the extremity of the harbor, distant twelve leagues from the sea, where all his forces were assembled in the beginning of June.

The harbor at which the Spaniards thus landed in Florida, was previously known as Baia Honda—Deep Bay; but Soto called it Port of Espiritu Santo, in commemoration of his having reached it on Whitsunday, the Pascua del Espiritu Santo, or Feast of the Holy Ghost, according to the Spanish Calendar. It is at present usually supposed to have been the same, now known as Tampa Bay, opening to the Gulf near the 28th degree of latitude; though the name of Port of Espiritu Santo, was applied during the remainder of the century, in which Soto made his expedition, to the mouth of the Tocobaga river, now the Suwannee, entering the sea in latitude of 29 degrees 20 minutes. The original accounts of the movements of the Spaniards in Florida, are so vague and defective, that it is almost impossible to identify a single spot mentioned in them; the statement in one of those narratives, that the vessels (none of them probably drawing more than ten feet when fully laden) found great difficulty in entering and ascending the harbor, in consequence of its

\*The numbers are differently stated in the different accounts.



shallowness, seems to contradict the supposition that it could be the Bay of Tampa, which will admit the largest frigates with ease: but this statement is not confirmed by other accounts of higher authority; and neither the Suwannee, nor any other river or harbor on the western side of the peninsula, north of Tampa, will afford an entrance to vessels drawing more than five feet. It may be added, that the name given by Soto, has been assigned by geographers during the seventeenth century, to every large opening on the northern coasts of the Mexican Gulf, along which it has travelled westward from Tampa to the opposite side, not far from the mouth of the river Bravo, where it seems to be now definitively established.\*

At the extremity of the Port of Espiritu Santo, here supposed to be Tampa Bay, was a large Indian village, called Hirrihiagua, entirely deserted, in which Soto established his head quarters, and remained until the middle of July. Exploring parties in the meantime scoured the adjacent country, in search of provisions, in the course of which, they had some severe conflicts with the natives. One of these parties, fortunately, met with a Spaniard

\* Soto, in his letter written at the Port of Espiritu Santo to the Municipality of Havanna, gives the following account of his landing in Florida:

"I left Havanna with my whole fleet on the 18th of May, though I had written word that I should not weigh anchor until the 25th; but I sailed thus earlier, in order to take advantage of the wind, which was favorable. Calms ensued when we entered the gulf; yet they were not so constant as to prevent us from reaching this coast in eight days, which we did on Whitsunday. We missed the port by five or six leagues, none of our pilots being able to ascertain where we were, so that I was obliged to go with the brigantines to look for it. We spent three days in this search and in staying there; being farther delayed by our not knowing the channel, as the bay is twelve leagues and more in depth. This loss of time, obliged me to send my Lieutenant General, Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, with the brigantines, to take possession of a village, situated at the extremity of the bay. I ordered all the troops and horses to be landed on the shore, and with much difficulty I effected my junction with Vasco Porcallo, on the Sunday of the Holy Trinity, &c."

In the Portuguese narrative of the expedition, the same circumstances are thus presented:

"On the 25th of May, the day of Pascua del Espiritu Santo, they saw the land of Florida, and because of the shoals, they came to an anchor a league from the shore. On Friday, 30th of May, they landed in Florida, two leagues from a town of an Indian lord, called Ucita. They set on land 213 horses, which they brought with them, to unburden the ships, that they might draw the less water. He landed all his men, and only the seamen remained in the ships, which going up with the tide every day a little, brought them up into the town."

named Juan Ortiz, who had landed with Narvaez twelve years before, and had been ever since in captivity among the Indians: he had almost forgotten his native tongue, and knew nothing of Florida beyond the immediate vicinity of the place where he was found; but he proved very useful, from his acquaintance with the language and the habits of the people. From his accounts, and the observations of the exploring parties, it became certain, that no precious metals or stones were to be obtained in that region, and the men began, in consequence, to manifest a strong desire to abandon the enterprise; their leader, however, peremptorily insisted on prosecuting it, with which object, he sent back the ships to Cuba, and took his departure in the middle of July for the north, leaving only sixty men and the two smallest vessels at the harbor, under the command of Pedro Calderon.

From the place of their landing in Florida, the Spaniards marched northward for several days, through pine forests and wide marshes, to an Indian village, the Chief of which, on learning their objects, directed them to a country called Ocali, at some distance in the same course, where gold was declared to be so plentiful, that it was used for the commonest purposes. On the way to this country, they passed through a marsh of great extent, traversed by a river, most probably the Long-swamp of the Withlacoochee; and after a tedious journey, they reached Ocali, which was only a large Indian town, presenting no other treasures to the eager invaders, than the stores of corn and beans, just gathered by its inhabitants, for their support during the winter. Ocali appears to have been the Alachua prairie, one of the most fertile parts of Florida, situated a little north of the centre of the peninsula, midway between the Suwannee and the Ocklawaha rivers. Continuing their march in the direction of New Spain, within ten or twelve leagues of the coast of the gulf, the Spaniards crossed in succession two large streams, corresponding with the two branches of the Suwannee, and then another flowing through a district called Ochile, which was doubtless the Oscilla, entering the gulf at its north-east angle. Farther on they came to a populous region called Caliquen, surrounding two large lakes, which are with good reason supposed to be those near the present city of Tallahassee; it was subject to a chief named Uitacucho, who employed all the arts of



savage dissimulation, to induce the strangers to lay aside their caution: but Soto was no less versed in those arts himself; and when at length a violent attack was made on the Spaniards, the Indians were easily repelled and driven into one of the lakes, where many of them perished, and their king was made prisoner. Uitacucho still undismayed, endeavored, with the assistance of some of his men remaining with him at large in the camp, to murder the Adelantado, who was struck to the ground and nearly strangled, before assistance could be had; the plot however failed, and the daring chief, with his associates, paid the forfeit of their rash attempt with their lives.

Pursuing their course as before, parallel to the coast of the gulf, the Spaniards came to a river, called Ossachile, much larger and deeper than any before seen by them in Florida, over which they were obliged to build a bridge of boats; and on passing it, they found themselves in the country of Apalache, where they received from the natives many accounts of Narvaez and his followers. This river was unquestionably the Apalachicola: at the distance of four days' journey beyond it on the west they reached the chief town, called Anaica; and as the month of October was then far advanced, Soto determined to spend the winter there. A party sent towards the south, soon discovered the spot at which Narvaez had built his boats, its position being clearly indicated by the bones of horses and the fragments of sawed planks; and Juan de Añasco, the comptroller, was then despatched with thirty horsemen to the Bay of Espiritu Santo, to direct the men left there, to come in the vessels, to that part of the coast.

This perilous journey of three hundred miles\* was performed by Añasco and his men in eleven days, during which they were constantly beset by enemies; and having delivered the orders to Calderon, the commandant at the bay, they returned in the same way, with still greater difficulty to Anaica. Calderon soon after appeared with his vessels at the place appointed, near the quarters of the army; but it not being considered safe, Francisco de Maldonado was ordered to take the vessels along the coast to-

\*The particulars of this journey are related with minuteness by Herrera, who thus affords the best means of ascertaining the positions of the places visited by the Spaniards, from the time of their landing, to their establishment for the winter in Apalache.

wards the west, in search of some better harbor. Of the latter officer nothing was heard for two months, at the end of which information was received from him, that he had discovered an excellent port, called by the natives Ochus or Achusi, sixty leagues west of Anaica; and there he lay with his vessels, until the following spring.

This port of Ochus or Achusi, though described in the narratives of the expedition no farther than as an excellent harbor, situated sixty leagues west of Apalache, is one of the few places, if not the only place mentioned in those accounts, which can be identified with certainty at the present day. Eighteen years after its discovery by Maldonado, it was selected by the Spaniards as a proper spot for a naval station and a settlement, with which view a large number of persons were carried thither from Mexico, and it received the name of Bay of Santa Maria: this enterprise did not prove successful, and the Bay of Santa Maria was deserted for a hundred and thirty years longer, at the end of which period it was re-occupied and has ever since been known as the Bay of Pensacola.\* Anaica, the town in Apalache at which Hernando de Soto and his followers passed the winter of 1539, being sixty leagues east of Achusi, and ten leagues from the sea coast where Narvaez built his boats twelve years earlier, must have been situated between the Apalachicola and the Chactâ-hatchee river, probably near the line of separation between the States of Florida and Alabama; and it may have been the Aute, mentioned in the accounts of the expedition of Narvaez.

During the winter passed by the Spaniards in Apalache, they as usual treated the natives with the utmost inhumanity, keeping large numbers of them constantly employed in transporting provisions and in other labors; in return for which, several of the invaders fell victims to the rage of the overtaken Indians. Soto had in the meantime made inquiries respecting the interior regions, the answers to which were so little calculated to encourage the expectations of his followers, that they often clamorously demanded to be carried back to Cuba; but their general had firmly resolved never to return, until he had achieved something calculated to add to his fame; and having at length extracted from a

\* See accounts in the following chapter of the expedition of Arellano in 1558, and in Chapter VIII. of the establishment of the Spaniards at Pensacola in 1693.



poor, half-witted youth, who was found in slavery among the natives, some confused accounts of a country called Yupaha, far in the direction of the rising sun, where gold, silver and pearls abounded, he announced his intention to march thither in the ensuing spring. Orders were in consequence sent to Maldonado at Achusi, to proceed with the vessels to Cuba and obtain supplies of provisions, with which he was to return to that harbor, or to the mouth of the river of Espiritu Santo in the autumn; and on the 3d of March, 1540, the whole party, in number about six hundred, set off in search of Yupaha, accompanied by many Indians in chains as porters, and a drove of hogs which they had brought from the West Indies, as a resource, in case of scarcity of food.

From this time, nothing was heard of Hernando de Soto or of any of his followers, for three years. Maldonado returned according to his orders to Achusi, in the autumn; and after waiting there some time, he proceeded to the mouth of the river of Espiritu Santo and to other points on the coast, from which he went back to Cuba, without any news of his countrymen. The same course was taken by him in the next, and in each of the two ensuing years, with no more success; and preparations were in progress for a complete search through the interior of Florida, to be commenced in the spring of 1544, when information reached Cuba that a large number of persons who had been engaged in the expedition had arrived in Mexico. From the accounts of these persons, several narratives have been composed, differing, as might have been expected, on smaller points, but sufficiently concordant in general, to afford a tolerably clear view of the incidents of that famous enterprise, of which a concise statement will be now presented.

From Anaica, the Spaniards marched north-westward, and after passing a marsh, probably on the Chipola river, they reached a very large stream, no doubt the Apalachicola, along the side of which they proceeded northward, for several days, through many Indian towns, to a country called Cofachi, where they crossed the river on a sort of flying bridge. Continuing their course north-eastward, they passed other rivers, probably branches of the Flint, and then reached the country of Altamaha or Altamaca, where they first observed that the streams no longer

flowed southward to the Mexican Gulf, but took an eastward direction, to the Atlantic.\* These streams must have been the Ocmulgee and the Oconee,† the two great branches of the Altamaha; beyond them the country was much less fruitful and populous, and the Spaniards began to suffer from want of food, so much, that it became necessary to kill a number of their hogs. The poor youth who acted as their guide, here had a fit, which however passed off, after a prayer had been said over him: it moreover became evident that he knew nothing of the country, through which they were going; and the Adelantado was about to order him to be thrown to the dogs, when it was recollected that his services might be required as an interpreter, in case they should really find the land of gold and pearls.

After many days spent in traversing this poor country, called by the natives Patofa, the Spaniards arrived at a very large river, on the bank of which they marched upwards, in a northerly course, for some days; and then crossing it with much difficulty, and with the loss of several horses, they, in the latter part of April, reached the country of Cutifa-chiqui, which was declared by their guide to be the promised land of Yupaha. It was governed by a queen, who received the Spaniards with the utmost hospitality: she had neither gold nor silver, nor had any idea of those metals; but she supplied the strangers plentifully with corn, beans, and other provisions, and allowed them to rifle the temples, or places where the dead were deposited, of the pearls adorning their corpses.‡ The jewels thus collected, were probably nothing more than wampum, or beads made of shells, of no value; and this must have been well known to Soto, who had received the cushion of Atahualpa, the unfortunate sovereign of Peru, worked with the finest pearls of the South Sea, as his share of the spoils of that kingdom: but he did not allow the truth to be communicated to his men, among whom the plunder was fairly divided, as an earnest of what they might find in future.

\* Narrative of Biedma, in the Collection of Ternaux Compans.

† Ok or oke, signified water in the language of nearly all the nations of those countries.

‡ Garcilaso de la Vega gives full play to his imagination in the description of the great temple of Tolomeca, the capital of Cutifa-chiqui, which, according to his accounts, would have been a miracle of art and riches.



In the same temples, or more properly cemeteries, were found some iron hatchets, and other articles of Spanish manufacture; and upon enquiry, it appeared that they had been obtained from white men, who had come some years before, to the coast near the mouth of the river, and built houses, but had nearly all perished from disease and in contests among themselves. These circumstances, as well as the position of the country, left no doubt that the persons thus mentioned were Vazquez de Ayllon and his people, who had attempted to settle in Chicora in 1526; and the followers of Soto earnestly entreated to be allowed to establish themselves there, urging particularly, the advantages which would result from the foundation of a city on the coast, at which vessels might stop, on their way from Mexico and the West Indian islands to Spain. The Adelantado, however, as on the former occasions, rejected the inglorious proposition: he indeed sent persons down the river south-eastward, to seek its mouth, but they, after several days, returned without attaining their object; and having in the meantime learned that a rich country, called Coça, lay at some distance in the north-west, he took his departure for it on the 3d of May, with his whole force.

Cutifa-chiqui was no doubt in the western part of South Carolina, inhabited a century later by the warlike Catawbass,\* and the great river on which it bordered may have been the Savannah, or more probably one of the branches of the Santee falling into the Atlantic a little north of Charleston. On leaving the country, the Spaniards carried the queen with them as a hostage for the fidelity of her subjects, of whom a large number were, as usual, seized by the invaders, and compelled to act as guides and porters; her majesty, however, soon made her escape with one of her lovers, taking off, moreover, all her jewels. Marching northward up the valley of the river, Soto, in eight days, reached a poor and hilly country, occupied by a simple people called the Chalaqué, who supported themselves on roots and the produce of the chase; this was no doubt the westernmost part of North Carolina, occupied, until a recent period, by the Cherokees, or Tsalakees, as pronounced by some of their tribes. Continuing onwards in a western direction, the Spaniards crossed a range of mountains, and passing through Xualla, Guaxule and Canasauga,

\* May not Cutifa have been the Spanish expression of Cataba or Catawba?

(which latter name is still given to a place on one of the extreme north-eastern sources of the Coosa river,) they came to the considerable town of Chiaha, situated on an island in a large river, where they remained thirty days, feasting on Indian corn, wild turkies, bears' fat, nuts, plums, and mulberries.

The river in which Chiaha stood was very wide and deep, and was believed by the Spaniards to be that of *Espiritu Santo* or the Mississippi; it contained many islands, and its shores were covered with shell-fish, from which several pearls were obtained. These circumstances, together with the position of the place, as indicated by the course of the adventurers towards it, favor the supposition that it may have been situated in the Tennessee river, the largest stream of that region, which contains innumerable islands, and the shores of which, in many parts, abound in crustaceous animals.\* From Chiaha, the Spaniards, after they had sufficiently refreshed themselves, marched along the banks of the river several days, to another large town, called *Costé*, also situated on an island; and then taking a southward course, they arrived in the country of *Coga* on the 26th of July.

At *Costé*, small hatchets of copper were seen, which Soto learned had been brought from a region far in the north called *Chisca*, where that metal was found in great quantities, "with others of a finer, and brighter color;" and two Spaniards were accordingly sent with Indians, to seek additional information, respecting that region. After some time, this party returned with a report that they had travelled through a rough country for several days, without hearing of *Chisca*, or seeing any thing worthy of note, except the ox hides, one of which, very soft and covered with fine wool, they brought with them. This is the first allusion to the buffalo, in the accounts of the expedition; the men sent in search of *Chisca* had no doubt penetrated to the centre of the present State of Tennessee. Copper hatchets are found in many parts of North America, which must have been made of native copper, as the Indians do not appear to have been acquainted with the art of reducing the ore; and the metal was most probably all brought from the region about Lake Superior,

\* For instance at the Mussel Shoals in the northern part of Alabama, where the Tennessee spreads to a great breadth, embracing hundreds of islands, covered with those shell-fish.



where copper exists in its pure state, as well as in the ore, in greater quantities than in any other part of the world, yet known. Possibly that region may have been the Chisca which Soto was so anxious to discover.

Coça proved to be a fertile and delightful country, abounding in Indian corn and fruits of various kinds, particularly grapes, which grew on vines of extraordinary size; it no doubt embraced the north-western part of the present State of Georgia, and the adjoining region in Alabama, traversed by the Coosa, one of the head streams of the Alabama, than which no part of America possesses a climate more agreeable and salubrious, combined with a soil so productive. The Spaniards there displayed more than their usual violence towards the natives, whom they compelled to fly to the woods, and then hunted with bloodhounds, in order to secure their services, as guides or porters. Having in this manner accumulated a large quantity of provisions, and a sufficient number of Indians to carry them, Soto departed in the middle of August towards the south, apparently with the intention of regaining his vessels, which were expected to arrive at Achusi in the ensuing month, and returning in them to Cuba.

On their way from Coça the Spaniards passed through a populous country, containing many large towns, the names of which correspond in some cases exactly, and in others very nearly with those of places, since found occupied by the Muscoghee or Creeks. Among these towns were Tallimuchase and Itaua, the latter on a large stream, which may have been the Etowah, falling into the Coosa; farther on, they reached a larger river, probably the Coosa, beyond which were the towns of Ulibahali, Toasi and Talisé,\* all fortified by palisades of logs, covered with clay, as many places in that part of America were found in the last century. Proceeding thus south-westward, they crossed another river, probably the Cahawba, one of the branches of the Alabama, and entered the country of Tascaluça, where

\*Talisee was the name of one of the principal tribes of the Muscoghee, dwelling on the Coosa. Tali is the commencement of many of the names of places in that part of America. Tallimuchase may have been Tallahassee, a very common name, signifying old fields. Vestiges of many of these fortified towns still remain in that part of America, in the shape of vast ditches and mounds, particularly at Cahawba on the Alabama, and at the sites of the old Coweeta and Apalachoocla towns on the Chattahooche.

they were received with dignity and courtesy by the chief, a man of large stature, who supplied them plentifully with provisions, and gave them a number of his subjects as porters. Soto, however, being doubtful of the fidelity of this prince, seized him with several of his family, and carried them off as hostages; and the whole party, after crossing a very large river, probably the Tombigbee, arrived on the 18th of October at a town called Mavilla, which seems to have been also subject to the king of Tascaluça.

Tascaluça was no doubt the northern part of the country of the Chactās, traversed by the Tuscaloosa and Tombigbee rivers; Tascaluça, in the language of that nation, signifies Black Chief, and may have been the name of the proud king whom the Spaniards carried as a hostage to Mavilla. This latter place seems to have been situated near the point of junction of the Tombigbee and Alabama rivers; a tribe of Indians called Mowilla was found there at the beginning of the last century, by the French, who, in consequence, gave the name of Maubile or Mobile to the river and to their principal settlement in that quarter.

Mavilla contained more than two thousand inhabitants and was surrounded by a strong wall of logs and earth; in consequence of which, Luis de Moscoso, the second in command of the Spaniards, advised that they should encamp on the outside: but the Adelantado was determined to be more comfortably lodged, and the whole party accordingly established themselves in the houses, from which the natives were ejected with little ceremony. The imprudence thus committed was soon followed by disaster. The king of Tascaluça, burning under the sense of the indignities offered to him, entered into communication with the chiefs of the town, and a formidable conspiracy was organized. A number of people from the country entered Mavilla unperceived, and hid themselves in the houses not occupied by the Spaniards, whilst others were assembled on the adjoining plain as if for a dance. At a preconcerted signal, a rush was made by the Indians, on the place where the captives from Tascaluça were confined; and these people being liberated and armed, a general attack was begun on the unsuspecting strangers, several of whom fell under the clubs and arrows of the assailants, ere they could arm themselves for defence. European discipline nevertheless prevailed. The Adelantado, in a few moments, mustered his



men outside of the town, and then laid siege to it. The Indians fought with desperation, but they fell by hundreds, under the balls or swords of the Spaniards, who soon overturned their fortifications, and confined them to the centre of the place. Mavilla was then set on fire, and the besiegers, watching every outlet, drove back the wretched natives into the flames, which, in a few hours, reduced the town and its people to a heap of ashes and half burnt corpses. According to the accounts, several thousand\* Indians perished; but this was no doubt an exaggeration. The conquerors lost eighteen of their men, and many horses; besides which a large number were wounded, and nearly all their clothes, ammunition, tools, spare arms, and other valuable articles, having been unavoidably left in the houses, were destroyed or greatly injured.

The Spaniards remained eighteen days near Mavilla, after the destruction of that place, in order to afford time for the recovery of the wounded, and to save such articles as might not have been rendered entirely useless by the fire. Soto, meanwhile, received certain information from the Indians of the country, that his vessels were lying in the harbor of Achusi, distant about six days march from Mavilla. More than a hundred of his followers had died since their arrival in Florida, and every rational hope of advantage from this expedition must have disappeared: yet his proud spirit revolted at the idea of returning empty handed among his countrymen in Spain or the West Indies, to pass the remainder of his days in poverty and obscurity; and being convinced that his men would abandon the enterprise, if they should learn the arrival of the vessels in their vicinity, he ordered Juan Ortiz, the interpreter, to conceal the circumstance, and took his departure with the whole body towards the north on the 18th of November.

After that period the wanderings of the Spaniards seem to have been without any definite object, though it is most probable that their leader may have held out to them some inducement in order to secure their obedience; and a strong proof of his ability and of the confidence inspired by him, is afforded in the fact of their submitting to be thus led for years through forests and deserts, exposed to every species of danger and privation, with-

\* Garcilaso carries the number to eleven thousand!

out any attempt at resistance, and almost without a murmur. Their numbers were less than five hundred; but they carried with them twice as many Indians of both sexes, of whom the men were generally kept in chains, and were treated with great barbarity by their unfeeling masters.

From Mavilla, the Spaniards, in a few days, reached a country called Pafalaya,\* abounding in cane-brakes, through which ran a large river, probably the Tombigbee. This river they passed with great difficulty, on account of the determined opposition of the warlike natives, no doubt Chactās; and continuing in the same direction, they crossed another stream, and entered the country of the Chicaça, where they remained until March of the following year. These Chicaça were of course the Chickasās, who were found, two centuries afterwards, in possession of the territory between the heads of the Tombigbee and Yazoo rivers, now forming the northern part of the State of Mississippi: they displayed the same animosity to the Spaniards which was in later days shown by their descendants towards the French; and many encounters took place between the parties, in the course of which, several of the invaders lost their lives, and nearly all the arms, ammunition, and other articles saved at Mavilla, were destroyed by the burning of their quarters. On this last occasion perished Francisca Hinestrosa—the only Spanish woman in the expedition—who was taken in labor at the moment of the attack, and could not be extricated from the burning town; fifty horses were also consumed, together with the greater part of the hogs, which formed the principal resource against famine.

Soto, however, shewed no signs of discouragement: forges were set up, in which the swords injured by the fire were re-tempered; lances, bucklers, and substitutes for saddles were made, and thus equipped, the party resumed their journey on the 25th of April. They were constantly harrassed on the way by the Chicaça, who often erected temporary forts of logs at points where the Spaniards were expected to pass; but all these obstacles were overcome, and the wanderers at length passing through

\* In the languages of the Chactās and Chickasās, Paas means hair, and Falaya or Faraa, as pronounced by different tribes, signifies long. Paa-faraah, the Long-hair, was the name of a distinguished Chactā chief, in the middle of the last century. See Adair's History of the American Indians.



the countries of Alimamu and Quizquiz, reached the Great River—the Rio Grande del Espiritu Santo, of their early navigators—the Mico, or King River of the Indians—of which such wonderful accounts had been daily received. It fully equalled their anticipations as to its breadth, depth and rapidity, and the number of trees uprooted and borne down by its current. By all these signs, there is no difficulty in recognizing the Mississippi.\*

The Spaniards, most probably, reached the Mississippi, near the southernmost of the cliffs, now called the Chickasā Bluffs, where the flourishing city of Memphis, in Tennessee, is situated; as the country bordering the Great River for more than two hundred miles farther south, is rendered inaccessible on the east, by marshes. Soto immediately determined to cross it, and four barges, each large enough to contain sixty men and five horses, were accordingly constructed, in which the passage was made early in June, 1541, in the face of a crowd of savages assembled in canoes, to bar the way to the invaders. At the place of their landing, the Spaniards found an Indian village, from which they proceeded, in their boats, for some distance up the stream, to the towns of the Icasqui; and farther north, they reached another nation called Pacaha or Capaha, among whom they remained until August. An exploring party was meanwhile sent westward, to enquire for Chisca, or for some route to the Pacific; but after advancing several days in that direction, they returned with a report, that the country consisted of vast plains, covered with grass so high that the horses were buried in it, and inhabited only by bands of Indians, who lived by hunting the hump-backed cattle.

It would be an unsatisfactory task, to attempt to follow the Spaniards in their fruitless wanderings through the regions west of the Mississippi, during the summer of 1541. They seem to have marched westward, as far as the range of highlands, containing the sources of the White river, and thence southwardly along the base of that ridge, crossing the Arkansās at some distance above its mouth, to the head waters of the Washita.

\* Mississippi or Meshasibi—compounded of Missi or Mesha great, and Sipou or Sibi water—was the name of the river, among the Indian nations west of Lake Michigan, from whom the French first received definite accounts of it about 1670. In the regions of the upper Ohio, it was called Namesi-Sipou or Fish river; the Choctā name is Okinna-chitto, meaning the Great water-path.

In a country called Cayas, they spent a month near a lake of very hot water, most probably the celebrated Hot Springs in the centre of the present State of Arkansas. They also found there, as at many other places, copious springs of salt water, from which they obtained supplies of salt for themselves and their horses: and then continuing their journey in the same course, they reached a plentiful region called Autiamque, where they remained during the winter, supporting themselves on Indian corn, prunes, persimmons, dried venison, and other savage dainties, of which they robbed the natives.

To this period, the Spaniards had procured information as to their course, from the natives of the different countries traversed, through their interpreter Juan Ortiz, who being well acquainted with the language of the inhabitants of the peninsula of Florida, was able, with the aid of others trained by him on the way, to keep up these communications, though they passed, in some cases, through twelve different interpreters: but he unfortunately died in Autiamque, and they were thenceforth constantly led astray by those on whom they relied for instructions, as to the character of the countries or the nations before them. They thus found themselves in the spring of 1542, without any means of determining whither they had best proceed; and in this alternative, they had only to make their way back to the Mississippi, which they did by following a stream, probably the Washita, downward, laboring constantly against embarrassments, from lakes and marshes. Above the confluence of the two streams, and between them, lay the fertile and populous territory of Guachoya, the sovereign of which informed the Spaniards of another country, called Quigalta, situated on the opposite side of the river, at the distance of three days journey farther south, and governed by a powerful lord of the same name, to whom all around paid tribute. To this potentate, Soto sent a message, requiring him immediately to appear and do homage to the Son of the Sun, whom all obeyed: the Indian, however, replied in the same tone, professing his readiness to receive the strangers in his country, as friends or as enemies, according to their conduct, but refusing to submit to the self-styled Son of the Sun, until he should have proved his lineage by drying up the Great River.



The Spanish commander would no doubt have proceeded at once to chastise this audacious savage, had he been in a condition to do so: but his health was then rapidly declining, in consequence of the fatigues to which he had been so long and constantly exposed; and he was seized with a slow fever, which, on the 21st of May, 1542, terminated the life of "the virtuous, valiant and renowned Captain Don Hernando de Soto, Governor of Cuba and Adelantado of Florida, whom fortune," says the Portuguese narrative of his expedition, "raised, as it does others, to a great height, in order that his fall should be the more remarkable." He died in the forty-second year of his age, calmly, and with a conscience free from reproach; thanking his men for their obedience and good conduct, in the many trying scenes through which they had passed, and asking them only to pray to God to forgive his sins, and receive his soul into eternal glory.

The death of Soto was carefully concealed from the Indians, who regarded him as a being of superior intelligence—most probably as the incarnation of some destroying spirit—and he was buried secretly in the camp: but his followers, fearing that after their departure, some indignity might be offered to his remains, disinterred them and committed them at midnight to the current of the great river, the noblest, as well as the safest of sepulchres. The king of Guachoya was, however, convinced of the death of the Spanish chief, and he came to the camp some days afterwards, bringing two of his subjects to be sacrificed in honor of the deceased, according to the custom of his nation; Moscoso, who succeeded to the command, thanked him for his attention, assuring him that Soto had ascended to heaven, and ordered the liberation of the proposed victims, who gladly took refuge with their liberators, from the power of their inhuman master.

A careful examination of the narratives of the expedition, leads to the conclusion, that the place of Soto's death, was on the right or western bank of the Mississippi, in the present State of Louisiana, nearly opposite the mouth of the Big Black river. When that part of America was first visited by the French, in the latter years of the following century, it was occupied by a small but powerful nation, called the Taensas, nearly opposite to whom, though a little lower down the stream, were the Natchez, another small but influential confederacy of tribes, afterwards celebrated

in the history of the Mississippi regions, for their obstinate resistance to the establishment of the European dominion in their country. These were the only remarkable nations inhabiting the banks of the Mississippi, below the Ohio, at the period last mentioned; and the only nations moreover, so far as known, among which human sacrifices were made, at the funerals of distinguished personages: and under all these circumstances, it appears to be more than probable, that the Guachoya and Quigalta, mentioned in the accounts of the expedition of Soto, were respectively the countries of the Taensas and the Natchez.

The Spaniards regarded the death of their commander with but little regret, being wearied with their fatiguing and unprofitable wanderings, and anxious to return among their countrymen; and the announcement by their new chief, Moscoso, of his intention to lead them by the most direct route to Mexico, was received by the whole body, with the utmost satisfaction. With respect to the route to be pursued, examinations had already shown the country on the west bank of the Mississippi, to be nearly impassable, from lakes and marshes; and on the other side, they would be exposed to the enmity of the daring Quigaltans, Chickasās, and other nations, already infuriated against them; while large vessels would be required to effect the voyage to New Spain, through the river and the gulf. It was therefore concluded, that they should take a south-west course, by which they might reach some Spanish settlement in a few months, unless they should be arrested by deserts, marshes, or enemies.

They accordingly quitted Guachoya on the 5th of June, and marched slowly westward, with their slaves and mistresses amounting in all to fifteen hundred persons. After crossing numerous streams, lakes and marshes, they arrived in the country of Naguatex, on a great river; and thence continuing their journey through the territories of the Nisone, the Nandacao, the Naquiscoca, the Aays, and the Naçacahoz, corresponding in name as in position, with the Nasoni, the Nadaco, the Natchitoches, the Adayes, and the Nacogdoches, who in the following century occupied the countries about the Red river and the upper Sabine, they in September reached another large stream, called the Daycao, no doubt the same now known as the Trinity. An exploring party sent forward reported the country to be a desert,



inhabited only by a few wandering Indians, who lived "like Arabs," on roots, fruits and game; and all hopes of reaching New Spain by that route, being thus destroyed, the whole body returned to the Mississippi, on the banks of which, they passed the winter, in a country called Minoya, a little north of their former quarters in Guachoya.

During this winter, many of the Spaniards died; the others were occupied in building vessels, in which they resolved to attempt the passage to Mexico, by way of the river and the sea. For this purpose, great exertions were made: timber was cut and hewed into planks; the chains of their Indian captives were struck off, and converted into nails and bolts; ropes were manufactured of the bark of trees, and of the skins of buffaloes and horses; and an herb like hemp, found growing in the country, supplied oakum for caulking. The only cooper in the party fell sick; but "it pleased God to restore him to health," and he made two large casks for each vessel. In the spring of 1543, they were exposed to great difficulties, and lost much time, in consequence of the sudden rising of the river, which overflowed the place of their habitation and labors; they however preserved their vessels and materials, though they were unable to work in the two months during which the flood continued.

In the meantime, some of the Indian slaves, thus freed from their shackles, concerted a plan with the people of Minoya and Guachoya, for murdering the Spaniards, and seizing upon the treasures, in the shape of swords, lances, and other iron articles, which were about to be carried away by the hated white men: but Moscoso discovered the plot in time to prevent its execution; and he effectually stifled all such projects, by driving the ringleaders from the camp without their hands and noses. The slaves were however not all enemies to their masters: a large proportion were women, and there were also many children, the fruits of the intercourse, perhaps in some cases of the loves, of the Spaniards, with those dark daughters of the wilderness; and relations had been thus formed, which neither party desired to break. The women regarded with dismay, the preparations for the departure of their lords; and the latter addressed many petitions to Moscoso for permission to carry their favorites and children with them: but the commander was inexorable on this point, insisting that

no Indians should be taken in the vessels, except those absolutely required for rowing.

At length in the beginning of July, 1543, the Spaniards had completed seven small brigantines, which were merely large boats, without decks, and of very rude and slender construction, and some canoes for the transportation of their whole number, and of twenty-two horses. The remainder of the horses and the hogs had been killed, and their skins were used to cover the bottoms of the boats, and for other purposes, the flesh being dried for food on the voyage; the other provisions consisted of Indian corn and beans, of which large quantities had been collected by forage on the natives of the surrounding country.

The preparations being thus completed, the Spaniards, three hundred and twenty-two in number, embarked on the 2d of July, taking with them one hundred Indians, who were to be employed when necessary, in rowing. The remaining captives, several hundred in number, were left on the river bank, the men pouring forth curses on their departing tyrants, which were however drowned by the shrill wailings of the deserted women and children. The voyage down the Mississippi was attended with some dangers, from the enmity of the Indians. The chief of Guachoya invited the Spaniards to land, as they passed his town, on the day following that of their departure from Minoya; but the invitation was declined, and they continued onward, with little labor, aided by the force of the current. The people fled from the small towns as soon as the squadron appeared in sight, and their corn and meat became the prize of the Spaniards; but on the third day, when the vessels came before Quigalta, a hundred canoes, filled with warriors, were seen drawn up to oppose their progress. Juan de Guzman was sent by Moscoso, with fifteen men to clear the way, which proved to be no easy task; for the Indians leaped into the water, and grappling the canoes overturned them, so that only eleven of the Spaniards were saved: Guzman when last seen, was in the hands of the savages, and was probably sacrificed before the temple at Natchez. The brigantines were next assailed, and their men having no arms, except a few old cross-bows, and no means of protection, other than mats and hides under which they crept, were severely galled by the arrows of the Quigaltans: the mighty current of the stream



however, enabled them to distance their pursuers, and no other attack was made upon them by large forces.

At some distance below Quigalta, the Spaniards landed and killed nearly all the horses, leaving the others on the bank: and they dismissed the remainder of their Indian captives. Continuing their voyage, they, on the seventeenth day, reached the point at which the river divides into separate channels; and the whole party taking one passage, they soon beheld opening before them, the broad expanse of the Mexican Gulf. According to their computations, they had navigated on the great river about two hundred and fifty leagues from the place of their departure in Minoya to the sea; agreeably to which, their brigantines must have been built near the line of separation, between the States of Louisiana and Arkansas, that is about two hundred miles above the city of Natchez: and as this last distance seems to correspond with that which they might be supposed to have passed, in their three days' voyage from Minoya to Quigalta, there is additional reason for considering the last mentioned place, as identical with Natchez.

The Spaniards were by this time worn down with rowing and watching: for many days they had eaten nothing but boiled corn, which was distributed at the rate of a helmet full for three men per day; and their prospects were indeed gloomy and embarrassing. At the mouth of the river they anchored, and a council was called, in which each man was required to give his opinion freely. Juan de Añasco, "who presumed much on his knowledge of navigation," remembered that he had seen a chart, on which the coast of the gulf was represented as running from east to west to the River of Palms, and thence southward to Panuco; and he recommended in consequence, that they should strike across the sea south-westward, instead of losing time by following the shore westward, as others recommended. Moscoso was of the same opinion; but the great majority protested against it on account of the weakness of their vessels, their want of charts and compasses, and the insufficiency of the casks for carrying water, under which circumstances either a storm or a calm might prove fatal: and it was finally agreed that they should take the other and safer course. Accordingly, on the 18th of July, they weighed anchor, and were soon carried out to sea by the current of the

river, the water of which they drank until the next day; and then began their voyage along the coast towards Mexico.

The voyage of the Spaniards along the coast of the Mexican Gulf, westward from the mouth of the Mississippi, was slow, but comparatively safe and easy. They obtained fish in abundance for food, and fresh water when needed from streams or wells dug near the shore; and their chief annoyance seems to have proceeded from the mosquitoes, which blackened their sails. After some days, they took refuge from a storm in an extensive arm of the sea, probably the same now known as Galvezton Bay; and on leaving it, they were rejoiced to find the coast trending southward. Sailing in that direction some time longer, they saw palm leaves floating on the sea, and high mountains soon after appeared at a distance in the land, giving assurance of their approach to New Spain. At length they reached the mouth of a river, the waters from which were muddy, and broke with violence on a shoal; and entering it, they beheld Indians in the dress of their countrymen, who informed them in Spanish, that the river was the Panuco. Their joy on receiving this announcement, was beyond expression by words, and burst forth in tears, shouts and thanks to the Almighty, for their deliverance from the perils by which they had been so long environed. Thus animated, they rowed with redoubled energy up the stream, and on the 11th of September, 1543, they landed at the Spanish settlement of Panuco, above the present town of Tampico, three hundred and eleven persons in all of the six hundred who had entered Florida with Soto four years previous.

The wanderers were received with every kindness at Panuco, and an express was sent to bear the news of their arrival to the Viceroy Mendoza, who immediately invited them to the capital. Thither they accordingly went, but the spirit of adventure which had so long sustained them, was not to be suppressed in a moment. The comparisons which they made between Florida and New Spain were so disadvantageous to the latter country, that they upbraided their officers for bringing them thither; and their only prayer to the Viceroy, on arriving in Mexico, was that he would afford them the means of establishing themselves in Coça or on the Great river. This was, however, refused by Mendoza, who had been already nearly ruined by expeditions



for discovery and settlements; and the company of bold Castilians, who had so long faced dangers of all kinds, together, was dissolved. Some settled in Mexico as tradesmen or mechanics, and some entered convents, where they passed the remainder of their lives in prayers and indolence; but the majority betook themselves to the West Indies, and thence to Peru, where new scenes of adventure were opened by the contest between Gonzalo Pizarro, and the president Gasca.

This expedition of Hernando de Soto, has perhaps occupied a more prominent place in the history of the New World, than it merited, either from its events or its results. The extent of territory explored, and the stern determination displayed on all occasions, by those engaged in it, were indeed remarkable: nothing however was effected, and very little was learned by the expedition; and the sameness of the character, the productions and the inhabitants of the countries traversed, and the common-place nature of the incidents, render vain all attempts to invest the accounts of it with that poetic interest, which is inseparable from every narrative, however inartificial, of the proceedings of Cortés or Pizarro.

Whilst this expedition was in progress, another large body of Spaniards under Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, had been despatched by the Viceroy of Mexico, to explore the regions north west of that kingdom, and to conquer the rich province of Cibola, which friar Marcos de Niza pretended to have discovered near the 36th degree of latitude. Three years were spent by this party, in rambling through the division of the continent, north-east of the Californian Gulf, traversed by the rivers now known as the Yaqui, the Gila, the Colorado and the upper streams of the Rio del Norte, and the Arkansas, where many large tracts of fertile and agreeable territory were found, occupied by people not absolutely barbarous, but entirely destitute of the wealth and refinement, attributed to them in the accounts of the imaginative friar. Two squadrons were at the same time employed in exploring the seas northwest of Mexico; one was sent by Cortés, under Francisco de Ulloa, who surveyed the coasts of the Californian Gulf, (then called the Sea of Cortés and the Vermillion Sea,) and afterwards those of the main Pacific, as far north as the 36th degree of latitude; Hernando de Alarcon, the commander of the other

vessels despatched by the Viceroy Mendoza, also examined the shores of the Gulf of California, and penetrated from it to a considerable distance up the great river Colorado, which falls into its northern extremity. The Pacific coasts were subsequently in 1542, more minutely surveyed by Juan Rodriquez Cabrillo, who traced them beyond the 43rd parallel, though not far enough to destroy the common belief, in the connection of the new continent with Asia.\*

The Spanish dominion in Mexico was in the meantime becoming daily stronger, and more assured, under the wise and firm administration of Mendoza, who seems to have been admirably qualified for the arduous task assigned to him, of establishing law and order, in place of the violence and corruption every where prevailing. The conqueror Cortés, broken in health, in spirits, and in fortune, had retired in 1540 to Spain, where he spent in chagrin and neglect, the evening of a life, the noon-day of which had been so brilliant.

At this period also, the English and the French renewed their attempts to explore the western coasts of the Atlantic, in search of passages to India, or of rich or fertile countries, for conquest or settlement. Of the voyages made with such objects, those most worthy of note were conducted by the French under Jacques Cartier, who, in 1534, discovered the Gulf on the western side of Newfoundland, and the great river emptying into it, and gave to the adjacent territory the name of Canada—for what reason is not exactly known. In the following year Cartier made another voyage, in which he penetrated up the great river, then first called by him the St. Lawrence, as far as the island of Hochelaga, where the city of Montreal now stands; and on his return to France, he endeavored to obtain from his sovereign the command of an armament, for the occupation and settlement of the country. Nothing however was done with this view, until 1541, when Cartier was entrusted by Francis I. with a squadron, to prosecute the exploration of the St. Lawrence; but the possession and right to settle, were conferred on François de Roberval, with the title of Lieutenant General of Canada, Saguenay and Hochelaga;

\*Particular accounts of the expeditions mentioned in this paragraph may be found in the first chapter of the History of Oregon and California, by the author of the present work.



an arrangement of course not gratifying to the feelings of the discoverer of those territories. Cartier accordingly sailed to the St. Lawrence, where he built a fort called Charlesbourg, in honor of the second son of the king, near the spot now occupied by Quebec; and Roberval went thither in 1542, with a number of vagabonds from the streets of Paris as colonists: but concert between the two commanders was impossible, and the whole project failed. Roberval made another attempt for the same purpose some years after, with no more success; and though the gulf and river of St. Lawrence were frequented by fishing vessels, from all parts of western Europe, during that century, no farther efforts were made to occupy their coasts until 1607.

With the expedition of Hernando de Soto through the countries north of the Mexican Gulf, the heroic, or rather the romantic age of American history, may be considered as ending. It was by that time nearly, if not fully established, that no nations, undiscovered by Europeans, existed in the New World, from the conquest of which, either wealth or glory could be gained; and it appeared to be no less commonly admitted that the western continent, if not actually joined to Asia, extended uninterruptedly northward as well as southward, beyond the latitudes within which any channel connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific, could be advantageously used for navigation between Europe and India. It seems also to have been generally concluded, from the observations made in the expeditions of Narvaez and Soto, that Florida contained no mines of precious metals; and this opinion prevailed, without contradiction by facts, for more than two centuries longer, during which the great line of auriferous rocks, stretching south-westward from the Potomac to the Mobile, continued hidden from the greedy eyes of the European race. Had a single lump or a few grains of gold been found by Hernando de Soto, while traversing the hills of Coça, where the veins of that metal are richest, the fate of the North American continent might have been far different: the territories now forming the States of Alabama, Georgia, and the Carolinas, might have been filled with a Spanish population; and on the shores of Chesapeake Bay, might have arisen a Vera Cruz, or a Panamá, as the depository of the trade between those regions and the mother country beyond the Atlantic.

## CHAPTER IV.

1544 TO 1574.

FIRST SETTLEMENTS OF EUROPEANS IN FLORIDA—EXPEDITION OF ARELLANO—SETTLEMENTS OF THE HUGUENOTS UNDER RIBAUT AND LAUDOUNIERE—EXTERMINATION OF THE FRENCH, AND OCCUPATION OF EASTERN FLORIDA BY THE SPANIARDS UNDER MENENDEZ.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ill success, which attended the expeditions of the Spaniards, under Narvaez and Soto, into the interior of Florida, persons were found anxious to embark in similar enterprises, for the exploration and possession of that country. Two brothers, Julian de Samaño and Pedro de Ahumada, men of large fortune, earnestly entreated the emperor, to grant them commissions for that purpose, immediately after the return of the survivors of the party of Soto : but the Council of the Indies opposed the project, on the ground of the impolicy of then extending the Spanish settlements in the New World, and their applications were in consequence refused.

Attempts were however, made through the exertions of Bartolomé de las Casas, then Bishop of Chiapas in Guatemala, to establish missionary stations on the coasts of Florida, for the conversion of the natives to Christianity. With this object, the Dominican friars, Luis Cancer, Gregorio Beteta, and others of their order, landed in 1549, at the Bay of Espiritu Santo, (probably the mouth of the Suwannee river :) but the cruelties committed by the Spaniards, under Narvaez and Soto, were fresh in the minds of the natives of that region, who immediately attacked



the missionaries, and put several of them to death, before they could regain their vessels.\*

The war between France and Spain in the meantime continued with little intermission; and the privateers of the former nation committed great ravages on the maritime commerce of Spain, particularly by attacking the richly freighted ships proceeding from Mexico, of which many were annually taken, in their passage from the gulf to the Atlantic, between Cuba and Florida. A number of Spanish vessels were also, at the same period, lost on the Florida coasts, along which they were carried from Vera Cruz, by the current of the gulf; and on those occasions, the crews, when they escaped from the waves, usually died of starvation, or were murdered or enslaved by the Indians. One of these ships of the first class, carrying a thousand persons, was thus wrecked in 1553, probably near the entrance of the large stream now called the Brazos: three hundred of her crew succeeded in reaching the shore, along which they endeavored to make their way back to Mexico; not more than half of their number, however, arrived at Panuco, the others having perished from hunger, disease, or the clubs and arrows of the savages. The particulars of their journey are related by the historians of the period;† but the accounts are too vague on geographical points, to afford precise ideas as to their route: several rivers are mentioned, as crossed by the travellers, before reaching the River of Palms, one of which called by them Rio Bravo or Bold river, may have been the same now known as the Colorado; though the name of Rio Bravo was subsequently applied to the larger stream entering the gulf farther south, near the 26th degree of latitude, which seems to have been originally called the River of Palms.

At this period, several changes took place among the sovereigns of western Europe, which materially affected the political

\* Accounts of this missionary expedition are presented by Torquemada and Barcia; the most particular is however that contained in the narrative of Friar Gregorio de Beteta, addressed to the Viceroy of New Spain immediately on his return from Florida, of which a French translation may be found in the Collection of Ternaux Compans.

† "Ensayo Chronologico, para la Historia General de la Florida"—A Chronological History of Florida, by A. G. Barcia, published at Madrid in 1723, under the name of Gabriel de Cardenas Z. Cano—the anagram of that of the author. To this work frequent reference will be made in the ensuing pages.

condition of those countries, and their relations with each other, and contributed in the end to fix the destinies of a large portion of the New World. In January 1547, Henry VIII. of England died, leaving his throne to his only son Edward VI. a delicate boy of ten years of age; and two months afterwards, Francis I. of France, was in like manner succeeded by the Dauphin, who reigned as Henry II. During the short life of the young sovereign of England, the cause of religious reform, embraced and protected by his government, seemed to be firmly rooted in that kingdom; and under the encouragement thus afforded, the same spirit of opposition to the supremacy of the church of Rome, was rapidly increasing in Germany, France and the Netherlands, notwithstanding the severities exercised towards those who maintained it, by Henry II. and occasionally by Charles V. The hopes of the Protestants, as the reformers called themselves, were however checked in 1553 by the death of Edward VI. and the accession of his eldest sister Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Arragon, to the English crown; and they were reduced to despair in the following year, when that Queen was united in marriage with her cousin Philip, the eldest son of Charles V. and heir-apparent to the Spanish throne, who had already exhibited the most determined and ferocious hatred to their cause. How fully these anticipations of evil were realized, it is unnecessary here to show, as every one is acquainted with the dreadful events, which marked the reign of Philip and Mary in England; and still more gloomy were the prospects of the reformers rendered in 1556, when Philip became king of Spain, in consequence of the abdication of his father, whom policy had led on many occasions to protect them against the efforts of their enemies.

The dominions of Spain in the West Indies, had by that time assumed a form and consistency, which appeared to promise duration, as well as advantage to the mother country; and the system on which those possessions were to be governed, had been adopted and applied, such as it continued with little variation, as long as the supremacy of Spain was preserved in the American continents. The fundamental principle of this system was, that the whole of the New World except Brazil, belonged of right, exclusively to Spain, and should be kept forever in entire and absolute dependance on that kingdom; with which view foreign-



ers were to be excluded from those territories, and the Spanish settlements were moreover to be restrained in the development of their resources, so as to prevent the possibility of their becoming independent of the parent State. The heaviest penalties were accordingly declared against all subjects of other nations, who should visit the portion of the New World thus claimed by Spain, or navigate the sea in its vicinity; and the extension of the settlements, and their intercourse with each other, and with Spain, were regulated by peremptory laws, general or special, all emanating from the Council of the Indies, over which the sovereign himself was supposed to preside on all occasions.

Mexico and Peru were the only parts of the New World found occupied by people accustomed to regular labor: and as in those parts moreover, the precious metals were most abundant, the Spanish government directed its attention to them in preference; leaving the others to be settled at such points, and at such periods only, as circumstances might seem to indicate, in order to secure them from falling into the power of foreign nations. Establishments, civil, military and ecclesiastical, were accordingly formed in Mexico and Peru, similar to those in the European dominions of Spain; each division had its archbishop and bishops, and over each was placed a viceroy, representing the power and person of the monarch, and nominally absolute in his territories, though really checked in all respects by the Audiencia, which combined the attributes of a high court of appeals, a board of administration, and a council of government, and was responsible only to the sovereign. The other political divisions of the Indies, were governed by captains general, possessing more limited powers, and subject in many cases to the control of the viceroys.

The commerce of the Indies was under the special direction of the Casa de Contratacion, or House of Contracts, established at Seville, from which port all shipments were made for those countries, and at which all vessels coming from them discharged their cargoes; while each division of the trans-atlantic dominions, had in like manner its exclusive port of entry and departure, and its board of trade, subordinate to the House of Contracts. The centre of commerce of the Mexican Gulf was Vera Cruz, which had been removed in 1526, from the place selected by Cortés, to

one farther south, at the entrance of the river Antigua, twelve miles north of the city now bearing that name. Treasures and merchandize to and from Peru, were transported across the isthmus, between Panamá and Portobelo: the dangers and difficulties of the navigation through Magellan's Strait, had caused that route to be abandoned, and the Spanish government had become so well convinced of the evils which might result from the discovery or opening of a more convenient channel of communication between the two oceans, that all attempts with that object, were declared to be penal offences.

The Indian provinces received from Spain all articles which could be brought from that country; and in return, they sent precious metals, sugar, dye woods, and a few other tropical productions. In Mexico, the mines of silver and gold found in operation at the time of the conquest, were few, and the amounts received from them were small, in consequence of the imperfect mode of working them: many others were however soon discovered, especially in the unsettled regions north-west of the dominions of Montezuma, which vastly increased the value of those possessions to Spain. In 1550, the rich silver veins of Zacatecas were opened; five years afterwards, Durango was founded by Francisco Ibarra, in a district abounding in mineral wealth; and the mines of San Juan, Ainde, and Santa Barbara, were discovered in the territory then called New Biscay, near the headwaters of the River Conchos, which were long regarded as the most productive in the world. The explorations for this object were usually commenced by missionaries, who employed the influence acquired by them over the natives, to obtain a knowledge of the places where precious metals might be obtained: then came military and civil officers, who examined the spots, and selected those around which the country was most fertile, for settlements; and on such spots, colonies were established, by means of arbitrary draughts of natives, from the old and populous provinces, chiefly from Tlascala, where the people were remarkable for their industry and docility. The same system was adopted in Peru, with equal success; and the Spaniards thus possessing in those two divisions of their Indian empire, as many mines as they could conveniently work, and regarding gold and silver as the best returns which could be derived from them,



discouraged all labors not tending directly or indirectly to increase the supply of the precious metals.

In the West India islands and on the Atlantic coasts of the continent, south of that archipelago, where settlements were formed by the Spaniards, the aborigines had nearly all disappeared, the laws for their protection having proved ineffectual in every respect, and the labor was performed by negro slaves, of whom large numbers were annually introduced from Africa, in defiance of the efforts of the government to prevent it. In Mexico and Peru, the native population, though much reduced since the conquest of those countries, was still considerable; and every means was employed by the Spanish Government to preserve and increase it. The lands were all owned by the crown, or by individuals to whom they were granted, with their occupants, on the conditions that the latter should be treated with kindness and forbearance by their lords, be instructed in the principles and practice of the Christian religion, and be induced by mild means to labor diligently, and to adopt the arts and usages of civilized life. These humane provisions were, however, disregarded in Mexico and Peru, as in the other parts of the Indies; and the natives were subjected to the same cruelty and rapacity, which had depopulated Cuba and Hispaniola, until the ecclesiastical power had been seriously engaged in their behalf. The efforts of Las Casas with that object, have been already mentioned; he was ably seconded by the Dominicans, and the members of several other orders; and in 1536, a Bull\* was issued by Pope Paul III., solemnly declaring the aborigines of the trans-atlantic countries to be "men" (which had been previously questioned,) and denouncing as criminal, all attempts to enslave them, or to deprive them of the benefits of the church. From that period, the condition of the natives was improved, particularly in Mexico, where they were shielded in a considerable degree from personal ill treatment, and especially from being sold, or transported against their will, from their respective districts, except for the service of the government, which reserved to itself the right of levying as many men as might be required, for working mines or forming colonies.

The Spanish population in Mexico and Peru was compara-

\* See the Bull in Torquemada, book 17, chapter 5.

tively small, and the government took no pains to increase it, farther than might be absolutely necessary to control and direct the Indians, whose ignorance and apathy rendered them the best and safest instruments for all the purposes contemplated in those countries. The other divisions of the empire presented few inducements to emigrants who would not work themselves, and had no capital to invest in negroes: the returns for such investments, especially in Cuba and Hispaniola, were, however, so great, that those islands might be considered as in a prosperous condition; and Santo Domingo and Havanna, were rising into importance as commercial depositories.

The Spanish government considered Peru as sufficiently secured against invasions from other European nations, by the difficulty of reaching it. Mexico was, however, much exposed to such dangers; and the French privateers, which continued to infest the approaches to the gulf, might open the way to more powerful armaments from France or England. This was clearly seen by Philip II., who, from the moment of his assumption of the crown of Spain, displayed the strongest interest in his transatlantic possessions; and he immediately signified his accordance with the recommendations of the Council of the Indies, that naval stations and colonies should be established on the northern coasts of the Mexican Gulf, as the most effectual means of averting the anticipated evils. Orders were in consequence sent in 1557, to the Viceroy of Mexico, to have the shores of Florida on the Atlantic, as well as on the Gulf, carefully examined; and to occupy without delay, such points as might be most convenient for the contemplated objects.

The Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco, who succeeded Mendoza in 1550, and had strongly urged the occupation of the Florida coasts, lost no time in preparing an expedition for that purpose; and whilst the equipment of vessels and the collection of men were in progress, he despatched Guido de las Bazaes, a pilot well acquainted with the navigation of the gulf to select a proper spot for the first establishment. Bazaes accordingly sailed from San Juan de Ulua in September, 1558, and running along the coast northward, he first entered and examined a bay in latitude of  $28\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, named by him the Bay of San Francisco, which was most probably the same now known as Matagorda Bay, in



Texas, where the French, under La Salle, attempted to form a settlement in 1685. Thence proceeding eastward, he made the land of Florida in latitude of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, and passing among a group of islands, situated near the coast, he discovered a large bay, opening to the gulf between the extremity of a long island and the mainland, which he entered and surveyed with care. This bay, according to the report of Bazares, extended fifteen leagues northward from its entrance to its extremity, where it received a great river, and was about four leagues in breadth; the depth of water at the entrance was between three and four fathoms, and somewhat more within: the banks on the east were high and red; on the other sides they were low, and covered with trees and vines. The climate was agreeable, and appeared to be healthy; the surrounding country bore every mark of fertility; and the pilot conceiving that he had found what was required, took possession of the place, which he named the Philippine Bay, in honor of his sovereign, and returned with the news to Vera Cruz before the end of the year.\*

The viceroy being satisfied with the account presented by Bazares, of the advantages of the Philippine Bay, determined that a colony should be immediately planted on it; and with that object, a large fleet departed from Vera Cruz in June 1559, carrying more than fifteen hundred persons of all classes, under the command of Tristan de Luna y Arellano, who had been appointed Governor and Captain General of Florida. On the 28th of the month, these ships were off the mouth of the river of Espiritu Santo, or the Mississippi; and being thence driven eastward, they on the 2d of July saw the land of Florida, in latitude of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, near the entrance of the Bay of Miruelo, which was most probably the same, now called the Bay of St. Andrew, a little west of the Apalachicola river. There they remained at anchor until the 17th, when they again set sail, and running along the coast to the west, they soon reached the Philippine Bay, where the horses and the greater part of the soldiers and colonists were immediately landed. Arellano however, was by

\* A French translation of the report of Bazares to the Viceroy Velasco, is given by Ternaux Compans in his "Recueil de Voyages," from which an English translation may be found in the Proofs and Illustrations at the end of this volume, under the letter A.

no means so well pleased with this place, as the pilot had been: he found it difficult of access from the narrowness and want of depth of the channel at its entrance; and being persuaded that it must be inferior in all respects, to the port of Achusi, discovered by Maldonado in the expedition of Soto, he determined to remove his people to the latter place, which he knew, from the accounts of that expedition, to be situated at a short distance eastward. The vessels accordingly proceeding twenty leagues along the coast in that direction, found and entered the harbor of Achusi, on the 15th of August, where they were soon joined by the soldiers and settlers who had marched thither, across the country; and the governor being satisfied with the results of his survey, ordered the stores and materials to be landed on the shore of the harbor, the name of which, was changed to that of Santa Maria, in honor of the arrival of the fleet, on the day of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin.\*

The bay of Achusi or Santa Maria, described in the report of Arellano, as one of the best in the Indies, opening to the Mexican Gulf in latitude of 30 degrees 20 minutes, with red cliffs traversed by gullies on the western side of its entrance, would from those signs alone be recognised as the same now called Pensacola Bay. The Philippine bay twenty leagues farther west, twelve leagues in length, by three or four in breadth, communicating with the gulf between an island and the mainland, with high red banks on the eastern side, and a large river entering its northern extremity, could be no other than the Bay of Mobile. Of the identity of the harbor of Achusi or Santa Maria, with Pensacola Bay, history leaves no room for doubt, as will be hereafter shown in the account of the definitive occupation of the place, by the Spaniards in 1693, agreeably to orders founded on the descriptions, given by Arellano.† The particulars above mentioned, respecting the Philippine bay, will apply to no other, adjoining the Mexican Gulf, than the bay of Mobile. The islands passed by Bazares on his way from the mouth of the river

\*Ternaux Compans in his Collection also presents a French version of a letter sent by Arellano to the Viceroy from the Bay of Santa Maria, containing the account of his voyage to that place. Barcia's *Ensayo Chronologico*, is the principal authority for the remaining particulars of this expedition, of which no notice whatsoever has been found in any work as yet published in the English language.

† See chapter viii. of this History.



of Espiritu Santo, are the well known group now called the Chandeleurs, Horn island, Ship island, and others stretching in a line, along the coast from the Mississippi, north-eastward, and ending with Dauphin island, at the entrance of the Bay of Mobile.

Arellano, so soon as he had made the dispositions above mentioned, at the bay of Santa Maria, despatched a vessel to Vera Cruz, to bear accounts of what had been done, and to request farther supplies of provisions, to be sent to that place. But one of those hurricanes, which render the Mexican Gulf in the month of August, the most unsafe of all the American waters, immediately afterwards swept over the harbor, and in a few hours, every vessel was sunk or driven ashore. The Spaniards were dismayed by this terrible misfortune; their commander however assured them, that additional supplies would soon arrive from Mexico, and having collected all that could be retrieved from the wrecks, he caused huts to be built on the margin of the bay, for the temporary accommodation of the people, until a large party which had been despatched under his sergeant major, should have selected a spot in the interior, for a settlement.

The sergeant major after rambling with his party for forty days through a country, of the most uninviting character, uncultivated and apparently unpeopled, at length reached a large river, and following its course for sometime longer, they arrived at a village, from which the inhabitants fled on the approach of the strangers. Some provisions were however found there, and one of the Indians who returned stated that the village was called Nanipacna, and that it had been destroyed many years before, by people resembling the Spaniards, in color and appearance. The exploration was continued for some distance farther; and no place being found more promising for a settlement, than Nanipacna, messengers were sent to inform the governor of the result of the search. The people at the bay had in the meantime consumed all their provisions, and the surrounding country being a sandy desert, they were in danger of starvation, in case they should remain there much longer. The governor therefore determined immediately to remove with the whole body to Nanipacna, at which place they accordingly established themselves, in the latter part of November.

Nanipacna was distant forty leagues from the Bay of Santa Maria or Pensacola, and was probably a Muscoghee or Chactā village, on the Alabama river.\* The Spaniards passed a year there, in the utmost misery, subsisting chiefly on roots, and acorns. In the meantime, the sergeant major with two hundred men, had been sent to seek for the country of Coça, of which the followers of Soto had brought back such flattering accounts; and after a long march, they discovered it, on the upper waters of a large river, called by the natives Ollibahali, which was probably the Coosa branch of the Alabama. The inhabitants were then at war with the Napochies, dwelling on another river called Ochechiton, or Great Water,† and the Spaniards having joined the Coçans in an expedition against their enemies, the latter were reduced to submission, and obliged to pay a heavy tribute in Indian corn, beans, and bears' grease, of which the allies of the conquerors took the lion's share. The Great Water, was supposed to be the river of Espiritu Santo; but as it was frequently forded by the combatants, during the war, it was more probably the Tennessee, at or near the Mussel Shoals, in the northern part of the State of Alabama.

On his return from this expedition, the sergeant major sent messengers to the governor, to advise him not to come to Coça, as it would be impossible to find subsistence for the people in that country, the productiveness of which had been much exaggerated by the followers of Soto; but ere they arrived at Nanipacna, the Spaniards had quitted the place, and returned to the Bay of Santa Maria, whither the messengers in consequence proceeded. Arellano had shortly before caused two of the stranded vessels to be repaired, in which some of his officers and priests had sailed for Havanna in order to entreat for assistance; and he was anxiously awaiting supplies, on the receipt of which, he had determined to march with the whole body to Coça, and form a

\* Nanipacna means the top of a hill among the Choctā and Muscoghee tribes of the Alabama; Pacana was the name of one of the Muscoghee tribes, dwelling on the east bank of the Alabama, just below the junction of the Coosa and Talipooa branches, not far from the present town of Montgomery in Alabama, distant about 140 miles from Pensacola bay.

† This Indian appellation is given with more than usual correctness in the Spanish accounts; Oke signifying water, and Chitto, great, in the languages of the Muscoghee and Choctās.



settlement there. The greater part of the Spaniards were, however, disgusted with the enterprise, and headed by one of the higher officers, they insisted on being carried back to Mexico, or the West Indies, by the first opportunity. This disposition was increased by the accounts of the messengers respecting the country to which it was proposed to conduct them; and it proceeded so far, that Arellano, in order to prevent mutiny, was obliged to recall the sergeant major and his party. After some months longer spent in this wretched state, they were at length greeted in the spring of 1561, by the arrival of a squadron sent for their relief from Vera Cruz, under Angel de Villafañe. The governor thereupon renewed his preparations for a settlement in Coça, to which country he endeavored by persuasions and threats to induce his men to follow him: but he was obliged in the end, to yield to their desires; and though he with some of the soldiers, remained until the latter part of the year in Florida, the great mass of the people sent for the occupation of that territory, embarked with Villafañe and were landed by him at Havanna.

Villafañe had been ordered also to examine the Atlantic coasts of Florida in search of places for colonies on that side; and accordingly after landing the people at Havanna, he sailed along the shore of the continent northward, and on the 27th of May, entered the river of Santa Helena, the latitude of which he placed nearly in 33 degrees. Not considering that spot suitable, he continued his exploration, and on the 2d of June he reached a point of land in 34 degrees then known to Spanish navigators as Cape San Romano, a little beyond which he found a large river, supposed by him to be the same called the Jordan by Vazquez de Ayllon. After leaving this point, he reached another in 35 degrees, named by him Cape Trafalgar, near which he was in danger of shipwreck on the shoals surrounding it; and fearing to proceed farther, he returned to the West Indies, with a very unfavorable account of those coasts, and of the adjoining countries. Agreeably to the latitudes above mentioned, the river of Santa Helena would have been identical with the Santee, and Cape San Romano with Cape Fear; Cape Trafalgar, as described in the accounts of the voyage, presents all the terrible characteristics of Cape Hatteras.

Thus ended the third great expedition of the Spaniards through

the territories north of the Mexican Gulf, which, though conducted on a scale of equipment far superior to those of Narvaez and Soto, has remained almost unnoticed by historians. The results were not calculated to encourage farther efforts for the same objects; yet the spirit of adventure in the New World was not quenched, and there were still found persons ready to risk fame and fortune in enterprises of that kind, with the desperate hope of attaining some more eminent position.

The principal candidate for the command of another armament, to be employed in the discovery and settlement of Florida, was Don Pedro Menendez, or Melendez, or Méndez, as his name is variously written, a native of Aviles in Asturia, a man of that truly iron frame of mind, resolute, rapacious, ruthless and persevering, of which Spain has at all times produced so many, and has sent forth so many for the affliction of the New World. This person, after a long series of adventures on sea and on land, had in 1557 been raised by Philip II. to the command of the India fleet, in which capacity he still farther distinguished himself, by skill and prowess, as well as by devotion to the will of the monarch; and on learning the news of the failure of the expedition of Arellano, he applied for the governorship of Florida and the direction of forces for its occupation, with the hope not only of acquiring wealth and reputation, but also, and principally of recovering his only son, who had been wrecked near the southern extremity of the peninsula in 1550, and was supposed to be still living in captivity among the natives. His propositions, however, remained without effect until 1564, when circumstances induced the Spanish government to accept them. In order to render these circumstances perfectly intelligible, it will be convenient to present a concise view of some of the most important events, which occurred in Europe whilst the expedition of Arellano was in progress.

The first of these events was the death of Mary Queen of England, the wife of Philip II. of Spain, and the accession of her sister Elizabeth to the throne in November, 1558. The war between those two nations and France was ended in April following, by the treaty of Cateau Cambresis, when a new alliance was formed between the sovereigns of France and Spain, which was cemented by the marriage of Philip II., to the daugh-



ter of Henry II. In the course of the festivities on the latter occasion, the French King was accidentally killed; his eldest son and successor, Francis II., did not long survive; and before the end of 1560 the crown of France rested on the head of Charles IX., another son of Henry II., then only ten years of age, whose demoniacal disposition had already manifested itself by various acts of malevolence.

The accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England dissolved the forced connection between that country and Spain, and the mutual hatred of their sovereigns soon burst forth. The English queen excited her subjects openly as well as secretly to contravene the prohibitory regulations of Spain with regard to settlement and commerce in the New World; and the West Indian seas were in consequence soon filled with English vessels, engaged in trade with the people of the contiguous coasts, which they claimed the right to carry on, in virtue of a treaty concluded in 1529 between Henry VIII. and Charles V. The principal business of these Free-traders, as they afterwards termed themselves, was the capture of negroes on the African coasts, and their transportation to the Spanish colonies, in the islands and the mainland of the West Indies and Mexico, where they were sold at enormous prices to the planters, generally with the connivance of the authorities; and in this pursuit, Hawkins, Drake, Cavendish, and many others who afterwards arose to distinction as navigators, laid the foundation of their fame and fortune. Against these interlopers, all the efforts of the Spanish government proved ineffectual; its most trusted officers were corrupted, and its ships and even forts were attacked, and plundered by the daring English, whensoever any attempt was made to interfere with the commercial liberty which they insisted on maintaining.

The overthrow of the papal authority in England by queen Elizabeth, also contributed to widen the breach between her and Philip II. In France, the persecution of the Huguenots, (as the partizans of religious reform were then called,) had only served to increase their numbers, and their boldness; and nearly one-third of the population of the kingdom, including many of the highest nobles and even princes of the royal family, were found in their ranks. Under such circumstances, while France

was at war with both Spain and England, the reformers were enabled to maintain to a certain extent, their freedom of religious opinion and worship; but after the peace, when Philip II. acquired an influence in the government of their country, the penalties against them were revived, and they soon saw, that their only security was to be found in their swords. During the short reign of Francis II., the two parties, Catholic and Protestant, were brought distinctly in view of each other; and upon his death, a struggle was openly begun, for the possession of the boy king Charles IX., between the Catholics, under the queen mother, Catherine de Medici, and the Guise family on the one hand, and the Huguenots headed by the Admiral de Coligny and the Prince of Condé on the other, which soon involved the whole country in civil war. The Catholics had the advantage in numbers, in wealth, in the prestige of royalty, and in the support of the king of Spain, with whom the extirpation of heretics was the ruling passion: the reformers received some aid from England, yet no more than was necessary to prevent their extinction; for Elizabeth, a Protestant, from pride and policy, rather than from conviction, was not inclined to encourage subjects in rebellion against their liege lords, and had in view only the advancement of her own kingdom, by keeping the French embroiled at home.

Some time before this period, the chiefs of the Protestant party in France, had endeavored to found a colony in the New World, to which their brethren could retire, if forced by persecution in their own country; and profess their opinions, and practise their worship in freedom. With this object, an expedition was fitted out in 1556, by Coligny and Calvin, and placed under the direction of Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, who made a settlement called Fort Coligny, on an island in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, and took possession of the whole country, bestowing on it the appellation of France Antarctique. Reinforcements were sent to this colony from France, and it was maintained until 1560, when it was broken up by the Portuguese, under the celebrated Mem de Sa, aided by the treachery of Villegagnon, who had been corrupted by the Duke of Guise, during a visit made to France in the previous year.

Another attempt was then made for the same purpose by



Coligny, who having succeeded in engaging the young king, either really or seemingly, in its favor, sent out two vessels from Havre, in February, 1562, with soldiers and colonists of the reformed faith, to found a settlement on the western side of the Atlantic. The French on this occasion, avoiding alike the frozen regions of the St. Lawrence, where Cartier and Roberval had failed in their endeavors to establish themselves, and the burning shores of Brazil, where they would be exposed to the immediate vicinity of the Portuguese, took their course to Florida, in which they considered the prospect of success more flattering; and in the end of April they made the land, somewhere near the present town of St. Augustine. Thence they sailed along the shore northward, occasionally landing and communicating with the natives; and in this way they observed the mouths of several large streams, of which the one named by them the River of May, from its discovery on the first day of that month, is certainly the same now known as the St. John. Of the other rivers mentioned in the account of this expedition, the Seine seems to correspond with that now called the Nassau, the Somme with the St. Mary, the Garonne with the Alatamaha, and the Riviere Grande with the Savannah. Admitting the exactness of this last supposition the harbor near the 32d degree of latitude, named by Ribault, Port Royal, and selected as the site for a settlement, must have been the inlet on the coast of South Carolina, at present called St. Helena Sound; and not the one farther south now known as Port Royal, which seems rather to have been the Riviere Belle-à-voir of the French accounts. The two inlets are however only twenty miles apart, and communicate with each other by passages between islands, which they separate from each other and from the mainland.\* It has been already said, that this part of the coast had been visited by the Spaniards under Vazquez de Ayllon in

\* The earliest account of this expedition, is the report addressed by Ribault to Admiral de Coligny on his return to France, of which an English translation was published at London in 1563, entitled, "The whole and true discovery of Terra Florida, &c." The most complete account is however given by Laudouiniere in the "*Histoire notable de la Floride*," hereafter mentioned, published by Basanier, at Paris in 1586, and by Hakluyt in English, in his Collection.

Many particulars which could not with propriety be inserted in this history, will be found in the life of Ribault, by Mr. Jared Sparks, in his valuable *Collection of American Biographies*.

1520, and six years afterwards when he endeavored to form a settlement somewhat farther north; no exact knowledge of it had however been obtained at the period in question.

On one of the islands between these two inlets, or more probably north of St. Helena Sound, Ribault landed, and with due solemnity took possession for his sovereign, setting up at the same time a pillar with the arms of France upon it. He then explored the surrounding country, and began the construction of a fort and buildings for the residence of his people, on another and larger island of the group, possibly that now known as Beaufort. The settlement thus formed was named Charlefort, in honor of the king; and according to the account of the expedition, it comprised only a few wooden buildings, enclosed by a palisade of eighty or ninety feet square. The work being completed, Ribault sailed with both vessels for France, leaving twenty-five men at the place, and promising to return before the end of the year with reinforcements and supplies.

Soon after the departure of Ribault, the fort and houses of the colony, with nearly all their provisions and materials, were destroyed accidentally by fire. The fort was rebuilt, but the people discouraged by their losses, became mutinous, and refused to work; and when their captain, Albert de la Pierria, attempted to enforce discipline among them, they seized and hung him. Nicolas Barré was then chosen as their leader, under whose direction they built a small vessel, and having rigged her as well as they could, set sail for France. On the way, their provisions and water were exhausted, and they were forced to put to death one of their number, in order to obtain food; this relief was however only temporary, and they were sinking in weakness and despair, when they were met and succored by an English vessel, and were thus enabled to reach England, from which they afterwards passed over to their own country.

Ribault, meanwhile, arrived with his two vessels in France in July, 1562, and there found the civil war in progress, between his brethren in religion and the Catholics. The Huguenots were defeated; but queen Elizabeth saved them, by invading the northern coasts of France, and a pacification was effected on terms nearly equal. As soon as tranquillity had been restored Coligny again directed his thoughts to the establishment of a colony in



the New World; and having as before, obtained the assent of the young king, he prepared three vessels for the enterprise. The crews, as well as the settlers and soldiers, were selected with as much care as possible; arms, ammunition, provisions, tools and other requisite articles, were furnished in abundance, and the little squadron thus equipped, sailed from Havre on the 22d of April, 1564, under the command of René de Goulaine de Laudouiniere,\* a gentleman from the province of Poitou, who

\*This is the true orthography of the name, as ascertained by the Marquis de Magny, Secretary of the Heraldic College of France, after careful inquiries in Poitou. It is commonly written Laudonniere; but may also be found under the forms of Laduniere, Ladoniere, and Ladignere, in various narratives, published at the period in question. No one accustomed to the examination of the chronicles of that period will be surprised at these differences.

Many accounts of this expedition have been given by cotemporary writers, French and Spanish, through which we are enabled to arrive at the principal facts with considerable certainty. The Spanish authorities are noticed at page 136; those most worthy of credit, on the part of the French, are the following:

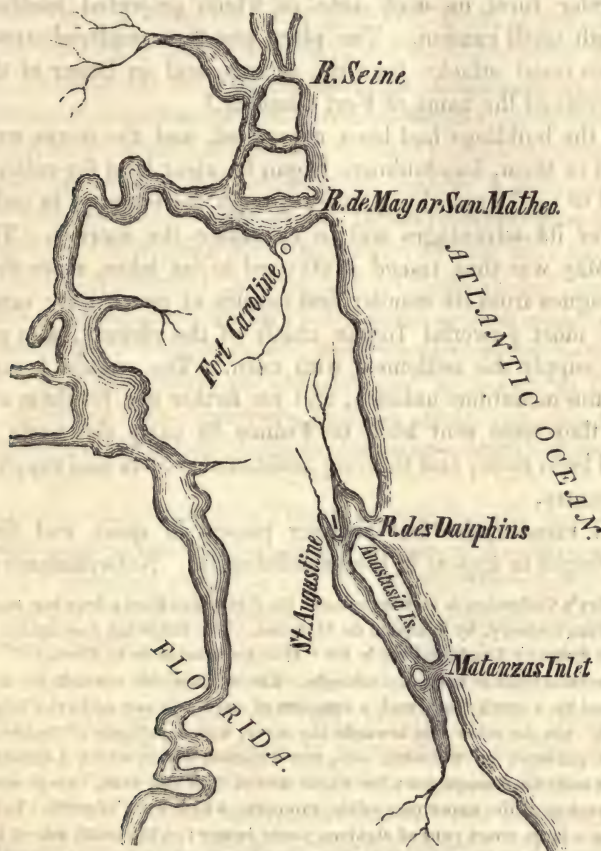
The earliest, entitled—"Histoire memorable du dernier voyage aux Indes, lieu appelé la Floride," was printed at Dieppe in 1566; its author is supposed to have been Nicolas le Challeux, an old carpenter, who went out with Ribault in 1565, and was one of the few who escaped from Fort Caroline on its capture by the Spaniards. The account of the writer's own experience is given in the most simple and truthful manner; and he appends to it a narrative of the destruction of the French at Matanzas Inlet, by Christophe Le Breton, one of the survivors, which is the principal, if not the only French authority for the circumstances of that dreadful affair. The whole may be found reprinted in the Collection of Ternaux Compans.

The most complete original account of the expedition, is that of Laudouiniere himself, written upon his return to France, and published after his death at Paris by Basanier, in 1586, under the title of "*Histoire Notable de la Floride, &c.*" An English version very defective, and in language so obsolete as to be scarcely intelligible at the present day, is contained in the third volume of Hakluyt's Collection: a translation carefully made, of the account of the capture of Fort Caroline by the Spaniards, will be found among the Proofs and Illustrations, at the end of this volume under the letter B.

Of the other partial narratives, given in various collections of voyages and travels of the 16th century, one of the most famous, is that in the celebrated Collection of De Bry, published at Frankfort in 1593, and illustrated by numerous engravings, from drawings made by Jacques Le Moine de Morgues, the draughtsman of the expedition, one of the few who escaped from Fort Caroline on its capture. The drawings were doubtless all made from memory, and though designed without regard for the rules of perspective, they are nevertheless valuable as illustrations; they were drawn by De Morgues in London, for Sir Walter Raleigh, probably when he was engaged in preparing for his expedition to Carolina, and were purchased by De Bry from the widow of the artist, who was then living in poverty in England.

had accompanied Ribault in his expedition, and had before, as well as since that time, conducted himself with great prudence and gallantry.

Taking his course by the Canary Islands, and the easternmost of the West Indian Archipelago, Laudouiniere reached the coast of Florida, in the latter part of June, near Cape Canaveral; north



of which, he anchored and landed at an inlet, named by him Riviere des Dauphins or Dolphin river, from the number of those fish observed in it. Continuing his voyage in the same direction, he visited in succession, the mouths of the river of May, now the St. John, the Seine or Nassau, and the Somme or St. Mary; from which last, the vessels returned to the river of May, where it was resolved to make the first establishment.



A spot was accordingly selected on the south bank of the river, about six miles from its mouth; on which the French after praying to God for his favor, constructed their habitation. It consisted like that at Port Royal, of wooden houses, surrounded by a wall or palisade of logs, wattled or interwoven with boughs; the whole being moreover enclosed by a rampart of earth and logs, of triangular form, on each side of which projected bastions armed with small cannon. The place was thus rendered strong enough to resist attacks from the natives, and in honor of the king it received the name of Fort Caroline.\*

When the buildings had been completed, and the stores were deposited in them, Laudouiniere began to clear land for cultivation, and to send exploring parties through the country, in order to discover its advantages and to conciliate the natives. The river of May was thus traced southward to its lakes, more than eighty leagues from its mouth; and treaties of peace were made with the most powerful Indian chiefs of the vicinity, who engaged to supply the settlement with corn. The vessels having been in the meantime unladen, and no farther use for them appearing, they were sent back to France to carry the news of what had been done, and to bring additional settlers and supplies to the country.

In this manner, the first summer passed in quiet, and then troubles began to appear in the establishment. Notwithstanding

\*In De Bry's Collection is an engraving of the fort, taken from a drawing, made doubtless from memory, by Lemoine de Morgues. The following description of the place is given by Laudouiniere, in his "*Histoire notable de la Floride*:"

"Our fort was built in form of a triangle. The western side towards the land was enclosed by a small ditch, and a rampart of earth, thrown up to the height of nine feet. On the other side towards the river, was a palisade of timber, in the form of gabions; on the south side, was a bastion within which I caused a house to be built for a magazine; the whole was of logs and sand, except about two or three feet of the upper part of the ramparts, which were of earth. In the middle, was a large court yard of eighteen paces square; on the south side of this court, were the barracks, and on the other side a house, which I raised somewhat too high, for the wind soon threw the walls down; and I learned by experience that we could not raise our houses to many stories in this country, from the violence of the tempests. One of the sides of my court, which was large and beautiful, extended to the magazine; and on the other, towards the river, were my own lodgings, with covered galleries all around. The principal door of my lodging was in the middle of the great court, and the other towards the river. At a short distance from the fort I built an oven in order to avoid the danger of fire, as the houses were covered with palmetto leaves."

the care employed in the selection of the persons for the enterprise, there were among them, many idle and dissolute men, who were ignorant of what they had to expect, and had been induced to join the expedition, merely by the hopes of living at ease without labor, in the golden regions of the New World. These hopes had been unfortunately increased, soon after their arrival, by the sight of some pieces of gold and silver, in the possession of the natives, which they readily gave in exchange for the knives and hatchets of the French; and the commands and remonstrances of Laudouiniere, thenceforth became ineffectual, to induce a large number of his men, to labor in their regular employments, instead of rambling about the country in search of mines. The principal encouragers of this insubordination were an officer named Le Gievre, and one Roquette, a soldier who had been a monk, and pretended that he had by magical skill, discovered a rich mine of gold, during the voyage up the river of May. Through their means, cabals and conspiracies were formed at Fort Caroline, against the authority and even against the life of the governor, who narrowly escaped death, at one time by poison, and at another by the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder under his bed.

The search for mines in Florida proved entirely fruitless; and the gold and silver found in the possession of the natives, having been all obtained from the wrecks of Spanish vessels on the coasts, were soon exhausted. The discontented portion of the colonists thereupon conceived that their objects might be equally well attained, by the plunder of the vessels which passed near them, laden with cargoes so rich; and two of the barques built for exploring the river, were in consequence carried off in November, by parties of seamen and carpenters, who sailed for the West Indies. Another body of mutineers in the following month, seized Laudouiniere, whilst he was confined to bed by sickness, and having carried him on board of one of the vessels, compelled him to sign a passport or commission, under which they seized the principal barque, equipped her with arms and provisions, and took their departure in the same direction.

The last mentioned party of mutineers returned to the fort in March, 1565, in the most distressed condition, with a Spanish vessel taken by them on the coast of Cuba; and Laudouiniere



who had during their absence strengthened his authority, immediately seized them and caused four of the ringleaders to be shot. The other deserters also took a rich Spanish vessel, and having divided the spoils among themselves, went to Havanna, where information of the position and force of the French settlement was obtained from them by the governor, and two of their number were sent as prisoners to Spain.

Notwithstanding all the care and secrecy which had been observed by the Huguenots with regard to their expeditions and establishments in Florida, they of course soon became known to the Spanish government; it is even said, that Charles IX. himself communicated all the particulars to his brother-in-law, king Philip, by a letter in 1564. The proposals made by Pedro Menendez to explore and occupy that country were then taken into serious consideration; and when in the following year, the deserters from Fort Caroline brought to Spain, accounts of the exact position and extent of the French settlement, in the immediate vicinity of the line of passage of vessels from the West Indies or the Mexican Gulf to Europe, it was determined that the most effective measures should be taken, without delay to destroy the heretics, and to prevent future encroachments upon that important portion of the New World. With this object, a patent was on the 20th of March, 1565, granted by the king, to Menendez, constituting him Adelantado of Florida, and empowering him to explore, pacificate, and settle, the whole of that division of America, at his own expense; and to retain the government, and enjoy the advantages derivable from it, in every way, and transmit the same to his heirs in perpetuity, on certain expressed conditions, to be always observed. It was however stipulated, in consideration of the nature of the first service to be performed, namely the pacification of the country,—in other words the extermination of the French heretics—that five hundred men with their arms and provisions for their maintenance during a short period, and vessels for their transportation, should be allowed by the sovereign, free from all cost to the Adelantado. In accordance with these stipulations, an armament was forthwith prepared; and all being ready for the enterprise, Menendez sailed from Cadiz on the 28th of June, with twelve vessels, carrying about two thousand six hundred persons, mostly destined for Florida,

including the two French deserters, who sailed in the admiral's own ship.

The resources of the French colony on the river of May, against which this formidable expedition was directed, were in the meantime rapidly failing. No assistance arrived from France; the Indians of the surrounding country became insolent, and refused to furnish corn; and as no grain had been planted, from the causes already mentioned, famine seemed to impend over the settlement. Laudouiniere was daily besought by the colonists, to return with them to France, in their barques, and he was on the point of yielding to their entreaties, when on the 3d of August, four English vessels appeared at the entrance of the river. They were commanded by the famous free-trader John Hawkins, who was then returning to England, with a large amount of specie, and valuable merchandise, obtained in the West Indies, in exchange for negroes brought from the African coast. He was received and treated with great politeness, by Laudouiniere, who aided him in procuring water; and Hawkins in return, supplied the French with some provisions, wine and clothes, and offered to carry them all back to their country. The governor, however, being thus enabled to maintain his position a little longer, and suspecting that the English might afterwards found some claim to the whole territory, on the fact of such an abandonment by the French, declined to accept the offer; though he purchased one of the English vessels, by means of which, and of his barques, the return to France might be effected, in case it should be absolutely necessary. In a few days, Hawkins departed for Europe leaving the French in better situation and spirits than he had found them; not only from the addition made to their immediate comfort by the supplies furnished, but also from the moral influence, which Laudouiniere had been able to acquire over the Indians, by assuring them, that the English commander was his brother, and had come for the special purpose of assisting him.\*

\*Of the visit of Hawkins to Fort Caroline, we have his account, as well as that given by Laudouiniere. The Englishman pronounces an unfavorable opinion of Florida, as a place for a settlement: he admits that it is well adapted for the growth of Indian corn, and for grazing, but it is on the other hand "poor in gold and silver, the things we all seek for."



Shortly after the departure of the English, four French ships arrived at Fort Caroline, bringing three hundred people of both sexes, as settlers, with supplies of provisions and materials. They were commanded by John Ribault, who had conducted the first expedition to Florida, and now came with a commission as governor, to supersede Laudouiniere, and require him to return to France, and answer certain charges there preferred against him. Laudouiniere, unconscious of wrong, was overwhelmed with surprise and mortification, at this recall; and, though Ribault entreated him to remain, and give the colony the benefit of his advice, he refused, being unable, as he said, to bear the commands of another, where he had already suffered so much, in order to effect the settlement. He accordingly resigned his authority to his successor, and was preparing to go to France, with the vessels, when, on the 4th of September, five Spanish ships of war entered the river.

These vessels formed a portion of the squadron of Pedro Menendez, and were commanded by him in person: the others had been dispersed in a storm before reaching the West Indies.\* Menendez, however, was too impatient to await the arrival of his whole force at the place of rendezvous in Porto Rico, but sailing from that island, with the four ships in question, and about six hundred men, he, on the 28th of August, the day assigned to St. Augustine in the Roman Catholic Calendar, made the land of Florida, near the 30th degree of latitude, opposite to the inlet,

\* The proceedings of the Spaniards in this expedition to Florida, are related with great minuteness and apparent accuracy by Barcia, in his "Ensayo Chronologico," as derived from official documents, and from a memoir or narrative, written by Dr. Solis de las Meras, the brother-in-law of the Adelantado, who accompanied the expedition, and professes to have witnessed nearly every thing described by him. A portion of the narrative of Solis de las Meras, will be found translated, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter B. No. 2. We have also the journal of the chaplain Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales, translated into French, and published in the Collection of Ternaux Compans, beginning with the departure of the fleet from Spain, and ending on the 28th of August.

These accounts agree with each other, and with those of the French very nearly, on all the principal circumstances, so far at least as they relate to events of which the narrators on both sides were witnesses, or were able to procure evidence apparently worthy of credit; and where they differ, which is with one or two exceptions, only on unimportant points, the Spanish accounts seem to be in every respect preferable to the French.

which the French had in the preceding year, named River of Dolphins. Off this place, Menendez anchored; and the French deserters having recognized it, he departed under their guidance, for the River of May, which he entered, as already said, on the 4th of September.

Ribault, so soon as he saw the Spanish ships, was aware of their purpose, having been advised of their expedition, by a letter from Coligny, received on the eve of his departure from France; and as the Admiral had at the same time, earnestly enjoined upon him, not to suffer the Spaniards to establish themselves in Florida, he determined to resist them as far as possible. The Spanish commander immediately on anchoring, declared his name and character, and imperiously ordered the French to quit the territories of the Catholic King: Ribault answered that he would die before abandoning the post confided to his charge; being however unprepared for resistance at the moment, he cut his cables, and proceeded to sea with his four largest ships. Menendez followed with all his force, and a running fight was maintained through the night, without serious damage to either party; at the end of which time the two squadrons were separated by a storm.

Ribault returned with three of his vessels to Fort Caroline, where he announced his determination to take all the largest ships and nearly all the most effective men, and go to sea again in search of the Spaniards; to which Laudouiniere strongly objected considering it preferable to concentrate their forces at their strongest points. Ribault, however, exhibited the Admiral's letter, and declared his resolution to resist the Spaniards at sea, as the only means of defeating them, before they should receive reinforcements from the West Indies; and he accordingly departed on the 10th, with five large vessels, carrying together more than six hundred able men. Fort Caroline was left under the command of Laudouiniere, with a feeble garrison, and all the women and children, laborers and wounded, and other ineffective persons, amounting in all to about two hundred and forty.

From Fort Caroline, Ribault proceeded along the coast southward to the River of Dolphins, where he saw the Spanish ships at anchor. He remained before the place, endeavoring to bring them to action, for two days, when a violent storm arose, by which the French vessels were driven farther south, and finally



stranded midway between the River of Dolphins and Cape Canaveral. Their crews were nearly all saved; and they refitted one of the small vessels, in which sixteen men were placed under the command of Captain Levasseur, to bear the news of the misfortune to Fort Caroline. The others took their way along the coast in the same direction, suffering from want of food and water.

The Spaniards in the meantime had entered the river of Dolphins, on the 7th of September; and Menendez finding the place well adapted for an establishment, selected a spot at the mouth of the little stream, now called North river, opposite the entrance of the inlet, where he with due solemnity, laid the foundations of a fortress and town, named San Augustine, in honor of the saint, on whose day the land was discovered. By the 17th of the month, the works had been advanced sufficiently to render the place capable of resisting any attack which might be anticipated; and the vessels being also secured in the harbor, Menendez determined without farther delay, to attack the French in Fort Caroline. He accordingly set off from St. Augustine, on the 18th of August, with five hundred men, leaving the others, at that place, under the command of his brother. The march, though not exceeding thirty miles, was painful and difficult, chiefly in consequence of the violence of the rains; and the men frequently broke out into expressions of discontent, bordering upon mutiny. Menendez however, engaged—as he seems to have been convinced—in the most holy of enterprises, and under the immediate protection of the Virgin, closed his ears against all complaints; and pressing onwards, thus arrived during the night of the 20th, in the vicinity of Fort Caroline, where they halted until break of day.

Fort Caroline was, as already said, merely a few wooden buildings, surrounded by a palisade, enclosed within a triangular rampart of earth; and was armed only with some small cannon. Of its inmates, after the departure of Ribault, not more than seventeen were effective soldiers; the others two hundred and twenty-three in number were laborers, servants, invalids, women and children. In the river opposite the fort, lay three small barques which had been built there, and one ship, *La Perle*, commanded by Jacques Ribault, the governor's son, together with the vessel purchased from Hawkins. The ground around the fort had been

cleared to the distance of half a mile; beyond which lay thick woods, on all sides, except that exposed to the river. Laudouiniere had been prevented by illness, after the departure of Jean Ribault, from putting the place in the best state of defence, of which it was capable; he however caused the watches to be kept, and this was regularly done, until day break of the 21st, when the officer on duty, allowed the sentinels who had been for some time exposed to a violent rain, to come in to their quarters. At this moment, the Spaniards suddenly rushed from the wood, and entering the enclosure of the fort, without difficulty, through two places where the palisade was defective, they were masters of the whole, ere the French had been fully aroused from their slumbers. Resistance was impossible, and each Frenchman endeavored to save himself as he could. Laudouiniere, with the carpenter Le Challeux, the draughtsman Lemoine de Morgues, and about sixty or seventy others, succeeded in escaping to the woods; where, after some time, they were nearly all taken up, and carried on board the vessels in the river. A few women and children found by the Spaniards in the fort and some men, who at once declared themselves to be Catholics were spared; the others were put to death, the greater part immediately, the remainder according to the accounts, being hanged on trees in front of the place, with an inscription placed over them, containing the words, "*Not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans and heretics.*" Of the French who failed to reach the vessels, five or six surrendered themselves to the Spaniards, and were treated as their brethren had been; the others fled to the Indians, or perished from hunger in the forests.\*

Menendez and his pious followers, so soon as they had completed their bloody task, and refreshed themselves from the stores of the fort, gratefully returned thanks to the Almighty for the favor and clemency extended to them. They then tore down the arms of France and those of Coligny, which hung together over the gate, and placed the royal escutcheon of Spain in their stead; bestowing on the fort, as well as on the river, the name of San

\* See the account of the capture of the fort, translated from Laudouiniere's Narrative, as published by Basanier, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter B, No. 1. The Spanish account presented by the chaplain Mendosa Grajales, does not differ from that of the French in any point to which they both refer.



Matheo, in honor of St. Matthew, on whose day, the 21st of September, the capture was effected. On examining the buildings, the Spaniards were much shocked at finding many Lutheran books, filled with blasphemies against the Pope and the holy church of Rome, as well as packs of playing cards on which, objects the most sacred, were represented as the distinguishing marks of the suites. Among the bodies of the slain, they in particular observed that of "a great cosmographer and magician," who bore about his person many articles indicative of his horrid pursuits; this was no doubt La Roquette, the soldier who pretended to discover gold mines by his skill in sorcery. Such circumstances were calculated to quiet any qualms of conscience which the captors of Fort Caroline might have felt, respecting the propriety of their acts, and to prepare them for the more arduous duties of the same kind, which they were soon to perform.

When order had been restored in the fort, Menendez caused some cannon to be planted on the river bank, and summoned the French vessels to surrender; promising that their crews with the women and children, who had been spared, should be allowed to return to their country, under his passport, in the small vessels. This was however refused by Laudouiniere, though Jacques Ribault was disposed to accept the offer; and one of the French vessels was in consequence sunk by the shot of the Spaniards, after her crew had escaped to the ship in a boat. As the other vessels were beyond the reach of his guns, Menendez resolved to return immediately to St. Augustine, and to bring his ships to the river, in order to intercept the French; with which view he took his departure on the 22d, leaving the fort under the command of Gonzalo de Villarroel. The Spaniard was however disappointed on this occasion; for the French penetrating his intentions, and learning nothing of Jean Ribault or his squadron, destroyed the small vessels, and sailed in the two largest for France, where they arrived in safety, after a long and distressful voyage.

On the 23d of the month, the Adelantado arrived at St. Augustine, with a few men, and communicated the particulars of the capture of Fort Caroline, and the destruction of its inmates, which was celebrated by masses and rejoicings. On the previous day, the vessel which had been sent by Ribault, to bear

the news of his shipwreck to Laudouiniere, entered an inlet near St. Augustine, where almost all of her crew were killed by Spaniards or Indians. The survivors were carried before Menendez, who thus learned the destruction of the French ships; and he was soon after informed by some Indians, that a large body of white men were assembled on the shore of an inlet five leagues farther south. Not doubting that these were the shipwrecked French, he despatched a vessel to the spot, without delay; and having then made all his preparations at the town, set off on the 28th, with a body of soldiers to meet the enemy.

St. Augustine stood, and still stands, opposite the northern inlet or entrance of a sound, which thence extends southward, and parallel to the sea coast twenty miles, and there joins the ocean by another inlet, near its southern extremity. Into this southern extremity of the sound, a small river empties; and in the space between this river and the sea, on the shore of the inlet, more than two hundred of the shipwrecked French, were collected under the guidance of some officers, nearly all unarmed and destitute of food. On the morning of the 29th of September, Menendez arrived with his men on the opposite bank of the stream; and one of the French soon swam over to him, and gave information as to the character and objects of his countrymen, who wished only to be allowed to march in peace to Fort Caroline. The Adelantado upon this, requested the man to return, and invite some of his superior officers to come to the Spanish camp, and confer with him as to what should be done. This proposition being accepted, a parley took place between the two parties, in which Menendez convinced the French, that their fort had been captured and nearly all its inmates put to death; and in the end the French consented to deliver themselves up to the Spaniards. They accordingly surrendered their arms, and were carried in detachments in a boat over the inlet. Each detachment immediately on landing was marched towards St. Augustine, but at a short distance from the shore, the Frenchmen were all securely tied, so as to render escape or resistance impossible. They were then asked individually, what was their religious faith, and a few who declared themselves Catholics, were separated from the others and sent to the fort in boats. The remainder of each detachment on proclaiming their adherence, to the doctrines of the reformation were, after



marching a little farther, all put to death, by the swords and daggers of the ruthless Spaniards, who cried at every blow, "not as Frenchmen, but as heretics, and enemies of God and the Holy Virgin."\*

On the following day, another body of French, three hundred and fifty in number, arrived at the same place, on the south side of the inlet, and being accosted by the Spaniards, demanded likewise, to be allowed to pass on to their fort near the river of May. They received the same answer, which was given to the others, that the fort had been taken, and its inmates put to death; and they were required immediately to surrender themselves as prisoners to the authorities of the Spanish monarch. Ribault thereupon, being assured of safe conduct, crossed the inlet to the Spanish camp, where he was met and treated with the utmost courtesy by Menendez; and a conference was held between them, in which the French commander endeavored to obtain for his countrymen a free passage to France, on the condition of their paying a ransom as soon as they should arrive there. The Adelantado however replied, that though it grieved him to lose the ransom, yet he was bound to obey the orders of his sovereign, and he would promise nothing until the French should have placed themselves at his discretion; and Ribault finding the Spaniard inflexible, returned to his men, one hundred and fifty of whom, after some time, resolved to submit to the mercy of their enemies. Ribault himself took the same course, and their intention having been declared to Menendez, they were carried as the others had been over the inlet in parties of ten, who were in like manner securely tied on landing, and driven towards St. Augustine. The French commander being asked of what religion were the prisoners, replied that he and all with him were of the new faith; four of the men nevertheless proclaimed themselves Catholics, and they as well as twelve others, including all the musicians, reached the town in safety: the remaining one hundred and thirty-six, were despatched on the way, by the Spanish soldiers, Ribault himself receiving the first blow, whilst engaged in prayer to the Almighty for forgiveness of his sins.

\*See the extract from the narrative of Solis de las Meras, describing these atrocious proceedings, among the Proofs and Illustrations in the latter part of this volume, under the letter B. No. 2.

The inlet near which these horrid deeds were committed, received from the Spaniards the name of *Entrada de Matanzas*—Massacre Inlet—which it bears at the present day. The two hundred French, who refused to trust themselves in the power of the Spaniards, retreated along the coast southward to the vicinity of Cape Canaveral, where they endeavored to repair one of their stranded vessels, in order if possible to effect their escape to France; but whilst thus engaged, they were attacked by the persevering *Adelantado*, who made prisoners of the greater number and drove the others to the woods, where they probably perished.

Thus it appears, that about six hundred Frenchmen, or more, were put to death by the Spaniards in Florida,\* during the months of August, September and October, 1565, nearly all of them, whilst unarmed, and incapable either of resistance or of flight. In contradiction of a part of the statement here presented, as derived from the Spanish authorities, two Frenchmen who returned to their country, one of them after being left as dead on the shore of Matanzas inlet, declare that there was but one act of surrender, and one scene of murder at that place; and that the surrender was made on the faith of a solemn promise from *Menendez*, that the prisoners should all be sent in safety to France. The Spanish accounts of these occurrences seem to be however much more worthy of credit, in all points, except as regards the promise of safe conduct which they all deny to have been given by *Menendez*; especially as no attempt is made by their authors, to disguise or extenuate the cruelties committed by that commander, which are on the contrary, presented and extolled, as acts of justice and heroism, worthy of all admiration. Throwing aside on the one hand the protestations of the Spaniards, in denial of the promise of safety, as proceeding from parties too much interested to be impartial, and on the other the accounts of the French seamen, whose means of exact information as to what passed between *Ribault* and *Menendez*, must have been slight and imperfect, and regarding only the probabilities in the case, it seems indeed most strange, that large bodies of men, with arms in their hands, should have surrendered

\* *Viz*: about 160 at Fort Caroline, and 336 at Matanzas inlet, besides those killed near St. Augustine and Cape Canaveral, who would no doubt complete the number here stated.



themselves to their most deadly foes, without any conditions as to their treatment; and it is no less difficult to conceive, that the Spanish commander would have hesitated to give any assurance which they might have required, to induce them to submit, though at the same time, firmly resolved to put them all to death, so soon as they should be in his power. Good faith was by no means a characteristic virtue of Europeans at that day; and the history of Spain at all times, presents innumerable instances, of capitulations solemnly made and then shamefully broken, by the military and civil authorities of that nation.\* Whilst therefore circumstances seem to favor the belief, that the Adelantado did engage to send the French back in security to their country, yet at the same time, it is not impossible, that the Huguenot leaders, may have considered it needless, to exact conditions, which they must have known, to be insufficient to restrain the Spaniards for a moment.

Whether or not Menendez gave the promise, as asserted by the French, his guilt remains the same. The mere failure to observe a capitulation, is a peccadillo when compared with the murder of so many hundreds of unarmed, unresisting persons, the enormity of which, can only be palliated, by the circumstance, that the deed was in accordance with the customs of both nations at the time. The civil wars in France offer innumerable instances of the same kind; and had Ribault and his followers returned to their native land, the greater part of them would have fallen under the poignards of their own countrymen, in the general massacre of the Protestants, begun on St. Bartholomew's eve in 1572.

The Adelantado having thus freed his province from the French, labored assiduously to complete the establishment of the Spanish power on its coasts, so as to prevent any farther attempts of foreigners to occupy them. In this he had innumerable difficulties

\* Many cases of the same kind, may be found in Spanish and Spanish American history of our own times. The massacre of the Texan prisoners, by order of the Mexican president, Santa Anna, at Goliad, on the 29th of March, 1836, is one of them. Nay, more: in April, 1814, the Cortes assembled at Cadiz, composed of probably the best men of Spain, issued a decree with regard to the conduct of its officers toward the insurgents in America, declaring, "that it was derogatory to the majesty and dignity of the national Congress, to confirm a capitulation made with malignant rebels."

to overcome, from the inadequacy of his own means, and the unwillingness of his government to aid him, as well as from the enmity of the natives and the licentious insubordinate character of his own men. He was thus obliged to make several voyages to the West Indies, and even to Spain, in order to procure supplies, and on his return he always found some mutiny to be quelled, or some discontent to be appeased by sacrifices. In 1566, the garrison of the fort taken from the French on the River of May, was in open insurrection against the commandant Villarroel, and the fort itself was burnt; but it was soon rebuilt, and others were erected as advanced works on each side of the river at its mouth. The Indians also, having by this time become very inimical to the Spaniards in consequence of the cruelty and indignity with which they were treated by the soldiers, made frequent incursions on St. Augustine, where they killed the sentinels and stragglers from the garrison, and sometimes set fire to the houses.

Menendez however by his energy and skill in managing men overcame all these difficulties; and in 1567 he formed two other settlements, on the coast north of the San Matheo, one at Santa Helena, and the other on an island near the mainland farther south called Guale, which seems to have been the same now known as St. Catherine's Island. He also caused the coasts to be explored with care, from the southern extremity of Florida, northward to the latitude of  $37\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, where a great bay was discovered (if not previously known) opening to the ocean by a wide entrance, and receiving the waters of many large rivers. This bay, named by the Spaniards Bay of Santa Maria, was of course the Chesapeake. In 1566, a vessel was sent by Menendez from St. Augustine with a number of men to form a colony on its shore; but the crew mutinied ere they reached the place of their destination, and carried the vessel to Spain, where the priests who were on board as missionaries justified their conduct.

The Adelantado also endeavored to form similar establishments on the west side of the peninsula, where he supposed his son to be held in captivity; and with this view, he erected forts at the Bay of Calos or Carlos, now Charlotte Harbor, and at the mouth of the Tocobaga river, now called the Suwannee, entering the Mexican Gulf at its north-western angle, which was then known



as the Port of Espiritu Santo.\* These places were however all abandoned in a short time, in consequence of the animosity of the natives towards the Spaniards, and the insufficiency of the supplies obtained from the surrounding countries.

In the meantime, the settlements of the Spaniards on the east coast of Florida had sustained a rude shock, and narrowly escaped destruction, during the absence of Menendez in 1567.

The barbarous proceedings of the Spaniards in Florida, when they first became known in France, excited the utmost indignation throughout the kingdom; but the mutual animosity between the Protestants and Catholics was so great, that the desire for revenge was soon confined to the former, while the Catholics in general regarded the destruction of their countrymen with satisfaction. The young king, now almost a man, had advanced rapidly in bigotry, falsehood and cruelty; and his mother, Catherine de Medici, who governed him entirely, was engaged in arranging with her son-in-law, the king of Spain, measures for the extermination of the reformers in France and the Netherlands. Under such circumstances, it may be supposed that little regard was paid to the petition addressed to the throne on the 22d of May, 1566, by the relations and friends of the murdered colonists, for the exaction of atonement from Spain; and it was left for a few private individuals, to attempt what should have been done by the government, in vindication of the honor of France.

This task was undertaken by Dominique de Gourgues, a gentleman of Gascony, who had distinguished himself on sea and on land, in wars with the Spaniards and the Turks; and who, though a Roman Catholic in religion, yet felt deeply the wrongs of his countrymen, and determined so far as possible to avenge them. For this purpose he sold his estates, with the proceeds from which he fitted out three small vessels, and having manned them with two hundred bold men carefully selected, he sailed from France in August, 1567. Of those on board, a small number only were acquainted with the real object of the voyage, which was ostensibly intended for the African coasts: on the others, however, De Gourgues knew that he could depend; and when, after passing around the south side of Cuba, and entering the Bahama channel,

\* The Spaniards named this river San Juan, which the Indians corrupted into Suwannee. It is frequently called the Apalache in the old maps.

he unfolded his real intentions, the whole company with one voice declared their readiness to prosecute the enterprise to the death.\*

The French vessels made the land of Florida near St. Augustine; and passing in sight of that place, and of the mouth of the river of May, or San Matheo, they anchored farther north, in the stream which had received from Ribault the name of the Seine, probably the same now called the Nassau. Here they were soon surrounded by Indians, among whom were several of the most powerful chiefs of the country, all seeming to be animated by feelings of extreme hatred against the Spaniards, and professing their readiness to aid the French in the prosecution of their project of revenge. De Gourgues employed every means to conciliate these people, in which he was materially aided by Pierre de Bré, one of his countrymen, who escaped from Fort Caroline at the time of its capture, and had ever since lived among the savages; and having obtained sufficient information as to the numbers and condition of the Spaniards, he determined to wait until the following spring, before making his attack upon them.

In the middle of April, 1568, De Gourgues, with his followers and their Indian allies, began their offensive movement against the Spaniards, who, as already said, occupied Fort San Matheo, on the site of Fort Caroline, and two smaller forts, one on each side of the river, near its mouth. The three French vessels were securely moored in the stream where they first anchored; and all the men who could be taken from them, having been placed in boats, built for the purpose, were thus conveyed along the coast to the mouth of another stream or inlet a little farther south. There the forces were landed, and commenced their march towards the Spanish fort, on the north side of the San Matheo,† to which river the boats were also to proceed, so as to reach it at a time appointed.

\* Two French accounts of this expedition have been published; one in the "*Histoire notable de la Floride*," already mentioned, and the other in the collection of papers relative to America, by Ternaux Compans, entitled "*La reprise de la Floride par le Cappitaine Gourgues*;" in addition to which, we have the Spanish account in Barcia's "*Ensayo Chronologico*."

† This fort was no doubt situated at the southern extremity of the small island now called St. George or Fort George, on the north side of the mouth of the St. John.



In this manner the French and Indians arrived at break of day, on Sunday after Easter, in sight of the first Spanish fort, on the north side of the river, near its mouth, which had not been then completed. They were soon observed by a sentinel, who fired his piece twice, in token of alarm; but ere he could again load it, he was transfixcd by the spear of a savage chief, and the French rushing through an opening in the rampart, were masters of the place. The Spaniards, about sixty in number, were put to the sword, with the exception of fifteen, who were reserved for a more solemn occasion; and the boats having by this time arrived, as directed, the victors rapidly moved in them across the river to attack the fort on the southern bank, which was in like manner soon taken, and all its defenders, except the same number of fifteen, were put to the sword.

De Gourgues then prepared for the great object, the capture of the main fort, occupying the spot which had been rendered sacred in the eyes of the French, by the butchery of their countrymen. The Spaniards in rebuilding this fort, had extended and strengthened its works considerably; and it was defended by two hundred and sixty men, under Gonzalo de Villarroel, one of the most trusted officers of Menendez. De Gourgues obtained some information respecting it from his prisoners; and having reconnoitred it himself and estimated the height of the palisades, he caused ladders of length sufficient to surmount them, to be prepared for an assault. Villarroel in the meantime sent out sixty men to make observations, who being perceived on their approach by the French, were cut off and nearly all slain. The Spanish commandant upon this saw no safety except in flight, and he accordingly evacuated the place at once, with all his able bodied troops; but they were pursued and harrassed by their enemies so closely, that a small number only succeeded in reaching St. Augustine.

The French on taking possession of Fort San Matheo, found it well supplied with arms, ammunition, and other necessaries. Of these articles some were transferred to the French vessels, and others were distributed among the Indians; but ere they could be all thus appropriated, the buildings took fire by accident, and were soon entirely consumed. De Gourgues thereupon considering his force insufficient for an attack on St. Augustine,

prepared for his return to France; before doing which, he however performed, what he regarded as a solemn duty. The surviving Spanish prisoners, amounting in number to nearly a hundred, were led forth in front of the ruins of the fort; and after an address had been delivered to them by the victor, on the enormity of the crimes, which they had committed against his countrymen, they were all hanged on the same trees, which had been used by Menendez, for the execution of the French three years before. The avengers then sailed for France, leaving the trees laden with their ghastly burthens, over which appeared a board bearing the inscription, "*Not as Spaniards or as mariners, but as traitors, robbers and assassins.*"

Two of the French vessels returned to France in safety; the other was lost on the way. De Gourgues was received with triumph by the Protestants at their strong hold La Rochelle; but so soon as his adventures became known at Paris, a price was set by the government on his head, and he was obliged to secrete himself, in order to escape the vengeance of the queen mother and her party. Fifteen years after, he was engaged by the pretender to the throne of Portugal, to conduct an expedition for the liberation of that country from the yoke of Spain; but the enterprise was not executed, and De Gourgues died in obscurity in 1582. Reflections on the morality of his proceedings in Florida, would be out of place here, or in any other work of the present day: the feelings which prompted them, find a response in the breast of almost every man; and the only regret which can be fairly entertained, is, that the just vengeance of the French could not have fallen on the real authors of the butcheries at Fort Caroline and Matanzas inlet, as well as on their miserable instruments.

The Adelantado Menendez, on his arrival in Florida, shortly after these events, exerted himself to repair the injuries which had been inflicted on his province by the French; and with the aid of his nephew and lieutenant, Pedro Menendez Marquez, he soon succeeded in placing the country in a better state of defence than it had been in before. He also endeavored to extend the Spanish establishments northward, along the coast, and through the interior, with which object he prevailed upon the general of the order of Jesuits, to direct his attention to that quarter; and



several missionary and exploring expeditions were in consequence made by the followers of Loyola, through the territories between Santa Helena and the Bay of Santa Maria, or Chesapeake, which were called the Province of Axacan. The Jesuits however gave up the task of reducing to civilization and christianity the fierce Yamassees and Catawbias, who occupied that part of America; and the Franciscans who next entered the field as missionaries, being equally unsuccessful, the attempt was abandoned.

Whilst these events were in progress in Florida, others took place on the coast of Mexico, which led to results no less important in the end, with regard to the northern division of the New World. The Viceroy of New Spain, Luis de Velasco, died in 1564, and the government was administered for some time by the Audiencia. During this period, a charge of treason was brought against the Marquis del Valle, son and heir of Cortés, for an alleged attempt to establish a throne for himself in Mexico. He was seized, imprisoned, and finally driven from the country by ill usage. Two of his intimate friends were cruelly executed;—his step-brother was tortured—nor was it till after a heavy fine and an investigation which lasted from 1567 to 1574 that his sequestrated estates, sadly wasted by the crown's officials, were restored to him.

From the investigations respecting this affair, it appeared that the negroes, of whom a large number had been introduced into Mexico chiefly by the English traders, were all engaged in the conspiracy; and the prohibitions against the importation of Africans, were in consequence renewed and strengthened. The traders, however, set all these regulations at defiance, and in September, 1569, John Hawkins arrived with five ships, laden with slaves, at San Juan de Ulua, near Vera Cruz, where he began to land them, agreeably to a secret understanding with the officers of the government. Whilst this was in progress, a large Spanish squadron unexpectedly appeared from Europe, bringing Don Martin Henriques de Almanza, as Viceroy of New Spain, who, not wishing or not daring to tolerate this open infraction of the laws, endeavored, at first by dissimulation and then by force, to obtain possession of the English vessels. A fierce combat ensued, in which the English, as usual, displayed great courage and skill, and destroyed three of the Spanish ships,

but the same number having been also lost on their side, Hawkins was obliged to seek safety in flight. This he effected with his own ship, and the other commanded by Francis Drake, carrying off at the same time as many of the crews of the destroyed vessels as could be taken on board; and running along the coast towards the north, they reached the mouth of a small river, near the latitude of  $23\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, probably the Santander, in which they anchored in order to obtain water. On comparing the stock of provisions with the number of persons who were to be supplied, it became evident that they would soon be reduced to famine; and a hundred Englishmen were in consequence landed on the coast, after which the ships took their departure for England, where they arrived in safety. The unfortunate individuals thus left on the sandy shore of the Mexican Gulf, made their way with great difficulty to Panuco, and there surrendered themselves as prisoners to the Spaniards; a few succeeded in returning to their own country, but the greater part remained as captives in Mexico, during the rest of their lives.\*

Upon the report of these occurrences to the Spanish government, the Viceroy of Mexico was instructed immediately to fortify the island of San Juan de Ulua, in order to afford protection to the ships which were obliged to lie between it and the mainland, from the want of secure anchorage at Vera Cruz; and a castle was accordingly begun on that spot, which successive additions have rendered one of the most extensive and redoubtable fortresses in the world. The combat which led to this measure, was the earliest notable collision between the English and the Spaniards in the New World. Hawkins was utterly ruined in fortune by his misadventure, and did not again appear on the sea until he was called forth for the defence of his country against the threatened invasion from Spain in 1589: but his lieutenant, Francis Drake, vowed eternal vengeance and hatred against the whole Spanish nation; and how his vow was kept, every

\* Hakluyt, in the third volume of his Collection, presents the narratives of several of these men, who escaped from their captivity in Mexico, and returned to their country. Four of those who were landed on the coast, are also said to have made their way northward through the continent to the vicinity of Newfoundland, and thence to have passed in a French vessel to Europe; but the evidence is scarcely sufficient to establish the truth of so extraordinary a story.



subject of king Philip, from Chili to California and Florida, was enabled to testify.

In the meantime, Pedro Menendez made many visits to Spain, and on each occasion he was received by his sovereign with all the honors to which his distinguished services entitled him. In 1569, a letter was addressed to him by Pope Pius V., the arch enemy of the religious reformers, commending his zealous conduct, in exterminating the heretics in Florida, and exhorting him to persevere in the same meritorious course. In 1572, he had the satisfaction to learn that more than a hundred thousand of the hated Huguenots, had been sacrificed by the hands of their countrymen in France, and he was soon after appointed to the command of the great *armada*, in preparation for the conquest of England; but he was prevented from taking part in that holy enterprise by death, which overcame this doughty champion of the Church at Corunna, in September, 1574, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. His body rests in the Church of St. Nicholas, in his native town of Aviles; his name will live for ever in the history of the New World, in consequence not only of his barbarous proceedings in Florida, but also of his having founded the first settlement which has subsisted, in the vast division now forming the Republic of the United States.\*

\* The extent of the information with regard to America, possessed in Europe at this period, is best indicated by the maps of the celebrated Flemish geographer, Abraham Ortelius, first published at Antwerp in 1572. The Gulf of Mexico is there represented with considerable approach to correctness of outline; as much indeed, as in any map anterior to 1700. The River of Palms appears following the course, and entering the Gulf near the position of the Rio Bravo; the mouth of the Rio del Espiritu Santo is made to enter a bay called Bay de la Culata, some distance west of the true position of the outlet of the Mississippi: other streams seem to correspond with the Colorado, the Brazos, the Mississippi, the Alabama and the Apalachicola, though none of them are given as very large. Farther north, the general direction of the Atlantic coast is delineated with tolerable accuracy, and Newport harbor is clearly designated. The St. Lawrence is much exaggerated in length at the expense of the great lakes, which seem to have been then unknown; Hudson's Bay and Straits, and Baffin's Bay, are exhibited in a manner so nearly correct, that no doubt can exist of their having been explored long before the period at which they are usually supposed to have been discovered. On the Pacific side, the coast of the continent is made to stretch north-westward to the 43rd degree of latitude, and thence to run to the north-east, as far as the 70th parallel, under which the two oceans are joined by a long and narrow strait.

## CHAPTER V.

1574 TO 1672.

EXTENSION OF THE SPANISH SETTLEMENTS NORTHWARD FROM MEXICO—OCCUPATION OF THE ATLANTIC COASTS OF NORTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS BY THE ENGLISH, THE FRENCH, AND THE DUTCH.

DURING the century immediately following the events last mentioned, scarcely a single occurrence worthy of note took place in any of the countries to which this history relates. The small colonies or posts founded by the Spaniards at St. Augustine, Guale and Santa Helena were maintained, though with great difficulty and cost; but the regions farther west beyond their immediate vicinity were left in the undisturbed possession of the aborigines. Many changes had however been effected in the regions farther north bordering upon the Atlantic, of which it will be necessary to present a sketch, in order to explain the circumstances attending the discovery and settlement of the vast territories drained by the Mississippi and its tributary rivers.

Cotemporary with the events last mentioned in Florida were others of the most important nature in Europe. In 1569, took place the insurrection in the Netherlands, induced by the efforts of Philip II. to establish the inquisition in that part of his dominions, which ended in the liberation of the seven northern provinces, and their union in a republican confederacy, under the pledge of enmity to Spain. The religious reformation in France, was indeed crushed by the massacre of the Huguenots, begun on the eve of St. Bartholomew in 1572: but England thereby became the strong hold of Protestantism, and her whole



people were the more firmly bound together against Spain, as the great supporter of the uncompromising Church of Rome. On the other hand, Spain and France were brought into close alliance after the death of Charles IX., who was succeeded by his brother Henry III. in 1574; and the Spanish king moreover obtained the crown of Portugal, which rendered him the sole possessor of the New World, as well as of the East Indies—so far at least as Papal Bulls could substantiate his claims.

Under these circumstances, the sovereigns of England and Spain were soon at variance; and then commenced that series of acts of violence, which continued for a hundred and fifty years, almost uninterruptedly, to stain the West Indian seas with the blood of the people of those nations, supplying England with her best and most daring seamen, and daily reducing the power of Spain in the New World as well as in Europe. The first expedition of the English against the Spaniards in the West Indies, was begun in 1572, under the command of Drake, who in that and the two following years spread desolation along the coasts of Carthagená and Darien. In 1575, Oxenham, one of the companions of Drake, crossed the isthmus of Panamá with a number of men, and first displayed the flag of his nation on the Pacific; and three years afterwards that flag was carried by Drake through the neglected Straits of Magellan, and along the whole coast northward to California, on every point of which, its appearance was the prelude to devastation. Drake returned to England through the East Indies and around the Cape of Good Hope, having been the first to circumnavigate the earth in one and the same vessel; and in 1585 he began his great and most terrible visitation of the Spanish West Indies, in the course of which he sacked the large and rich cities of Santo Domingo and Carthagená, and destroyed the little capital of Florida. On this latter occasion, the English entered first into the river of May or San Matheo, (now the St. John,) from which the Spanish forces retired on their appearance. Drake then proceeded to St. Augustine, under the guidance of a Frenchman, and having surprised the fort in which were found some cannon and money, he burnt the town and sailed northward for Santa Helena; but the winds being unfavorable for his landing at that place, he left it undisturbed, and continued his voyage along the coast.

The English were at the same period, engaged in other expeditions, which proved in the end still more detrimental to the Spanish supremacy in the New World. The examinations of the coasts and interior regions of America made by the Spaniards had supplied a vast amount of geographical knowledge, which was rendered accessible to all, by the publication of many histories, journals, and maps relating to that division of the earth, in the English and French as well as in the Spanish and Italian languages.\* That the new continent extended unbroken from Magellan's Strait northward at least as far as the 43d degree of north latitude, had thus been demonstrated; beyond that parallel, it was by some supposed to join Asia in the north-west, while others still believed that the two continents might be separated by a navigable channel, uniting the Atlantic with the Pacific, in such a position as to afford the most direct route for intercourse, between Europe and the East Indies. The Spanish government had, as already said, arrived at the conclusion, that the discovery of such a channel, would be fatal to its monopoly of the coasts and trade of the Pacific, which was considered essential to the subsistence of its dominion in the New World; but the same

\* Among these works, were the *Decades* of Peter Martyr—the general histories of the Indies, by Oviedo and Gomara—the narratives and tracts of Las Casas, relating especially to the ill treatment of the Indians by the Spaniards—the narrative of the expedition of Narvaez, by Cabeza de Vaca—the Portuguese narrative of the expedition of Soto—and various works, respecting Peru, Mexico and other parts of the New World, of which translations either of the whole or of parts, soon after appeared in the English, French, German, and Italian languages. The first four *Decades* of Peter Martyr were translated into English, by Richard Eden, and published with many extracts from Oviedo, and other Spanish authors, at London in 1555; and were afterwards incorporated in the "*History of Travayle*," by Willes in 1577.

One of the most valuable contributions to the history and geography made at this period, was however the Collection of voyages, journals, letters, tracts and other papers, published in Italian, at Venice, between 1554 and 1565, by G. B. Ramusio, in three folio volumes, of which the last is devoted almost entirely to the New World, and contains the *Decades* of Peter Martyr, the *Despatches* of Cortés to Charles V., the *History of the Indies* by Oviedo, and many curious and interesting accounts, then for the first time given to the public. The similar collections of Hakluyt and De Bry were not begun until a later period.

Of the maps of the New World which appeared at this time, the one most worthy of note as approaching most nearly to accuracy, is that contained in the atlas of the celebrated Flemish geographer, Ortelius, entitled, "*Theatrum orbis terrarum*," already mentioned at page 152, as published at Antwerp in 1572.



consideration necessarily rendered the rivals and enemies of Spain, desirous to obtain access to that ocean, which for some time formed the great object of the speculations and expeditions of the English and subsequently of the Dutch, or people of the United Netherlands, who rose to eminence as a naval power, soon after the establishment of their independence.

The expeditions of the English for the discovery of a northern channel of communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific, were at first directed eastward, around the northern extremities of Europe; in this course, they however advanced no farther, than Nova Zembla, and the Dutch who followed them were equally unsuccessful. The English then turned their attention towards the north-western side of the Atlantic, the exploration of which was begun, or rather resumed, by Frobisher in 1576; and he was followed by Davis, Hudson, Button, Baffin, and others, who within the ensuing fifty years examined every inlet and opening in that quarter, seeming to promise a free passage for their vessels towards the west. These voyages, though ineffectual as regards the attainment of the proposed object, were nevertheless productive of great advantages, by the increase of geographical knowledge, and the improvements in nautical science and practice which resulted from them; whilst they at the same time powerfully excited among the English, that spirit of maritime adventure, on the subsistence of which, the security and superiority of their nation so essentially depends.

The English and the Dutch were the only European nations which engaged in the search for new passages to the Pacific; unless perhaps the Danes may have had that object in view, in their expeditions beyond Greenland, made at the same period. The French were then fully equal, if not superior to either of the other nations, in commercial as well as in military marine, and they conducted the greater part of the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland; but they were probably restrained by the alliance between their government and that of Spain, from attempting the exploration of the western coasts of the Atlantic, with the above mentioned object.

Connected with the endeavors of the English, to discover new passages to the Pacific, was their desire to plant colonies in America, which was encouraged as much as possible, by queen

Elizabeth. In 1578, she granted a commission to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, similar to those given to the Spanish Adelantados, authorising him to discover and occupy any lands not actually possessed by a Christian prince or people, and to hold them forever, or to dispose of them to other British subjects, who might in like manner hold them, according to the laws of the realm, on condition of paying to the crown one-fifth of all the precious metals, derived from them. There was however great difficulty in assembling the men and materials, required for a colony; nor was any expedition made for the purpose, until after Elizabeth's celebrated declaration to the Spanish government in 1580—that she recognised no right in that power, to places, other than those actually possessed by it, and that she would protect her subjects by every means in her power, in their trade and settlement in the New World.

Gilbert at length departed in 1583, with five vessels and two hundred and sixty-men, for Newfoundland; the coasts of which being already much frequented by Europeans engaged in the cod fishery, it was supposed that a settlement made there at some convenient point would enjoy great and immediate advantages in trade. The colonists were accordingly landed in August, in the harbor of St. John, near the south-east extremity of the island, where possession was formally taken in the name of the queen; lands were then allotted, and laws were published for the government of the country, after which the proprietor began to seek for mines of gold and silver. In the meantime, the people became discontented and mutinous; sickness wasted their strength, and their provisions being moreover insufficient, for their support during the winter, it was determined that they should go back to Europe. The whole company accordingly re-embarked, before the end of the same month for England, on the way to which, Gilbert's vessel, with all on board, disappeared in a violent storm.

A similar commission to make settlements in America, was granted after the death of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to his half brother Sir Walter Raleigh, who in 1584, and the six following years sent several vessels to form establishments in the country, now composing the eastern part of North Carolina. To this country the name of Virginia was given, in commemoration of the mai-



denly virtues of the English queen. The spot selected for the first settlement, was Roanoke island, in the passage connecting the two great bays, now called Albemarle Sound, and Pamlico Sound, which receive the waters of the Chowan, the Roanoke, the Tar, the Neuse, and other large rivers; and more than a hundred persons were established there in 1585, under the direction of Ralph Lane. The colonists however soon began to suffer from want of food, and became involved in difficulties with the natives of the surrounding country, in consequence of which they lost their spirits and capacity for exertion; and when Sir Francis Drake, on returning from his famous expedition through the West Indies already mentioned, visited their settlement in July, 1586, he found them in so pitiable condition, that he yielded to their entreaties, and carried them all back to England. In the next two years, Raleigh sent other parties of colonists, who were established at the same place by his agent John White: but the alarm then excited in England by the Spanish armada, prevented any farther communication with Virginia until 1590; and on the return of White to Roanoke, in that year, with supplies, the place was found deserted, and nothing could be learned respecting the fate of its former occupants.

Disheartened by these failures, Raleigh did not renew his attempts to plant colonies in North America; and though several voyages were made with that object, to the coasts farther north, by the English and the French, no establishment of a permanent character, was effected by either of those or any other European nation, north of the Spanish settlements in Florida, before 1604. The injuries inflicted on the latter settlements by Drake were soon repaired, and the colony was maintained; but it never prospered, and the heirs of Pedro Menendez derived very little advantage from it, in return for the exertions and expenses of the Adelantado in its establishment. The city of Santo Domingo, which had been nearly destroyed by the English in the same expedition, did not recover its former superiority, over the other places in the West Indian archipelago; and it was soon surpassed by Havanna, which became the most important point in that group.

The Spaniards were at the same period extending their discoveries and settlements from Mexico, northward, along the great

chain of mountains, which divides the waters flowing to the Mexican Gulf, from those falling into the Pacific and the Gulf of California. The wide territory midway between these two gulfs, then called New Biscay, and now divided into Durango and Chihuahua, had been as already mentioned occupied before the middle of the century; and from its mines was drawn a large proportion of the silver sent to Europe. This region is bounded on the north and east, by extensive deserts containing only a few spots fit for cultivation. In 1581 however, father Augustin Ruiz or Rodriguez, a Franciscan, established as a missionary in the valley of San Bartolomé, having been informed by the Indians that fertile and populous countries abounding in mines were to be found farther north, followed the river Conchos which traverses that valley down to its junction with a much larger stream, flowing from the north. Of this discovery he sent information to Mexico; and being joined by two other friars, they continued their researches for some months, until they were all killed by the natives.

The Count de Coruña, Viceroy of Mexico, on being informed of the discoveries of the friars, immediately despatched Antonio de Espejo, with a small force in the direction indicated; and that officer in 1583, traced the large river named by him Rio del Norte, or River of the North, to its sources among high mountains, near the 40th degree of latitude. The country thus traversed by Espejo, though presenting only a narrow strip, on each side of the stream, capable of supplying vegetable growth, was thickly inhabited by people, who dwelt in cities, and possessed many of the elements, at least, of civilization; and being induced to believe from their language, and customs, that they might be of the same race, which was found by the Spaniards in possession of Mexico he gave the name of New Mexico to the whole region. Continuing their examinations northward, the Spaniards reached another great river, named by them Rio de Vacas, from the number of buffaloes in its vicinity, which they descended in an easterly direction, more than a hundred leagues, without reaching its mouth: this was no doubt the Arkansas; from the Indians they received accounts of other large streams, and lakes, and of rich and populous countries, situated farther north, but no attempts were made to discover them.



The accounts given by Espejo of the fertility of New Mexico, and the richness of its mines, soon drew thither a number of adventurers, who uniting in a body, under the command of an outlaw named Antonio de Leyva Bonilla, plundered the inhabitants and even endeavored to form a state independent of the authority of Spain. Luis de Velasco, the second Viceroy of Mexico of that name, however prepared a small but well appointed force, under the command of Juan de Oñate, as Adelantado of New Mexico, and the rebels were thus soon brought to submission.\* Colonists were then introduced from Mexico; and in 1595, the town of La Santa Fé, was founded by Oñate, on a small stream, which falls into the Rio del Norte, in the latitude of 34 degrees 41 minutes.

The territory extending eastward from New Biscay to the Mexican Gulf, and then known under the general name of New Leon, consists, like the more southern parts of Mexico, on the same side, of large tracts of high table land, surrounded and traversed by mountain ridges, between which and the Gulf lies a lower country also intersected by irregular lines of mountain. This region contains some isolated spots of no great extent, which are rendered fertile by the presence of streams of water, in a climate eminently favorable to vegetation; but the greater portion is irreclaimably barren, and can never be made to support a population. In the upper country however are many mines of silver which attracted the attention of the Spaniards about the period of the discovery of New Mexico; and in order to derive advantage from them, settlements were formed, for the most part in places combining the advantages of a productive soil with vicinity to these depositories of precious metal, where endeavors were made to collect the natives in villages under the direction of missionaries, with the object of thus providing in time a sufficient supply of laborers. In this manner, San Luis de Potosi was founded about 1590 by the Viceroy Velasco, who also established the towns of Venado, Charcas and Saltillo, first peopled by emigrants from the province of Tlascala; and the same plan was pursued by his successor, the Count de Monterey, under whose government arose Tamaulipas, Coahuila, (now Monclova) and

\*The conquest of New Mexico by Oñate was the subject of an epic poem by Gaspar de Villagran, which was actually printed at Alcalá in 1610.

Monterey, and afterwards Chihuahua in New Biscay. The lower country near the gulf remained unsettled and almost unexplored for more than a century and a half longer; during which, Panuco near the present town of Tampico, continued to be the northernmost Spanish port in the vicinity of the sea. The Count de Monterey also in 1600 caused a new city to be commenced on the spot first chosen by Cortés, opposite the island and castle of San Juan de Ulua, to which the name of Vera Cruz was transferred from the place previously so called, twelve miles farther north. On the Pacific side of New Spain, settlements were at the same period made in Sonora, the region bordering upon the eastern shore of the Californian Gulf, in which many places abounding in gold (placeres) were discovered; attempts were likewise made to occupy the Californian peninsula, but they proved abortive, in consequence of the excessive aridity of the climate.

The endeavors of the English to discover a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, at that time excited the utmost dissatisfaction on the part of the court of Madrid; and expeditions were directed from the western coasts of Mexico, northward in order that if such a channel of communication between the two seas should be found, it might if possible be fortified, so as to prevent other nations from using it to the detriment of Spain. But no results of any kind were derived from the voyages undertaken with this object;\* and it was soon after, generally admitted that the apprehensions which led to them were groundless. The Spaniards were however aroused from their quietude in this respect, by the news of the discovery of the open sea south of Cape Horn, through which the Dutch first sailed into the Pacific in 1616; and the provinces of the Indies on that ocean, were ever after annoyed, and frequently ravaged by enemies of all descriptions.

In the meantime, the wars which had so long desolated Europe, were terminated; the ambitious and unprincipled sovereigns who maintained them for their own selfish purposes having been succeeded by others, of more reasonable or more peaceful dispositions. In France, a compromise was effected between the Catholics and the Protestants, by the wise and conciliatory mea-

\* Accounts of these expeditions will be found in the second chapter of the History of Oregon and California, by the author of the present work.



tures of Henry IV., which restored that kingdom to its former strength and influence, and enabled it to counterbalance the power of Spain. In the latter country, the ruthless Philip II. was replaced in 1599 by his lethargic son, Philip III; and the throne of turbulent Elizabeth, was soon after filled by the pedantic, timid and quiet-loving James I. Treaties of amity and commerce were concluded among the various states of Europe, and tranquillity having been thus completely restored, the maritime nations of that division of the world, again turned their attention to colonization.

For this latter object circumstances were then peculiarly favorable. Not only were hopes of wealth presented to capitalists, and the means of subsistence to laborers, but the entire cessation of war in Europe had thrown out of employ a number of daring adventurers, ready to seize any opportunity of escaping from the insignificance to which peace would reduce them; whilst religious discontent rendered many individuals and even classes, anxious to quit the scenes of their real, or fancied humiliation. Towards North America as being most accessible were all the projects of colonization directed. The French led the way; they were followed by the English and the Dutch; and within the life-time of the first adventurers, the settlements of those nations, extended at short distances apart, along the whole coast, from the St. Lawrence to the Savannah.\*

The earliest of these settlements were formed by the French in 1604, on the north-west side of the peninsula now called Nova Scotia, and the mainland adjacent on the east, the coasts of which had been explored by the people of that nation, and of England, engaged in trade or fishing, or in seeking proper places for colonies, during the latter years of the preceding century. They were made, in virtue of a commission, granted by king Henry IV. to Pierre Demonts, constituting him Lieutenant General

The publication of Hakluyt's celebrated Collection, entitled "The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques, and discoveries of the English nation," of which the third volume printed in 1599, relates almost entirely to America, contributed powerfully to foster this spirit of adventure among the English. De Bry's Collection published in Latin at Frankfort, between 1590 and 1602, also had great effect in making the New World known in Europe, and in spreading the feeling of detestation towards the Spaniards, through that continent.

of the country, territory, coasts and confines of Acadie,\* from the 40th degree of latitude to the 46th. In 1608, Quebec was founded on the St. Lawrence, by Champlain one of the associates of Demonts, through whose care and energy, the supremacy of France was established on both sides of the river as far as the outlet of the lake, now bearing his name. For these regions on the St. Lawrence, the old appellation of Canada, was revived, that of Acadie being confined to the country farther south-east; and the whole were subsequently comprehended under the general name of New France.

The English rapidly followed the French in the career of American colonization. In 1606, king James I. granted by a charter, to two associations, respectively entitled the London Company and the Plymouth Company, all the territories in that part of the world, "commonly called Virginia, and in other parts," not then actually possessed by a christian prince or people, included between the 34th and the 45th parallels of north latitude: the London Company was empowered to settle any where between the 34th and the 40th degrees, and the other association to occupy any spot from the 38th to the 45th; the space between the 38th and the 40th, being left open to both, under certain conditions. In virtue of this charter, the London Company in 1607, sent out several vessels with emigrants under Christopher Newport and John Smith, who made a settlement, named by them Jamestown, on the large river also called after their sovereign, emptying into the south-west part of Chesapeake Bay. In 1609, a special charter was granted to this colony, which was styled Virginia; and in 1612 a third charter was issued, entitling the company to hold all the coasts and islands, within two hundred miles of the mouth of James river, and all the territories thence extending west, and north-west, to the Pacific. The Plymouth Company also attempted in 1607 to form an establishment on the Kennebeck river; but the place was abandoned in the following year, and the territory which that body was authorised to occupy, remained neglected until 1620.

The Dutch had in the meantime, established themselves on

\* Acadie is generally supposed to have been a corruption of Arcadie, or Arcadia; the origin of Canada, is unknown, though there is reason to suppose, that it was the name of an Indian town or country near Quebec.



the large stream, entering the Atlantic, under the 40th degree of latitude, called by them the North river, and by the English the Hudson, in honor of its supposed discoverer Henry Hudson. Their first settlements were made by the West India Company of Amsterdam, at the mouth of this stream, where Fort Amsterdam was erected in 1615, on the spot now occupied by the battery in the city of New York; the government of Holland however, soon after took possession of the country, to which the name of New Netherlands was given, and the settlements rapidly extended up the river, where Fort Orange was founded on the site of the present city of Albany.

The earliest permanent settlement of English north of Virginia, was made in 1620, by a small number of persons called Puritans, whose ideas of religious conduct and discipline, were so peculiar and strict, that they were unable either to tolerate the state of things, or to obtain toleration for themselves in their own country.\* They, in consequence, emigrated to Holland; but being still dissatisfied, they determined to remove to America, and there to seek some spot, in which they might establish their own system as paramount, and pursue it without the fear of the legal enactments, or the private antipathy, or the ridicule of the unrighteous in the land of their birth. It was their intention, on leaving

\*The acute and occasionally caustic Scotchman, Dr. William Douglass, in his historical summary of the English colonies in America, published at Boston in 1749, thus characterises the first settlers in New England:

"These Puritans were pious, honest, well meaning people; but too contracted, rigid, and singular in their discipline and practice of devotion. They would not allow of the English St. George's red cross, in the military ensigns, colors and standards. In common affairs of life, they affected to use scripture terms, and these not always proper: our translation is not good. Ancient terms in common life, used by the polite Greeks and Romans, they called profane, and did not use them: for instance, instead of December 25th, they wrote the 25th day of the tenth month; instead of Monday, they said the second day of the week. Some of them made a conscience of a pun or a rebus; thus some good old women would not brew on Saturdays, because the ale or beer would in course work upon the Lord's day following.

"The generality of the first settlers, soon became more moderate and social; while others became more obstinately and intractably enthusiastic. These last removed, and gave birth to the volunteer settlements of Providence, Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Haven, in the dominions of New England."

These were stubborn materials, but the better adapted to the end in view. Had the French settlers in East Florida possessed some of the unamiable peculiarities of the Puritans, their enterprise would not have failed so completely, under the influence of the first opposing circumstances.

Europe, to settle on the Hudson river; but the master of their vessel—treacherously, as it is said—conducted them to Massachusetts Bay, on the rocky barren shores of which, they landed in November, 1620. There they fixed their habitation; and having been joined by some of their brethren from Europe, they founded a colony, to which the name of Plymouth was given, in honor of the port in England, whence they took their departure.

The settlers at Plymouth carried with them no patent or authority to possess territory in America. Soon after their departure however, the Plymouth Company received from the crown a new charter, conceding to it the whole division of the continent between the 40th and the 48th parallels of latitude, from sea to sea, under the name of New England, with all the authority and privileges enjoyed by the Virginia Company; and from this body, the settlers succeeded in procuring a grant of lands surrounding their establishment of Plymouth. Other grants of the same nature were made by the New England Company, to individuals or to associations; and in 1621, king James in like manner bestowed on Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, the whole territory, east of a line drawn from the mouth of the river St. Croix on the Atlantic, along that stream to its northernmost source, and thence due north to the St. Lawrence. This last province, which was to be called Nova Scotia or New Scotland, was of course abstracted from New England; and as it moreover embraced all the French settlements in Acadie, and a portion of Canada, the concession was very offensive to the French, who prepared to resist the contemplated occupation by the English. James I. was then engaged in a negotiation for the marriage of his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, with the daughter of Philip III. of Spain, which was however broken off; and in 1625, the prince, then king Charles I. was united to the daughter of the late king Henry IV. of France, and sister of the reigning sovereign of that kingdom, Louis XIII., on which occasion, it was agreed that Acadie should belong entirely to France. Had the "Spanish match" been effected, Virginia would probably have been in like manner surrendered to Spain, or at least abandoned by England; as the Catholic monarch would not have failed to require this sacrifice, which James would have considered very trifling, in order to secure the consummation of his favorite project.



The first French colonists in Canada and Acadie, as in Florida, were Protestants. In 1628 however, Cardinal Richelieu, then at the summit of power in France, granted all the possessions of his nation in the New World, to an association of a hundred individuals, entitled the Company of New France, on conditions, of which one was, that no foreigner or heretic should be allowed to remain in any of those countries; and Roman Catholic missionaries were immediately sent thither in great numbers to convert the natives, and to enforce the observance of their faith among the king's subjects. Agreeably to this charter, Florida, as well as the St. Lawrence regions, were embraced in New France, nothing being said with respect to the intervening territories, occupied by other nations; and as the limits of Acadie were not defined precisely in the original grant of the country to Demonts, and had never been settled by treaty between the two nations claiming possession in that part of America, they might have been construed to embrace not only Nova Scotia, but also the whole of New England.\*

Great anxiety was occasioned among the colonists of New England, by this charter of New France; but king Charles I. confirmed the grant of his father to Alexander, and made others in the territory next adjoining Nova Scotia on the west, to which the name of Maine was given, either in contra-distinction to the islands in its vicinity, or in compliment to the queen, to whom the

\*L'Escarbot in his "*Histoire de la Nouvelle France*," published in 1617, says: "Our New France has for its limits on the west, the territories as far as the Pacific ocean, on this side of the tropic of Cancer; on the south, the islands of the Atlantic ocean, in the direction of Cuba and Hispaniola; on the east, the north sea which bathes New France, and on the north, the unknown lands in the direction of the Frozen ocean, as far as the north pole." The description is certainly any thing but precise; yet it seems to include the whole of America north of the tropic of Cancer.

Champlain in his "*Voyages et decouvertes en la Nouvelle France*," in 1632, declares that "by the common consent of all Europe, New France extends at least to the 35th or 36th degree of latitude, as shewn by the maps of the world, published in Spain, Italy, Holland, Flanders, Germany, and even in England." These are of course mere extravagancies, proceeding from exuberance of patriotism, or national vanity on the parts of the writers; yet we see them at the present day gravely cited as proof of rights. See the "*Exploration de l'Oregon*," by M. Duflot de Mofras, vol. 2, page 253, in which the claim of Great Britain to Oregon, as being a part of Canada, is pronounced to be established by such evidence.

revenues of the province of Maine in France, were secured on her marriage. In 1627, war unexpectedly broke out between England and France, in the course of which, all the possessions of the latter nation in America were conquered by the English. This re-assured the people of New England, and several other colonies were immediately founded in those regions, among which were Massachusetts Bay, adjoining the Plymouth colony on the north, where the town of Boston was commenced in 1629, and New Hampshire still farther in the same direction. Peace was however restored between the two contending nations in 1632, by the treaty of St. Germain, through which the French regained all their former possessions in Canada and Acadie: the apprehensions of the New England people in consequence returned and the company being moreover alarmed by the conduct of the king, surrendered its charter to the crown in 1635; whereupon the direction of all the English colonies in America was committed to a board, sitting at London, entitled "the Lord's Commissioners of the Plantations."

The Virginia Company had been dissolved in 1625, when the colony became a royal province. Seven years afterwards the portion north of the Potomac river was erected into a separate province called Maryland, the proprietorship and government of which, were granted under certain conditions and restrictions to Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic nobleman, and his heirs and assigns forever. These countries were soon in a prosperous situation, notwithstanding the enmity of the savages towards the settlers; and their population increased rapidly, in consequence of the advantages afforded by the soil and climate, especially for the cultivation of tobacco, which then bore a high price in Europe.

The apprehensions of danger entertained in New England, from the vicinity of the French, soon vanished; and several new colonies were formed, of which Connecticut, New Haven and Rhode Island, were off-shoots from the original puritan establishments in Plymouth and Massachusetts; while Maine, and others farther east were settled principally by persons coming directly from England, whose ideas on political and religious matters were more nearly consonant with the system of Church and State in that country. The Dutch settlements were also



increasing, and extended from the Hudson eastward to the Connecticut, and westward to and beyond the Delaware or South river as it was called by the people of that nation; and a small colony of Swedes, had been planted on the right bank of the latter stream, near the site of the present town of New-Castle, which was however soon brought under subjection to the Dutch.

The Dutch in the New Netherlands were considered as intruders by the English, who viewed with extreme discontent, this occupation by another and a rival people, of the vast and fertile tract, separating New England from Maryland and Virginia; and many petitions were addressed to the government at London, for the removal of the obnoxious interlopers, by force or by agreement with the United Provinces. No attention, however, was paid to these representations, by king Charles I. who was too much engaged in the struggle for power with his parliament, to attend to the concerns of a few discontented puritans in a remote land; and the people of New England, being moreover at the same time exposed to danger from the savages, and foreseeing the evil consequences which might result from the revolution, then in progress in the parent State, formed a league in 1643, by which the colonies of Massachusetts, (then including New Hampshire) Plymouth, New Haven and Connecticut, bound themselves to act in concert for their mutual interests and safety.

The revolution in England proved highly advantageous in all respects to the American colonies of that nation. Those colonies had been placed as soon as possible in a situation to govern themselves almost entirely; being each provided with its executive, legislative and judicial departments, resembling those of the country from which they all drew their origin. The New England colonies were in this respect nearly independent of the powers in England; and were, and continued to be in reality, so many republics, each managing its own affairs with little interference on the part of any extraneous authority. The systems adopted in Virginia and Maryland were more nearly conformable with that established in the mother country, to which they were also more directly subordinate: and the allegiance to the sovereign, was maintained in those provinces after it had been thrown off in every other portion of the dominions. Accordingly, during the revolution in England, the exiled or discontented royalists, emigrated

in great numbers to Virginia and Maryland; while the professors of republican principles in Church and State, betook themselves to New England, in which they found a home among persons of congenial views and feelings.

New England was in consequence specially protected and favored by Cromwell, who yielding to its representations, sent out a large squadron in 1654, for the conquest of the New Netherlands. The conclusion of peace with the Dutch, prevented the execution of that design; but the armament, reinforced by troops from Massachusetts, was directed against the French settlements in Acadie, which were all subjugated, though the two nations were not then at war with each other, and were retained for more than twelve years by the conquering party.

The English, the French, and the Dutch, had in the meantime likewise established themselves, on several of the West India islands, and on the adjacent coasts of South America. Some of the settlements had been commenced about the year 1625, by parties of individuals of those nations, who landed, without any authorization, on the smaller islands, and there remained, unprotected by any government, except such as they constituted for themselves, and exposed to many difficulties, from disputes with each other, as well as from the attacks of the Spaniards. The other settlements were founded by pirates of the same nations who under the denominations of Bucaniers, Freebooters, Flibustiers or Zee-roovers, maintained unceasing warfare against the Spaniards in the West Indies, pillaging their ships, and the towns on their coasts, on both seas, during the whole of that century. When the establishments formed in either way, had become sufficiently important to attract attention, officers were sent from London, or Paris, or Amsterdam, who took possession of them in the name of their respective governments.

France and Spain were at war with each other from 1635 to 1659, during which period, the possessions of the former power in the West Indies, were constantly increasing, by settlement as well as by conquest. The western half of Hispaniola, was occupied by the flibustiers who held it until 1648; it was then formally annexed to the French dominions, the name of the Spanish capital of the island, St. Domingo, being assumed for this portion, in token of the intention to bring the remainder under the



authority of France. In 1655, a large fleet was sent by Cromwell, under Penn and Venables for the conquest of the same island; the English were repulsed in their attack on its capital city, but they succeeded in subjugating the whole of Jamaica, which has ever since remained in their possession.

Peace was made between France and Spain, by the treaty of the Pyrennees in 1659, agreeably to which, the young king of France, Louis XIV., married the daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, and the two powers were more closely bound together, by the alliance of Paris in 1662. No arrangements however were made between them, with respect to the New World, in which each tacitly retained what it held, and pursued towards the other the same course as before. It is worthy of remark, that in this interval, took place the earliest direct acknowledgment by the Spanish government, of the right of any other European nation, except Portugal, to hold dominion in America; it being agreed in the treaty of Munster in 1648, between Spain and the United Provinces of the Netherlands, that each party should retain the places possessed by it in the East and West Indies, and in Brazil, and all other coasts and territories of Asia, Africa, and America—provided that the subjects of neither should visit the spots held by the other, in those countries. It may also be mentioned as a curious fact, that the concession made by Pope Alexander VI. to Spain by the Bull of partition in 1493, was recalled in part by another Pope, Alexander VII., who in 1658, issued a brief, acknowledging the king of France as the rightful sovereign of all the countries conquered and occupied by his subjects, in the West Indies, and confirming the appointments of ecclesiastics in those dominions.

In 1660, monarchy was restored in England, and five years afterwards, war broke out between that nation and the United Provinces; before the declaration of which however, Charles II. carried into execution the design of Cromwell, by suddenly attacking and conquering all the possessions of the Dutch in North America. Those countries were then bestowed by the king upon his brother the Duke of York and Albany (afterwards James II.,) who divided them into two provinces—New Jersey containing the southern portion of the territory between the Hudson and the Delaware rivers—and New York comprehending the remainder

of the New Netherlands; the name of New Amsterdam being at the same time changed to New York, and that of Fort Orange to Albany. At the conclusion of the war in 1665, these countries were left in the hands of the English by the treaty of Breda, by which it was agreed, that each nation should retain its conquests. In 1673 they were again brought under the dominion of the Dutch; but they reverted to the English in the following year, agreeably to the terms of the treaty of Westminster, and remained in their possession until the American revolution.

By the occupation of the New Netherlands, the English were brought into direct collision with the French of Canada, and another source of difficulties between them was about the same time opened. The treaty of Breda between England and France in 1665 declared that "the country called Acadie, situated in North America, whereof the king of France formerly enjoyed the possession," should be restored to that sovereign. This act was of course most dissatisfactory to the people of New England; and as the treaty contained no description of the limits of the country ceded, discussions were commenced as to the relative extent of Acadie and Nova Scotia, which continued occasionally to disturb the peace between the two nations, until they were definitively set at rest by the treaty of Paris in 1763, assigning all those countries to Great Britain.

Whilst the English thus acquired the possession of New York, they were extending their dominion southward, towards the Spanish settlements in Florida.

King Charles I. had, in 1630, granted to Sir Robert Heath and others, the whole territory south of the 36th parallel of latitude, the southern limit of Virginia, in order to form a colony, which was to be called Carolana, in honor of the sovereign. This grant having been rendered void, from non-fulfilment of the conditions, Charles II. in 1663, issued a new patent, in favor of the Earl of Clarendon and seven others, constituting them and their successors for ever, proprietors of all the countries in America, between the 36th degree of latitude and the 31st, which were to compose the province of Carolina, and to be enjoyed and governed by those proprietors in every way not repugnant to the laws of England.

Previous to this concession, a few settlements had been made



by people from Virginia, as far south as the borders of Albemarle sound, and the country had been explored to Cape Fear river, near which some people from New England had recently established themselves. In 1663, the year in which the first charter was granted, William Hilton was sent from Barbadoes, by planters of that island, to seek a place for a colony in Florida;\* and he, after examining Santa Helena, of which the Spaniards were found in occupation, landed on the banks of Cape Fear river, and selected a spot where a settlement was made with the consent of the proprietors. The population rapidly increased, and in 1667, a system of government was formed for this country, and a legislature was convened, which passed laws and appointed persons to execute them.

The English had also at this period, partially explored the coasts southward to the San Matheo; and had entered the large river, called by them the Savannah, or Saranna, from a tribe of Indians of that name, residing at its mouth, and probably also the Alatomaha, falling into the ocean midway between the two other streams above mentioned. In virtue of these discoveries—as they were pleased to regard them—the proprietors of Carolina in 1665, obtained from the king another charter, extending their southern boundary to the 29th parallel of latitude, so as to include all the Spanish settlements in Florida, and the whole northern coast of the Mexican Gulf, to which were moreover added the Bahama islands. Soon after this period the Spaniards withdrew their garrisons from Santa Helena, and all the other points occupied by them north of the San Matheo; and in 1670, an English colony was planted on one of the islands of the Santa Helena group, which was called Port Royal, under the supposition—no doubt incorrect—of its being the same so named by Ribault, where the first settlement of the Huguenots was established in 1562. This spot however, proved unhealthy, and the people were in the following year transferred to another, forty miles farther north-east, on the banks of a small river called the Ashley, in honor of Lord Shaftesbury, one of the proprietors; from which

\* “A relation of a discovery lately made on the coast of Florida from latitude 31 to 33 degrees 45 minutes north, by William Hilton, London, 1664.” This curious narrative has been reprinted by Peter Force, Esq., of Washington, in his collection of tracts relative to America, vol. 4.

they were again removed to the bay at the confluence of the Ashley with the Cooper, where the city of Charleston was begun in 1680. The constitution devised for Carolina by John Locke—the wisest and best man of his day—with its palatine for life, and its hereditary nobility of Landgraves and Caciques, proved wholly inapplicable to the circumstances of the country and its people; and now remains as a warning against all attempts to govern nations according to abstract systems.

The English thus, in 1672, held exclusive possession of the whole Atlantic coast of America, from the Savannah to the Bay of Fundy, along which their settlements extended, though at great distances apart, containing together not less than a hundred thousand persons. The only towns of any size were Boston and New York, each of which carried on a considerable trade with England and the West Indies, their principal exports being furs, grain and timber. From Virginia and Maryland, tobacco was almost the only export, especially after the introduction of negro slaves, which was commenced in 1620. Slavery of Indians as well as of negroes, was permitted in the more northern colonies; but the proportion of slaves in those countries, was never so great as in Maryland, and the other colonies farther south. All these settlements were made on or near tide water, none of them being situated above the heads of the rivers, falling directly into the Atlantic; nor is there sufficient evidence, that any Englishman, during that century, crossed the Apalachian or Alleghany mountains, which divide those waters from the Mississippi and its tributaries, emptying into the Mexican Gulf.\*

\* Coxe, in his *Carolana*, published in 1722, asserts that a Colonel Wood, who lived at the falls of James River, now Richmond, in Virginia, spent the years from 1654 to 1664, in exploring the Mississippi regions; and also that a large party of men from Boston had crossed the continent to New Mexico in 1679; but neither of these assertions is sustained by any proofs; and the book is filled with similar accounts which we now know to be erroneous. Jeffreys, or whoever wrote the "*History of the French dominions in America*," published under his name in 1760, adds, (page 134) that the Mississippi was also explored in 1670 by a Captain Bolt; but he probably here refers to Captain Batt, who was sent in that year by Sir William Berkeley, the governor of Virginia, to make discoveries south-westward from the falls of James River, and who penetrated for some distance along the eastern side of the Alleghany ridge, until he reached the headwaters of streams flowing "backwards," and supposed by him to fall into the Mexican Gulf. See Beverley's *History of Virginia*, published in 1722, page 62.



The Spaniards, on the contrary, had made very few additions to their settlements in North America, since the commencement of the century. In Florida they were confined to St. Augustine, and one or two small places in its vicinity, containing no other inhabitants than the garrisons, and persons connected with the government, probably not exceeding altogether a thousand persons. These settlements were constantly harrassed by Indians, especially by the Jamaques or Yamassees, occupying the coasts and islands between the San Matheo or St. John's river and Santa Helena, the Apalaches, including the Seminoles and Uchees of the lower Apalachicola, and the Cavitas or Coweetas, or Muscoghees of the Chattâ-hoochee. The wars with these savages, the disputes among the heirs of the Adelantado Menendez, and the discussions as to ecclesiastical regulations, form the whole subjects of the history of Florida during this period—a history not more important or more interesting, than that of any English or Dutch factory on the Guinea coast.

On the Mexican Gulf, Havanna, Campeachy and Vera Cruz, were the only places of note. Havanna was rising steadily into importance, the seat of government of the island of Cuba, having been transferred thither from Santiago at the beginning of the century. Vera Cruz, occupying its present position, opposite the island and castle of San Juan de Ulua, was a large and flourishing city, and the depository of the whole commerce between Mexico and Spain. Panuco had sunk into an inconsiderable village, in consequence probably of some change in the depth of water at the mouth of the river, which rendered it inaccessible to vessels drawing more than six feet. North of Panuco, there was not a single settlement of Europeans in the vicinity of the gulf, nor in any part of the vast division of the continent, drained by streams entering that sea, between the valley of the Rio Bravo or Rio Grande on the west, and the peninsula of Florida on the other side. Nor does it appear from Spanish histories or maps, or works of geography, or in any other way, that any thing had been learned respecting the countries last mentioned, since the expedition of Arellano in 1560; except that a confused idea was entertained in Mexico, of the existence of a powerful nation of Indians, called Teguas or Texas, in the region north of the

Rio Bravo, between New Mexico and the gulf.\* Conclusive evidence is indeed afforded by the works above alluded to, that the connection of the Rio del Norte, near which Santa Fé in New Mexico is situated, with the Rio Grande or Bravo, entering the gulf near the 26th parallel, was not known or suspected by the Spaniards until 1591; the former river being before that year, represented as flowing westward to the Californian Gulf.† In the maps of that period, a large river is always made to enter the Mexican Gulf, through a bay called the Bay of Espiritu Santo, situated four or five degrees west of the actual position of the mouth of the Mississippi; the river itself being named in different maps, Rio del Espiritu Santo, Rio de Cuchagua, Rio de la Culata, Rio Grande, and Rio de la Palisada.‡ The great river represented under these various names, notwithstanding its position thus far west, and its termination in a bay, was most probably intended for the Mississippi, which was certainly known to the Spaniards as Rio del Espiritu Santo during the whole of the sixteenth century, and subsequently as the Rio de la Palisada, from the accumulation of logs in the form of a palisade at its entrance. Indeed the existence of the Mississippi could not have been concealed, or forgotten for any length of time, after the occupation of Mexico; as the greater number of vessels in their usual course from Vera Cruz to the Atlantic, must have crossed the muddy current created by the discharge of its waters into the Gulf. The true place of the mouth of the Mississippi, is usually occupied in those maps, by a small stream, called Rio de Flores; between the Rio del Espiritu Santo and the Rio Bravo appear several other rivers,

\* "The venerable mother Maria de Jesus Agreda," says Barcia in his Chronological History of Florida, "preached in the province of the Teguas [in 1622,] but whether in the spirit, or in reality, she herself could not determine." Whatever this famous extatic nun may have done *in the spirit*, it seems to be clearly established, that she never *in the body*, left the walls of the Convent of the Immaculate Conception at Agreda in Arragon, from the time of her first entrance in 1619, to her death in 1665.

† In some of these maps, the Rio del Norte, is made identical with the Gila, entering the Californian Gulf at its northern extremity; in others with the Yaqui, which falls into that sea near the 27th degree of latitude. Alcedo in his great "Dictionary, Geographical and Historical of the Indies," published at Madrid in 1786-9, positively states that the Rio del Norte, empties into the Californian Gulf, in the latitude of 32 degrees; and the error moreover stands uncorrected, in the English translation of that work, by Thompson, published in 1813.

‡ See at page 219 the copy of a Spanish map of the gulf, published in 1670.



under a variety of appellations, such as Rio de la Magdalena, Rio Escondido, Rio de Montañas, and Rio de Gigantes.

The Spanish government nevertheless still claimed the exclusive dominion of the West India islands, and of the whole division of America north of the Mexican Gulf; and still endeavored to enforce its barbarous decrees against all foreigners who should enter those territories;\* and many large and costly armaments had been sent by that power, to expel the English, French and Dutch intruders from the Caribean Archipelago. These attempts however proved uniformly unsuccessful; and they served only to exhaust the resources of Spain, which was from various causes, rapidly sinking to an inferior position among the nations of the civilized world.

At length in 1670, a treaty was concluded between the Catholic king and Charles II. of England, by which they agreed to respect the rights and dominions of each other, "in the West Indies, or in any part of America," and to maintain peace between their subjects, "inviolably, as well by land as by sea, and fresh water," provided, that the subjects and vessels of neither kingdom, should have access to the ports or places of the other, unless forced thither by unavoidable circumstances. This treaty, known in English history, as the American treaty, resembled in its terms, that concluded at Munster between Spain and the United Netherlands in 1648 as already mentioned; and was the first admission by Spain of the right of England to hold dominion in the New World, or to navigate the seas in its vicinity. Its provisions were of the most general nature, though calculated to open the way for others more specific, without which, the treaty was in fact of little efficacy: with regard to territories occupied exclusively by either party, and having distinct natural boundaries, such as islands, the right of possession might be considered as clearly recognised; but in all other cases, ample field was left for dispute, and disputes accordingly arose at every point, where the territories held by the two nations were contiguous.

The American treaty nevertheless gave to the English colonies, in Carolina, and in the West Indies, an assurance which

\* These prohibitive enactments may nearly all be found in the "Recopilacion de Leyes de Indias," or code of laws of the Spanish dominions in the New World. Book 9, titles 27, 30 and 44.

they had previously wanted, and they advanced more rapidly in consequence. The Spaniards indeed lost no opportunity to annoy their rivals in Carolina—which they still affected to regard as a part of Florida—by direct attacks as well as by exciting the Indians to make war on the frontier settlements of the English; but the latter by their vigilance and energy, defeated these attempts, and returned the annoyances with interest in the same way.

The French settlements in America had meanwhile advanced but little, in comparison with those of the English; they were confined to the shores of the peninsula of Acadie or Nova Scotia, and the banks of the St. Lawrence below its rapids, and their population, exclusive of the aborigines, did not exceed eight thousand persons. Their government was conducted on the most despotic plan: the whole of New France, was under the immediate control of a Governor and Captain General, appointed by the crown, with powers scarcely inferior to those of the Spanish viceroys, while the military and ecclesiastical establishments were proportionally large and expensive. The trade and settlement of all of these countries were as already said, conceded in 1624, to the company of New France, which retained its privileges, until 1663; they were then transferred to the West India Company, which held them, together with the exclusive rights of commerce and navigation in all parts of America and of Africa bordering on the Atlantic, until 1674, when the American provinces were all brought under the direct dominion of the crown.

The principal places in New France were Port Royal, now Annapolis, on the Acadian peninsula, near the entrance of the Bay of Fundy; and on the St. Lawrence, Quebec the seat of the general government, Trois-rivieres, on the expansion of the river called Lake St. Pierre, and Montreal the centre of religion and commerce, from which the missionaries and traders took their departure for the interior. No French establishment of any kind, except some missionary and trading stations, existed before 1673, beyond the rapids of the St. Lawrence; though the shores of all the great lakes had been carefully explored through the exertions of the Jesuits, as clearly proved by their maps, which were almost as exact as those of any part of Europe at the same period.

The French however by no means intended to limit themselves to these inhospitable regions; in which their establishments were



maintained, as bases for farther operations, whereby their power might be extended southward, over the countries then claimed by Great Britain. The territory south of Lakes Ontario and Erie, from the St. Lawrence to the head-waters of the Ohio, the Susquehanna and the Hudson, was found occupied by a powerful confederacy of Indians, celebrated in the history of Northern America, as the Five Nations, or the Iroquois, as they were called by the French, whose influence prevailed to a much greater distance, in all directions, even north of the lakes, where they held in subjection, the Wyandots or Hurons of the region, between lakes Erie and Huron.\* To obtain a footing in this wide and fertile territory, now composing the principal part of the State of New York, was the constant object of the French, from the time of their first settlement in Canada; to which military commanders, missionaries and traders, had all directed their efforts, but without the slightest prospect of success. The Dutch whilst they held possession of the country farther south, had contented themselves with the trade of the southern portion of the confederacy, over which they however obtained little influence: but the English immediately after the annexation of the New Netherlands to their dominions, employed every means in their power, to conciliate or subdue the Five Nations; and thus arose a contest between them and the French, which continued without any real intermission, until the overthrow of the authority of the latter, on the American continent.

\*The Five Nations of this confederacy, were the Seneka, or Tsonnonthouans, as called by the French, occupying the country from the south-east end of Lake Erie, to the Genesee river, on which the city of Rochester now stands; the Onondaga or Onontague, extending along the south shore of Lake Ontario, from the Genesee to the Seneka river which enters the lake at Oswego; the Oneida, or Onneyuths of the French, between the Onondaga and the mountainous region west of Lake Champlain, which was then inhabited by the wild Adirondacks, or Tree-eaters; the Mohawks, or Agniers of the French, on the River Mohawk, one of the branches of the Hudson, and the Lake of the Sacrament, now Lake George; and the Cayuga or Goyogouen of the French, dwelling near the Cayuga Lake, south of the Onondaga. In 1712, the Tuscarora from North Carolina established themselves in this region, between the Oneida and Ontario lakes, and were admitted into the confederacy, which thenceforth became the Six Nations.

The name Iroquois is said to have been given to these Indians, by the French, from the frequent use of an expression or exclamation resembling *Irok* in sound, uttered by them in token of assent, in their deliberative assemblies. The Hurons, were so called by the French, from their manner of dressing their heads, giving them the appearance of the *hure* or head of the wild boar.

The part of America north of the St. Lawrence countries, surrounding the great interior sea, called Hudson's Bay from its supposed discovery, by the English navigator Henry Hudson in 1608, was considered by the French as dependant on Canada. Charles II. King of England however in 1670, granted by charter to an association of noblemen and gentlemen, entitled, "The company of adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," the entire and exclusive possession of all "the seas, straits and bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits, commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands, countries, and territories, upon the coasts and confines" of those waters, not then actually possessed by subjects of England or of any other christian prince or state. This concession was of course very annoying to the French, who immediately took measures to anticipate the English in the occupation of the coasts of the bay, and another source of discord was thus opened between the two nations.

This charter to the Hudson's Bay Company, was the first instance of a claim or grant by a European government, of an unoccupied tract of territory in America, in which the limits were defined by specific reference to the streams, traversing or draining the tract, or—in other words—to the ridge or line of highland encircling it. In the previous cases, the French had merely stated in their patents, the extent of coast which they meant to occupy; while the English boldly asserted their title to the whole breadth of the continent, between certain parallels of latitude: and as in this last grant, the principal object expressed in the charter, was to encourage the search for a northern passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific, it is strange that the concession like those to the Virginia, New England and Carolina Companies, was not made to extend completely across the continent.

The charters or patents under which these English and French colonies in America were established, nearly resembled the commissions of the Spanish sovereigns to their Adelantados. They in like manner supposed the existence of a right in the party granting them, to the possession of the territories designated, and were equivalent to public declarations of its intention to support and defend the grantees not only in the enjoyment of the settle-



ments which they might make, but also indirectly in the exclusive right of making settlements, in the whole extent of those territories. History shows that this construction was always placed by the French and English governments, on their respective charters; and that neither of those powers ever yielded any territory, claimed on such grounds, except on compulsion, or in return for some advantage gained; though the desire of maintaining peace often led them, in their treaties with each other, to leave those questions unsettled or involved in vague and indeterminate generalities.

The Spanish sovereigns originally founded their claim to the whole of the New World except Brazil, upon the concession made by the Pope to Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1493, and the Treaty of Partition with Portugal; and when these titles ceased to be respected, they adduced the discoveries and settlements of their subjects, in support of their pretensions. The English and the French seem to have always proceeded upon the principle, that territories not already occupied by some European nation, were open to all, and should belong to the first which made settlements in them; no claim on the ground of discovery, being alleged in any charter from either of those powers, at least since the days of Henry VIII. and Francis I. Queen Elizabeth indeed expressly pronounced all titles to countries, resting on this latter basis, to be as vain and insignificant as those emanating from the Papal authority; and her refusal to recognise the sovereignty of the Spaniards "farther than in the parts where they actually settled and continued to inhabit," became thenceforward the rule of English policy on those matters.

The right of a civilized nation to take possession of a country inhabited only by barbarians, incapable of developing its advantages, will not here be discussed. With regard to the pretension of one civilized nation, to appropriate to itself exclusively, a vast portion of the earth, in which it may at the time not have a single citizen or subject, circumstances so many and various, are to be considered, that it is scarcely possible to lay down any principles, or even rules of a definite nature. If discovery be the basis of the pretension, it is not easy to determine exactly—what should constitute a discovery, so complete as to give to the party making it, a preference over all others, in occupying the country;

—what degree of publicity should have been given to a discovery, in order to render those subsequently made, inoperative—how far an exploration by one party, may supersede the claims of another, resting merely on the previous ascertainment of the existence of the territory—to what extent of territory, the preference in occupation, if clearly established by a particular discovery and survey, might be deemed to apply, and how long it might subsist, without the exercise of the right—or what respect is due to the claims of nations, possessing dominions contiguous to the vacant territory. Similar questions may arise, after the actual settlement of a country, with regard to the extent of vacant territory, over which a particular establishment should secure to the founder, the rights of immediate jurisdiction, or of preference in occupation; and, no less difficult would it be, to prescribe rules of conduct, applicable to all the cases which might thus occur. On all these points, disputes have arisen between the civilized nations, by which various portions of the New World were discovered, or claimed and settled: in their discussions, however, the parties have seldom agreed, either as to facts, or principles of justice, or usages; and the questions have been, in almost every instance, determined, by force or by compromise.

It may, however, be easily shown, that the settlement of a vacant country would be attended with infinitely greater difficulty and injury to the cause of humanity and civilization, without such assurances from the parent state to its people, that they should be protected, in the exclusive possession of territories, sufficiently extensive for the accommodation of themselves and their descendants, during a reasonable period of time. It would be needless to enumerate the evils, which would otherwise ensue, from the establishment of several colonies of different nations, in a small space; or to show that the apprehension of those evils would deter respectable persons, from attempting to settle, where they would be thus exposed to violence and knavery, without the possibility of obtaining redress from laws. The extent of country which might be embraced in such a charter, without subjecting the party granting it to the charge of injustice or extravagance, would depend on many circumstances not easily defined, but especially on its actual population, and its vicinity or its means of access, to the territory claimed.



At the period to which the present Chapter relates, a general international law was scarcely known. Grotius, Puffendorf, and Selden then lived, and their great works which formed the basis of the science, were published in the sixteenth century; yet, the principles they laid down were regarded as legal abstractions by which governments were not bound to regulate their conduct to each other. Very little is said by these eminent writers respecting the rights of nations to vacant territories, and, indeed very little has been since produced of a satisfactory or paramount character on this subject. Each of the European powers which then held dominion in America, regarded as its own all that was bounded by limits assigned by its own will. These limits were extended whenever it was deemed expedient, and of course, without reference to the claims of other powers, no matter on what basis they might rest. This condition of territorial claims and rights, in which might made right, continued to exist until a much later period of our history.

## CHAPTER VI.

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1672 TO 1684.

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DISCOVERIES OF THE FRENCH JESUITS AND TRADERS IN THE INTERIOR OF NORTH AMERICA—EXPEDITIONS OF JOLIET AND MARQUETTE, AND OF LA SALLE AND HENNEPIN ON THE MISSISSIPPI—COMPLETE EXPLORATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI BY THE FRENCH FROM ITS FALLS TO ITS MOUTH.

THE labors and success of the French missionaries in exploring the interior of Canada, have been already noticed. The civilization of the natives, formed with the French, as with the Spaniards, an important object of policy in the New World: but the persons employed for that purpose by the French, also exerted themselves more than those of any other nation, in acquiring exact knowledge of the countries which they visited; and through their efforts, principally, if not entirely, the earliest discoveries in the vast division of North America, traversed by the upper Mississippi, were effected.

The French missions in Canada, were at first confided to the Jesuits and the Franciscans, or Recollets, the two orders whose members have devoted themselves the most assiduously to such labors. The Jesuits, generally men of education and refinement, directed their efforts to enlighten the minds of the savages, and raise them to the level of reasoning beings; to which end, so far as it might be attainable, their system seems to have been better adapted than any other as yet put in practice. The basis of this system, was the separation of the Indians from intercourse with all civilized men, except their immediate instructors: and with this object, endeavors were made to collect them in communities around the missionary stations, where they were initiated



into the doctrines and observances of the Catholic religion, and the arts and customs of social life; particular care being of course directed to the young, who were, as much as possible, removed from contact with other Indians and with the French traders. The Recollets, on the contrary, were plain, untaught persons, usually taken from the lower ranks, who contented themselves with the performance of the most ordinary functions of the priesthood, and looked to no results beyond the salvation of the souls of individuals, in the mode regarded by them as effectual. These two orders, as might be supposed, entertained towards each other, feelings somewhat at variance with that brotherly love, which is so strongly recommended by the founder of the Christian religion; and it is therefore very difficult to arrive at the truth, with regard to many important circumstances in the history of French America, on which the evidence is only to be found, in their narratives or reports.\* In the accounts of the Recollets, the Jesuits are usually charged with falsehood, dissimulation, and knavery of all kinds, in the language of coarse and direct invective; while better taste and more profound knowledge of the world, led the followers of St. Ignatius to content themselves with passing over in silence, or faintly noticing the labors of their humble rivals. In 1633, however, the Recollets were banished from New France, and this exclusion continued until 1669, when the Jesuits having become the objects of jealousy to the government from their interference in public affairs, and their opposition to the establishment of military and civil authority in the Indian countries, the Franciscans were invited to resume their missionary labors.

The French missionaries were every where accompanied or followed by the traders, between whom and the Jesuits, subsisted

\* The accounts of these missionaries were, at first, published irregularly in the form of letters, or of histories or descriptions of particular parts of New France; among the earliest and most curious of which, is the "*Grand voyage du pays des Hurons*," by the Recollet Gabriel Sagard, printed at Paris in 1632. In that year the Jesuits began to issue their "*Relations*" in the form of small volumes, which appeared from time to time in France, or Holland, or Italy, and are now in great request among collectors of rare works on American history. In 1717, another series of a similar character, called "*Lettres Edifiantes*," was commenced at Paris, containing select communications from Jesuits, in all parts of the world; it was continued at intervals until 1776, when a large number of volumes had been published, forming together, one of the most agreeable and instructive works to be found in any language.

a strong mutual antipathy, in consequence of the determined resistance of the latter, to the demoralising practices of the traders, especially as regards the introduction of spirituous liquors among the Indians. The Recollets had fewer scruples on these points, and were accordingly viewed by the traders in general, with more friendly eyes, if not as natural co-operators.

The French government availed itself of the services of all these classes for the discovery of the country; the Franciscans and the traders usually acting as pioneers, after whom went the Jesuits, applying their science to the minute examination of the regions thus laid open by the others. The greater number of these traders, were men of coarse manners and dissolute character, who were held in horror by the Jesuits: but there were also among them persons of a higher order, such as Perrot, Joliet and La Salle, who were often entrusted by the governors of New France, with commissions to make treaties with the natives, and to receive their promises of allegiance; after which, military officers were, if expedient, sent to establish forts for the protection of the missionaries, traders or settlers. Thus in 1670, Perrot convoked a numerous assembly of the nations surrounding Lake Michigan, at Chicago near the southern extremity of that lake, where he made known to them the power and objects of his sovereign; and in the following year, M. de St. Lussou, who had been specially sent for the purpose, solemnly took possession of all the regions of the upper lakes for France in the presence of a multitude of Indians, at Mackinac.

Among the Jesuits who devoted themselves most ardently to these labors, were Fathers Allouez, Dablon, and Marquette; and to their exertions the world is indebted for the first surveys and maps approaching to exactness, of the Lakes Superior and Michigan, as well as for the earliest observations of the currents, and the variation in the altitude of the surface of those waters. For the conversion of the natives, they established, in 1670 and the two succeeding years, several missionary stations, of which the principal were on the Sault St. Marie, the outlet of Lake Superior, at Michilimackinac or Mackinac on the north side of the passage connecting Lakes Huron and Michigan, and on the Baie des Puants, now Green Bay, which joins the last named lake on the north-west. In such remote places, did these Jesuits volun-



tarily consign themselves for years, to the thankless and futile task of converting and civilizing the Wyandots, Ottawas, Poto-watamies, and other tribes of irreclaimable barbarians, who then occupied the regions surrounding the lakes; their only pleasures being derived from the success of their exertions, and from the study of the new countries, and new objects of all kinds, by which they were surrounded.

These extensive journies of the French missionaries and traders, were performed almost entirely by water, on the lakes and streams which cross the northern parts of America in all directions: the vehicles employed being canoes made of the bark of the birch tree, without which those regions would have been uninhabitable by the aborigines. The canoes are constructed with little trouble, and are so light as to be easily transported around the rapids of the streams, or from one stream to another; while the latter quality renders the labor of propelling them comparatively small; and journies of more than two thousand miles are thus made, in the course of which the canoe is removed from the water and replaced in it, almost daily.

From the missions on the upper lakes, the Jesuits continued their explorations northward to Hudson's Bay, and north-west to the lakes, now known as Lake Winnipeg, and the Lake of the Woods: on the west and south, they had reached the headwaters of the Wisconsin, the Illinois, and the Ohio; and they had received accounts from the Indians, of a mighty river, called Mescha-sibi or Missi-sippi, signifying the Great Water, in the language of the Outagamies and Chipewās west, of Lake Michigan, into which the other streams were all said to empty. Respecting the course and outlet of this river, much interest was immediately excited in Canada, where hopes were entertained that it might be found to flow directly into the Pacific, and thus to afford the means of communication between Europe and India; and in 1669, an attempt was made by Messrs. Dolier and Galinée, two priests of St. Sulpice, and M. de la Salle, the trader above mentioned, to effect its discovery, by way of the Iroquois country, but without success. Farther information was however collected by Fathers Dablon and Allouez, who in 1672 explored the regions west of Lake Michigan, then occupied by the Chipewā, Menomonie and Outagamie Indians, returning down the Fox or

Outagamie river, falling into the south-west extremity of Green Bay, or Baie des Puants, as it was then called from the filthy habits of the Menomonie Indians dwelling near it; and this expedition prepared the way for another completed in the following year which proved, as will be shewn, highly important in its results.\*

While Dablon and Allouez were engaged in their expedition, the government of New France was conducted provisionally by the Intendant, M. Talon, who had always displayed much zeal for the prosecution of discoveries in those countries. In the summer of 1672, however, the Count de Frontenac arrived in Canada as Governor and Captain General, with whose administration, a new area was begun in the history of French America. Frontenac, a bold, ambitious, unscrupulous man, impelled by the desire to extend the dominion of his nation over as large a portion of the continent as possible, entered at once into the views of Talon, for the exploration of the western regions, with the object of thereby increasing the trade and influence of the French; and Louis Joliet, a Canadian largely interested in the Indian trade, being then about to depart on an expedition to the Upper Lakes, he was commissioned by the Governor, to endeavor to ascertain the course and outlet of the Great River, in order to determine how far its occupation might be advantageous for the objects above indicated.

Joliet accordingly on his way up the lakes, made inquiries as to the best mode of fulfilling this commission; and on reaching Michilimackinack, he received from Dablon and Allouez, accounts of their recent journey through the countries west of Lake Michigan, which determined him to attempt the discovery of the Great River in that direction, and without further delay. Marquette, though aged and infirm, readily consented to accompany him; and having agreed upon their route through the Baie des

\* The map on the opposite page, is intended to illustrate the accounts here presented, of the exploration of the Mississippi regions, by the French; with which object, the geography of the rivers and coasts is given according to the latest and most correct maps and reports, and the positions of the various Indian nations, occupying those countries at the time of their discovery, are indicated by the names, most commonly applied to each, in the narratives of the explorers. The map has been compiled by the author with great care; the orthography of the Indian names being fixed, as in the text, in the manner calculated, according to his judgment, to represent the true sound as nearly as possible, without deviating too far, from the form already in general use.



Puants and the Outagamie river, they departed from the mission of Michilimackinack, on the 13th of May, 1673.\*

\*All that is now known with certainty of the expedition of Joliet and Marquette to the Mississippi, is derived from the narrative of Marquette. Joliet lost all his notes and journals on his way back near Montreal, where he, however, published a short account of his adventures from memory, of which no copy is believed to be now in existence; though an extract or abstract in English is appended to the translation of Hennepin's "*Nouvelle Découverte*" published at London in 1698: it is a concise description of the route, such as would be written at the present day for a newspaper by a traveller, immediately on his return from an expedition, in order to allay the curiosity of the public.

The narrative of Marquette was first published at Paris in 1681, by Thevenot, in his "*Recueil de quelques voyages*," under the title of "*Découverte de quelques pays et nations de l'Amérique Septentrionale*:" it attracted little notice; and being unaccompanied by any account of its communication, or other proof of authenticity, it has been ever since regarded by many, as one of those literary forgeries, so common at that time in France and Holland. It contains however nothing of consequence respecting the countries said to have been visited, which has not been since confirmed, and the map attached to it, though rude, is too nearly accurate, to have been constructed without a knowledge of the regions represented.

The author of this history is at present enabled to pronounce with conviction of certainty, in favor of the authenticity of the narrative published by Thevenot, as he has compared it with a copy carefully made, from a copy of Marquette's original account written by the hand of his devoted friend Father Dablon, which has been recently discovered in Montreal, among many other papers, relating to the missions of the Jesuits in Canada. The printed narrative indeed omits several passages, but none of any importance connected with the main points of the expedition; and it may therefore be regarded confidently, as emanating from the pen of the venerable Jesuit, and as containing a correct statement of the circumstances of their memorable expedition. Attached to Dablon's copy is a map of the route traced on transparent paper, no doubt from Marquette's original: it resembles the map published by Thevenot, of which it probably formed the basis; the latter is however more nearly correct, perhaps in consequence of information received from La Salle, as there is some reason to believe that it was not published until after the period noted on the title page.

The narrative of Marquette, though amply sufficient, to indicate the route pursued, is by no means rich in geographical details; a large portion of it being employed in accounts of the manners and customs of the Indians, and speculations as to the best mode of converting them to Christianity, like those which are occasionally written by our Protestant missionaries of the present day. If it was really published, in 1681, as declared by its title page, it was certainly the earliest account given to the world of the territories described; as Hennepin the only civilized person, except Joliet and Marquette and their companions, who had then seen the Upper Mississippi, did not return to France until the end of that year, and did not probably publish his narrative before 1683, though it is dated in 1682. The descriptions of those regions and their inhabitants given by Hennepin, are so much more full and clear than those of the Jesuit, that the latter must have been superseded almost immediately after their publication.

Agreeably to the concise accounts which have been preserved of their expedition, the two travellers, accompanied by five other Frenchmen, and some natives as guides, quitted Michilimackinack,\* in two bark canoes; and proceeding along the north coast of the Lake of the Illinois or Lake Michigan, towards the west, they entered the Baie des Puants, and arrived in safety about the beginning of June, in the mouth of the Outagamie. The Outagamie Indians at this place, on learning the objects of the Frenchmen, endeavored to dissuade them from venturing on the Great River, which was represented as beset by dangers of various kinds, rocks, rapids, whirlpools, cannibals, monsters and demons. Marquette, however, while thanking them for their advice, firmly declared his determination to persevere in the enterprise; as his companion had been sent by their sovereign, to discover new countries, while he himself was engaged in the service of a deity, who would protect them against all perils: and having procured the assistance of several Indians, they immediately began the ascent of the stream. After laboring for more than a week against the current, passing through many lakes and ponds covered with wild rice, and frequently transporting their canoes and baggage across necks of land, they on the 9th of the month, reached a large village, inhabited by savages of several nations, which had been visited by Dablon and Allouez in the preceding year, and was the farthestmost spot in those regions known to Europeans. Within two leagues of this village they discovered another river, called by the natives Ouisconsin or Wisconsin, which flowed towards the south-west; and transporting their barks to it, they continued their journey in that direction. The current bore them gently down, and on the 16th they beheld, rolling before them, the waters of the Great River, which they "entered," says Marquette, "happily, and with a joy not to be expressed."

The travellers found the Great River wide, deep and trans-

\* Michilimackinack, signifying Great Turtle, was the name of the island, now called by abbreviation, Mackinac or Mackinaw, at the outlet of Lake Michigan; the Jesuit mission, however, was situated on the point of the mainland immediately north, which is now known as Point Ignatius. The island was regarded with great respect by the Indians as the residence of Michaboo the God of the Waters, who formed Lake Superior by raising up the rocks across its outlet. Michigan is an abbreviation of Michigamink, signifying a very great water, in the language of the Indians on the north-west side of the lake.



parent, flowing gently between forests and prairies, and in many places, divided into several channels by islands; on its banks were seen large herds of buffalos, and flocks of aquatic birds rested on its surface, beneath which swam myriads of fish, some of monstrous form and size. After a voyage of a week down the stream southward, they, on the 25th of June, reached an extensive village or encampment of Indians, of a nation already known to the French by the name of Illinois,\* or Men, which they seemed to deserve, by their kindness and hospitality, as well as their frank and gallant bearing. Peace and good feeling were soon established between the savages and the white strangers, who smoked together with great solemnity the sacred calumet of peace, made of the beautiful red steatite or pipe-stone, found on the banks of the river above, and ornamented with rich feathers; and so well satisfied were the Frenchmen with their hosts, that they remained several days at the village, enjoying the feasts and dances, prepared to do them honor.

Marquette and Joliet took leave of their friends, the Illinois, in the latter part of June, carrying with them a pipe as a passport to ensure their safety; and continuing their voyage down the Mississippi they were, a few days afterwards, warned, by the rushing of waters, of their approach to the point of its junction with the mightier river from the west, called by the natives the Pekitanouni, and now the Missouri. Of the dangers of this place they had received notice from the Illinois; and they indeed narrowly escaped destruction, with which they were for some time threatened, by the collision between their slender barks, and the immense trunks of trees borne down by the turbid, angry river of the west. They next passed in safety, the rocky bluffs or points on the right bank, which were then invested by the Indians, with all the malevolent attributes assigned to Scylla, by the ancient mariners of the Mediterranean; and on the following day, they observed on the east the entrance of the wide but placid Ouabouskigou, which now bears the more euphonious and appropriate

\* Under this general name of Illini, or Innini, or Linni, of which Illinois is the French form, were embraced a number of tribes of the same nation or language, dwelling on the Illinois river and on the Mississippi, above and below the mouth of the Illinois, and composing a confederacy like that of the Iroquois; of which the principal tribes were the Kaskaskia, the Tamaroa, the Cahokia, the Peoria, and the Michigamea.

name of Ohio,\* bestowed on its north-easternmost branch by the Iroquois, in token of admiration of its beauty. Pursuing their course without any difficulties worthy of note, except the persecutions of mosquitos, they met several parties of Indians—probably Chickasās—in canoes of wood, in whose possession were seen fire-arms, glass bottles, and other articles of European fabric, obtained, no doubt, from Virginia; and farther down, they reached a large village of Michigameas on the west bank, where strong signs of hostility were exhibited towards them by the natives. The Jesuit however, had recourse to his “patroness and guide, the immaculate Holy Virgin,” who softened the hearts of the savages, and induced them to accept the calumet of peace; and the travellers continuing their voyage, arrived on the 15th of July at the villages of the Akamska or Akansea, opposite the mouth of a large river entering from the west, which could only have been the Arkansās.

Joliet and Marquette had then, according to their observations of the sun’s altitude, descended below the parallel of 34 degrees; and as their course had been constantly southward, since their embarkation on the Mississippi, with no material deflection either to the east or the west, they considered themselves justified in assuming as determined, that the Great River discharged its waters into the Mexican Gulf. Under this conviction, and apprehending danger from the Spaniards farther south, they on the 17th of July, begun their voyage back to Canada. Laboring against the current, which had so much facilitated their passage down; they ascended the Great River, to the entrance of the Illinois near the 39th degree of latitude: up this stream they proceeded to the vicinity of Lake Michigan, and crossing by land to that lake at the mouth of the Chicago, they returned along the western shore to Green Bay in September. They had effected a grand geographical dis-

\* The word Ohio—or Oyo as more properly written according to its true sound in the early French narratives—is supposed to have been an exclamation used by the Iroquois, equivalent to *Oh! Beautiful!* The Indians of the countries through which its upper waters flow, called it Alighin-Sipou, or River of the Alighins, from a nation who are reported by tradition to have invaded those countries at some early period from the west; and that name, altered to Alleghany, is still applied to its north-easternmost branch. The same name was also assigned in the middle of the last century, to the northern portion of the great chain of mountains dividing the waters of the Mississippi from those flowing directly to the Atlantic, of which the southern portion was called the Apalachian mountains; and it has since been made common to the whole range.



covery, in consequence of which their names were to be inseparably connected with the history of the vast regions of the Mississippi: yet the worthy Jesuit, in concluding the narrative of their expedition, rejoices—not in having made known the existence and traced the course of the greatest of rivers—but in having been permitted to preach the gospel first, to some thousands of savages, and more especially to save the soul of an Illinois child, whom he had baptised in its dying moments.

From Green Bay, Joliet hastened to Quebec, carrying the journals of the expedition, which were however unfortunately lost, by the upsetting of his canoe near Montreal; so that he could only represent the particulars of the discovery from memory, in a concise sketch of his adventures published in Canada. Marquette quietly returned to his ordinary labors as a missionary, for the prosecution of which among the Illinois, he made another expedition to that country, with his devoted friend Dablon in 1675. But the good man's course was nearly run; his strength failed at Chicago, and he was obliged to return to Michilimackinack, on the way to which, his life was ended quietly on the 18th of May, at the mouth of a small stream, now bearing his name, on the north-west side of the State of Michigan.\* His simple narrative of the discovery of the Mississippi published six years afterwards, has retrieved his memory from the oblivion into which it would otherwise have fallen; and it has at the same time—though doubtless contrary to the intention of the worthy Jesuit—deprived Joliet of his share of the merit of the enterprise, in which he was the principal, and Marquette only a coadjutor.

Joliet on arriving in Canada, found the Count de Frontenac so much engrossed by his controversy with the Bishop of Quebec, as to the part which the latter might take in the civil administration, and by his projects for obtaining possession of the Iroquois

\* The particulars of this last journey of Marquette to the Illinois and of the death of the venerable Jesuit, are related by Fathor Dablon, with much minuteness, in a memoir among the papers recently discovered at Montreal. The remains of Marquette were in 1677, removed with great solemnity, and accompanied by crowds of Indians in canoes, from the place of his death, to the church at Michilimackinack, where—as Dablon relates—a woman was soon after miraculously relieved from a long and apparently incurable disease, in consideration of prayers said over his grave. Other miracles might have been effected, and the worthy Jesuit might in due time have been admitted to canonization, had not the mission been unfortunately abandoned, and the church left to ruin.

country, that he had no leisure to devote to matters of so little immediate importance, as the exploration of the distant regions beyond the lakes. The Governor indeed communicated the fact of the discovery of the Mississippi to the king, most ungenerously suppressing the name of Marquette in his report; it however attracted little attention in Canada and less in Europe, and remained for several years known only to a few individuals.

There was however one person in Canada, already mentioned, on whom the news of the discovery of the Mississippi immediately produced a strong impression; this was Robert Cavelier de la Salle, a native of Rouen, then residing as an Indian trader, at Fort Cataragui, where he had recently formed an establishment, under the patronage of the Governor General. Of the previous history of this remarkable man, little is to be said: he had been educated by the Jesuits in France, and remained a member of their order nine years, at the end of which he obtained his discharge from the society, either in consequence of some private discontent or disgust, or from a desire to employ himself in more active pursuits, and came to America in 1667. There he entered into the trade with the Indians, in which he seems to have been successful; and having gained the favor of Count de Frontenac, he obtained permission to form the trading post at Fort Cataragui, by means of which his communications with the interior countries, were considerably increased. The events of his subsequent career belong to the history of America: respecting his character, it may be said in anticipation, that those events, together with the concurring testimony of all who knew him, show him to have been aspiring, courageous, energetic and persevering in the extreme, and no less overbearing, self-willed, and disdainful of the opinions of others.

From the moment of his arrival in America, La Salle had entertained the design of seeking a passage through the continent to Mexico or to the Pacific;\* with which view, he had endeavored

\* "M. Robert Cavelier de la Salle," says Hennepin, in the commencement of his first work, published in 1682, "had been for many years persuaded by the accounts received from various savage nations, that considerable establishments might be formed in the south-west, beyond the great lakes; and that it might be possible, even to penetrate to the South Sea, by way of the large stream, called the Hohio, by the Iroquois, which falls into the Mescha-sibi, or Grand river, as that word signifies in the language of the Illinois."



to collect information from the Indians, with regard to rivers running southward or westward: and he had carefully studied the old Spanish chronicles and histories, relating to the discoveries and establishments of that nation in the northern division of the New World. He communicated his views to Courcelles the Governor and to Talon, from whom he does not seem to have received the encouragement anticipated; and it has even been insinuated,\* though upon grounds by no means sufficient, that the expedition of Joliet and Marquette, was made in consequence of his suggestions, but with the intention of depriving him of the merit of the discovery. The results of that expedition however, strongly excited the imagination of La Salle: he became convinced that the great river flowing from the north through the region beyond the lakes, could be no other than the Rio Grande, down which the followers of Soto had been carried to the Mexican Gulf in 1543; and that if this should be confirmed, the means of access would be opened to the rich mines of the Spanish provinces, and perhaps also to China, Japan and the East Indies. Visions of wealth and glory were thus raised up before the trader of Fort Cataraqui, who resolved if possible to realize them.

Canada at that time presented a fair field for enterprising men. Among the plans for increasing the power of France, or rather of its sovereign, the arrogant and grasping Louis XIV., America was not forgotten; and the opportunity afforded by the base venality of the king of England, for the extension of French dominion in the New World was not neglected. With these views, the crown had resumed the entire possession of New France, by extinguishing the privileges of the West India company; and the bold and ambitious Count de Frontenac had been chosen to direct its first operations. The new governor from the commencement resolved to secure the Iroquois countries, against the Eng-

\*"Whilst M. de la Salle was thus engaged in building his fort, those who envied him, judging from what he had already done with so much advantage, that he might effect still more with the aid of our Recollet Fathers, who were by their disinterested conduct, drawing so many families around the fort, excited M. Joliet to forestall him in his discoveries; and that person accordingly went by way of the Baie des Puants, to the river Mescha-sibi, which he descended as far as the Illinois country, and thence came back to Canada, by the lakes, without having made any attempt, then or since, to form any establishment, or to give any information to the Court." Hennepin, p. 15.

lish, and if possible to establish the authority of France over them: and for this object he strengthened and extended the forts on the waters of Lake Champlain, and erected that of Cataraqui, at a place ever since regarded as one of the most important military positions in Canada; while he at the same time employed all the persuasive means at his disposal, by visiting the Iroquois countries frequently, and dispatching French traders and missionaries among them. His controversy with the Bishop of Quebec immediately on his arrival, had indeed armed against him the higher clergy, and the Jesuits, who then possessed great influence at Court; one of the principal grounds of this dispute, ostensibly at least, being the opposition of those ecclesiastics to the distribution of spirituous liquors among the Indians, from which the traders derived a large portion of their profits. Frontenac insisted that no restrictions of that kind should be imposed, as they could only serve to give advantages to the English, who had no such scruples; and the interests of the traders being in all respects in accordance with the objects of the sovereign, the governor was able to maintain his position, notwithstanding the public disapproval by the Court of his acts on that particular point. The traders in consequence gave him their entire and efficient support, as also did the lower orders of the clergy, especially the Recollets who had been invited to return to New France in 1669; while the Jesuits were obliged to abandon their missions on the upper lakes.

After some time, La Salle made known his views, though with reserve, to Frontenac, who approved them in every respect; and with this assurance he proceeded in 1675, to France, where he submitted his immediate plans to the government. The celebrated Colbert, then Comptroller General of the finances to Louis XIV., warmly entered into the scheme; and as a first contribution for its success, he obtained for the ardent adventurer, letters patent of nobility, which were then indispensable for advancement in any but the most ordinary pursuits, together with the governorship of Fort Cataraqui, or Frontenac as it was thenceforth called, and the lordship of the surrounding tract of country. With this addition to his means, La Salle returned to Canada, and there spent the two following years, in extending his trade among the Indians, and establishing settlers on his lands; in the course of



which he made several voyages to the western extremity of Lake Ontario, in vessels built at his fort: and he then again went to France, where through the influence of Colbert and the Prince of Conti, he obtained the authority requisite for the commencement of his great enterprise. This was given, in the form of a commission or letters patent, dated the 12th of May, 1678, securing to La Salle full powers and exclusive right, to discover the unknown territories, in the western part of New France, and to erect forts in them, which he was to hold and govern on the same terms, as Fort Frontenac; provided that he should effect his enterprise within the period of five years: the exclusive trade in buffalo skins and furs in all the countries west of those of the Ottawa Indians, being at the same time conferred on him.

With this precious document, giving him all the authority which he required, and all the assistance which he could have expected, La Salle returned to Quebec, where he arrived on the 15th of September, 1678. He was accompanied by the Chevalier Henri de Tonty, an Italian officer who had distinguished himself in the service of France, on land and on sea, and had obtained leave to join in the enterprise; and he also brought with him a ship builder, a pilot, and some seamen, for the voyages which might be necessary on the lakes. After a few days spent at Quebec, they hastened to Fort Frontenac, and thence to the Niagara river, where they begun the construction of a vessel above the falls. As soon as this work was sufficiently advanced to admit of his absence, La Salle returned to Fort Frontenac, from which he continued to send provisions and goods for trade to the Niagara; and he was himself preparing to set out for that place, on his expedition to the west, in the middle of the year 1679, when he was arrested by the receipt of painful intelligence from Montreal. His creditors becoming alarmed by the apparent wildness of his views and movements, had seized the property in his stores at La Chine near that town, and caused it to be sold, with great loss to the owner. The injury thus inflicted on La Salle's means and prospects was serious, and might have involved the entire overthrow of his plans; he did not, however, allow it to depress him, but so soon as he had done all that lay in his power to prevent farther damage, he set out for the Niagara river, where he arrived in the latter part of July.

On arriving in the Niagara,\* La Salle found his vessel completed; she was of about forty tons burthen, and was named *Le Griffon*, in honor of the Count de Frontenac, who bore a griffin on his arms. All things being in readiness for her voyage, she emerged from the river into Lake Erie on the 7th of August, 1679: her crew consisted of La Salle and three inferior officers, three Recollets, namely, Louis Hennepin, Zenobe Mambré, and Gabriel de la Ribourde, and twenty-seven other persons, mostly

\* All that is known of La Salle's expeditions to the Mississippi countries, is derived from the accounts of three of his companions, hereafter particularly mentioned; namely, Henri de Tonty his lieutenant, and the Recollets Zenobe Mambré and Louis Hennepin. La Salle himself published nothing, and was on the contrary always anxious to keep his plans and proceedings secret.

The work entitled "*Dernieres découvertes dans l'Amerique Septentrionale de M. de la Salle*," published at Paris in 1697, and afterwards translated into English, was immediately disavowed by Tonty, to whom the authorship was assigned on its title page; and appears to have been one of those literary forgeries so frequent at that period, though it was undoubtedly founded on a memoir addressed by Tonty, to the French government in 1692. A translation of this memoir, (of which the original is still preserved in the archives of the marine department at Paris,) was published at London in 1841 by Falconer, in his work on the Discovery of the Mississippi, and is a valuable contribution to the history of America, as it bears in all points the impress of truth, and throws light on several questions not before clearly understood. See hereafter the note on page 230.

The "*Description de la Louisiane nouvellement découverte*," by Father Louis Hennepin, appeared at Paris in the winter of 1682-3. It relates only to a portion of the first expedition of La Salle, to the Mississippi regions, of which it is however by far the best account extant, and is highly honorable to the intelligence, good sense and perseverance of the author. It has never been translated into English. Unfortunately for the memory of Hennepin, he many years afterwards, published other works, on the same subject, in which vanity or self-interest, or wounded feelings, induced him to represent all the circumstances in a light entirely different from that in which he had first exhibited them, and to commit numerous and palpable falsehoods, as will be shewn in the notice of those works, in the eighth chapter.

Father Zenobe's narrative, embraces the whole of both the expeditions of La Salle for the exploration of the Mississippi on which it is the best and almost the only evidence remaining, except as regards the portion described by Hennepin. It was published in 1691, in a small work entitled "*Premier établissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France*," by Father Chrestien le Clercq, containing accounts of the missionary labors of the Recollets in New France, compiled chiefly, from the records of the convents of that order, in Quebec and Montreal. This work was suppressed immediately after its appearance, doubtless in consequence of the severe and generally coarse and unjust reflections, cast upon the Jesuits, and is now rarely to be found; the author of the present history, is indebted for the means of examining it, to the Hon. George Bancroft, who possesses a copy, probably the only one in the United States.



vagabonds from Canada; Tonty had been sent in advance, to make preparations at Detroit. The vessel proved to be a very dull sailer, and her men were discontented and refractory; she however made her voyage in safety, and having taken up Tonty at Detroit, the whole party reached Mackinac on the 27th of the month. From that place Tonty was again detached to the Sault St. Marie, in search of some deserters: La Salle continued his voyage to Green Bay, where he passed a few days on the island near the entrance in trading with the Pottawatamie Indians; and having thus obtained a cargo of furs, he sent them in the vessel back to Niagara, under the charge of the pilot, who was ordered to return as soon as possible with supplies to the mouth of the Miami river, the same now known as the St. Joseph, falling into Lake Michigan on its south-east side.\*

After the departure of the vessel for Niagara, La Salle procured bark canoes, in which he went with the remainder of his party along the western side of Lake Michigan, to its southern extremity, and thence northward to the mouth of the Miami: why he should have taken this circuitous course, instead of leaving the lake at Chicago, and striking across to the Illinois, the accounts of his expedition do not show. At the mouth of the Miami, a fort was built, where the French remained until they were joined by Tonty; and they then began the ascent of the river on the 3d of December, leaving two men at its mouth with directions for the pilot to follow them with the supplies, which he might bring in the vessel from Niagara. At the distance of eighty miles from the lake, in a southern direction, they discovered near the Miami, another river, called by the natives Theakiki or Kankakee, flowing westward; and having dragged their canoes and effects across the marshy space intervening, they embarked on the latter stream, down which they floated to its junction with another branch from the north-west, forming by their confluence, the large river of the Illinois. Thence they continued their voy-

\* Lake Ontario was at that time called by the French Lake of Frontenac; Lake Erie was the Lake of Conti; Lake Huron the Lake of Orleans; Lake Michigan the Lake of the Illinois and Lake Dauphin; Lake Superior was first named Lake Tracy, and afterwards Lake Condé. The traders applied to the rivers and other places visited by them, the names used by the Indians, or the names of the tribes or nations of Indians in their vicinity, for which the missionaries generally substituted those of Saints.

age down the main trunk, to which La Salle gave the name of Seignelaye, (afterwards transferred by him to Red river) in honor of the eldest son of the minister Colbert; and in this manner, they early in January, 1680, reached a large village or encampment of Illinois Indians, situated at the lower end of an expansion of the river, then called Pimitoui, and now Peoria Lake.



At this place the natives endeavored to deter the French from the farther prosecution of their enterprise, by threats and exaggerated accounts of the dangers; which produced so much effect upon the men, that six of them deserted and returned to Lake Michigan, while the others became sullen and mutinous, and attempted to poison their commander. Under these circumstances, La Salle considered it most prudent to remain at that place, until the arrival of the reinforcements and supplies expected by the Griffon; and he accordingly erected a fort on a little eminence very near the Indian camp, to which he gave the name of Crève-cœur, or Broken Heart, in token of the great anxiety experienced by him at that spot.

At Fort Crèvecoeur, La Salle remained from the middle of January, 1680, to the beginning of March, during which period he received several deputations of Indians from the adjoining



countries; such as the Osages of the Missouri, the Miamis of the region between the Illinois and Lake Erie, and the Chickasās from the lower Mississippi. The Chickasās were the first people described in the narratives of the expedition of Soto, who were encountered by the French; and from them La Salle obtained full confirmation of his opinion, that the Mississippi was identical with the Rio Grande of the Spaniards.

During this period, a small vessel was commenced at the fort, while the Friars were engaged in preaching to the Indians; no news however was received of the Griffon, and the vessel in progress of construction could not be rendered fit for use, without the iron and other articles expected from Canada. At length La Salle, in despair, resolved to go himself to Fort Frontenac for the supplies, leaving his men on the Illinois, under the charge of Tonty, in whom he placed all confidence; but in order to secure as much information as possible, respecting the country farther west, he despatched Friar Hennepin,\* with two other persons, to descend the Illinois to its mouth, and thence to explore the Mississippi northward to its sources.

La Salle quitted Fort Crèvecœur on the 2nd of March, accompanied by three men, and proceeded to Fort Frontenac, by what route we know not, but probably across the country from the Kankakee to Lake Erie. On reaching his fort, he learned nothing but bad news: the Griffon had been burnt or wrecked on Lake Michigan; a ship from France laden with goods belonging to him, had been lost on the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and the people at Frontenac had robbed him of a large amount of property. The Governor General however befriended him, so that he was enabled, on the 23d of July, to set out again for the Illinois, with supplies and goods for trade: but on reaching that country in December, he found his fort deserted, and being unable to learn the fate of his people, he returned to Michilimackinac, where he met Tonty and Father Zenobe, with a few men, in June, 1681.

The Lieutenant and the Friar had a sad tale to relate, as the

\* Hennepin represents these as two common persons, named Michel Ako, and Antoine Auguil, or the Picard Du Gay. Tonty, however, in his memoir, says that the expedition was confided by La Salle to M. Deau or Dacan, (possibly Dacau,) who was accompanied by a Recollet not named.

report of their proceedings, since they had been left by La Salle at Fort Crèvecœur in March, 1680. Their men soon after became mutinous, and a number of them deserted and returned to Canada, carrying off all the goods, furs and provisions which they could seize; whereupon the Indians exhibited signs of enmity, and the proselytes made by the missionaries fell off, and returned to their pagan practices, under the guidance of their conjurors. The country was moreover invaded by a large body of Iroquois, who drove the Illinois across the Mississippi; and in the course of the hostilities, the poor French suffered greatly from both parties, neither of whom could be induced to respect their neutrality. Tonty and his companions however, escaped, and took their way to Lake Michigan, before reaching which, Father Gabriel was murdered by the Kickapoos; on the lake their canoes were swamped, and they were obliged to walk through the snow, more than two hundred miles to the Jesuit mission on Green Bay, from which they came in the spring of 1681 to Mackinac. In these disastrous occurrences, more than a year had been lost; and La Salle conceiving that nothing could be effected towards the discovery of the Mississippi, with the means then at his disposal, returned with the whole party to Fort Frontenac.

In the meantime, Father Louis Hennepin and his two companions had performed, in part at least, the task assigned to them by La Salle. They left Fort Crèvecœur in a canoe in the end of February, 1680, and went down the Illinois to its junction with the Mississippi, from which they ascended the latter river and some of its branches, as far north as the 47th parallel, though they failed to reach its sources. Under the 45th degree they found the falls of the Mississippi, named by Hennepin in honor of his patron, the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua, near which they encountered a band of Indians of the famous Dahcota nation, called Issati and Nadoessioux by the friar, and since more commonly known as the Sioux, inhabiting the regions on both sides of the river, for some distance above and below the falls. In this country, they met a party of French traders, under the direction of M. du Luth, and proceeded with them, by way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers and Green Bay, to Mackinac, where they arrived in November, shortly after the departure of La Salle for the Miami, on his return from Frontenac to Crèvecœur.



At Mackinac, Hennepin found forty-two French traders, with whom he passed the winter, and in the spring of 1681, he reached Quebec, where he was received with joy by his brethren, as one risen from the dead; a report having been previously current in Canada, that he had been hanged by the Indians on the Mississippi, with his own cord of St. Francis. When his garments had been renewed, and his health re-established, he sailed for France, without seeing or communicating with La Salle.

From this account of his expedition it will be seen, that Hennepin is to be regarded as the discoverer of the portion of America traversed by the Mississippi, between the 43d degree of latitude, in which the mouth of the Wisconsin is situated, and the 47th; the portion extending southward from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas, having been previously examined by Joliet and Marquette. The worthy friar however, in the narrative published by him soon after his return to France, claimed the whole merit of the first discovery of the vast region of the Mississippi, above the Illinois, to which he gave the name of Louisiana in honor of his sovereign; and at a later period, he did not scruple to assert, that he had also in 1680 first descended the great river to its mouth.

To return to La Salle. In his first expedition towards the Mississippi, he seems to have contemplated the immediate formation of an establishment of some kind, on the lower part of that stream, or the prosecution of the discovery beyond it, to the Spanish provinces. After the entire failure of that enterprise, the expenses of which had ruined his fortune, he was only able, with the aid of Count de Frontenac, to obtain the means of exploring the great river to its mouth, and this he undertook, on the assurance that in case of his success, assistance would be afforded by the government, in carrying out his ulterior schemes.

With this object La Salle engaged twenty-three Frenchmen and eighteen Indians, all selected with care; and he moreover allowed ten of the latter to take their wives and some children, making in all fifty-four grown persons, including the commander, Tonty, and Father Zenobe. In the beginning of January, 1682, this party was assembled at the mouth of the "divine river Chicago,"\*

\* So called by Father Zenobe in the "Etablissement de la Foy," vol. 2, page 214. According to our Indian etymologists, Chicágo signifies a place abounding (as that part of the coast of Lake Michigan really does,) in wild leeks; Chicag is the name of that savoury animal the *Mephitis putorius* or Skunk.

where the important commercial city of Chicago now stands; thence they passed over land to the Illinois or Seignelaye, and decending that river on the ice to Fort Crèvecœur, they there constructed canoes for their farther transportation.

Taking their departure from Fort Crèvecœur in the beginning of February, the French on the 6th of that month passed through the mouth of the Illinois, into the Mississippi, or Colbert as it had been named by La Salle; and after a detention of some days at that place, they on the 13th encountered the yellow floods of the Missouri, (called River of the Osages, in the accounts of the expedition,) of which they had no previous knowledge. On the 18th they stopped to hunt, at the mouth of the Ouabouskigou or Ouabache, now the Ohio, to which was assigned the venerated name of St. Louis; and on the 24th, their canoes were drawn up, near the high banks overhanging the Mississippi on the east, now known as the Chickasā bluffs, near Memphis in Tennessee. There one of their hunters not returning in time, they sent out a party in search of him; and the others as a precaution against surprise, erected a stockade, which they called Fort Prudhomme, after their missing companion.

The party sent in search of Prudhomme, soon met some Chickasā Indians, who were anxious that the French should visit one of their towns in the interior: this was however declined, in consequence of some mistrust excited by the varying statements of the natives; and the lost hunter being recovered, the French resumed their voyage down the Great River, early in March. On the 13th of that month, they spent the day on the west bank, among the Capaha or Kappa Indians, mentioned in the accounts of Soto's expedition; and twenty leagues below they passed the villages at the mouth of the Arkansas, which formed the southern limit of the discoveries of Joliet and Marquette. There they first saw alligators, which increased in number and size as they went farther south. Continuing their course, they on the 20th reached the chief town of the Taensas, a small nation inhabiting the west side of the river; and on the following day, they stopped at the great village of the Natchez, situated on a height which overhangs the Mississippi on the east. These two nations were found to be superior in intelligence, and to exhibit more ingenuity in the construction of their buildings and utensils, and in



the cultivation of their lands, than any Indians whom the French had previously seen in America; whilst they were, on the other hand, more sensual and ferocious in their dispositions and customs than any other people. They erected cabins of logs and earth, covered with wicker work, in the largest of which the bones of their chiefs were deposited and a fire was said to be kept constantly burning, in honor of their great deity the Sun. These and other peculiarities of the Taensas and the Natches, together with the positions of their territories, are sufficient to establish their identity with the Guachoyans and Quigaltans, visited by the Spaniards under Hernando de Soto in 1542; and there is little reason to doubt, that this commander died at the chief town of the Taensas, on the borders of a small lake now called St. Joseph's lake, on the western side of the Mississippi, nearly opposite to the mouth of the Big Black river.

The French took leave of the Natches on Good Friday, and two days afterwards, they encamped at the mouth of a large stream joining the Mississippi on the west, to which La Salle transferred the name of Seignelaye, first assigned by him to the Illinois; it was of course the Red river. At a short distance below, he observed a great outlet of the Mississippi, on the same side, which may have been the Atchafalaya, now entering the Red river near its mouth; as the latter stream probably at one time joined the Great Water, higher up than at present. Continuing their course downward, they passed the towns of the Houma or Red men, near the site of Baton Rouge; and farther on, those of the Quinipissa or Colapissa, who came out in large numbers in canoes, armed to arrest the progress of the white men. The French however avoided the encounter by keeping close to the opposite bank; and on the 5th of April, they reached the place, where the Mississippi is divided into three great channels, about ninety miles below the spot now occupied by New Orleans.

Each of these channels was explored to its termination in the sea, by a separate party of the French; La Salle taking the western, Tonty the middle or main passage, and D'Autray the other towards the east: they were all found wide and deep; and La Salle on reaching the Gulf, observed the altitude of the sun with an instrument, rudely constructed by himself. From this observation he estimated the latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi,

at about twenty-seven and a half degrees, which was about a degree and a half too low, or too far south; and on comparing this supposed position, with those of other places laid down on the maps of that time, he considered it as situated twenty leagues south-west from the Bay of Espiritu Santo, thirty leagues from the Rio Bravo, sixty from the Rio de Palmas, and one hundred from Panuco. La Salle thus believed the Mississippi to enter the Mexican Gulf, not far from the actual entrance to Galveston Bay; an error which perhaps contributed to the unfortunate result of his subsequent expedition to that Gulf.

Reascending the channels, the whole party were again assembled at the point of their separation, on the 9th of April, when La Salle, standing in the midst, proclaimed aloud the supremacy of the great monarch Louis XIV. and his successors, over the whole of Louisiana, from the St. Louis, otherwise called Ohio, Alighinsipou, or Chukagou, along the great river Colbert or Mississippi to its mouth, with all the adjoining lands, streams and seas as far south as the River of Palms; protesting against all who might thereafter attempt to encroach upon any of those territories or waters, which had been first discovered and first possessed, in the name of His Christian Majesty, with the consent of all the nations found dwelling therein. A cross was then erected on the spot, before which a mass was said; guns were fired in honor of the occasion, and a column was planted, at the foot of which a leaden plate was buried, bearing an inscription commemorative of the discovery and possession. A *procès-verbal*\* or official statement of the principal occurrences of the expedition, drawn up by the Notary La Métairie, was finally signed by La Salle, and eleven others of the party; after which, they begun their return to Canada by the same route. The ascent of the Mississippi was

\*This curious document is still preserved in the archives of the Marine Department at Paris; a translation of it may be found in the appendix to Mr. Spark's Life of La Salle, in the 11th volume of the Library of American Biography. The account of the occurrences of the expedition is much less detailed, and less valuable in almost every respect, than that presented by Tonty, in his Memoir addressed to the French government in 1692, already noticed at page 197; and it is somewhat remarkable, that no mention is made of the discovery of the Red river, or of any other occurrences between the date of the arrival of the French at Natches, and that of their passing the Houma towns. The paper is nevertheless important, as establishing the date of the arrival of La Salle, at the mouth of the Mississippi, which had been usually placed, in the year 1683.



of course much more laborious than the voyage down; and they were often in want of food, in consequence of the enmity of the nations on the banks, who would neither supply them, nor allow them to hunt in safety. They were obliged to fight the Quinipissas, of whom they killed several; and the Natchez had made preparations to destroy them, but abandoned the design, on seeing the scalps of the Quinipissas, which La Salle generously presented to them. At length, in the beginning of May, they arrived at Fort Prudhomme, on the Chickasā Bluffs, where La Salle was seized with a fever, which detained him several months: he had however sent Tonty forward, with letters to Count de Frontenac; and he subsequently despatched Father Zenobe by way of Canada, to bear the news of the discoveries to the government at Paris.

On the arrival of Father Zenobe at Quebec, he learned that Count de Frontenac had been deprived of the government of New France, in which he was succeeded by M. de la Barre; and Frontenac having offered him a passage in the ship, in which he was about to sail for France, he deposited a copy of his journal in the convent of his order, and departed for Europe, where he was enabled to communicate the particulars of La Salle's expedition to the minister Colbert, before the end of the year.\*

Tonty went no farther than Mackinac, where he was joined by La Salle in September. There they were informed of the removal of Count de Frontenac from the government of New France; and La Salle, having reason to believe M. de la Barre inimical to his views, returned with all his people to the Illinois river and established a fort called St. Louis, on the summit of a high rock† overhanging that stream near its rapids, which he had observed in the course of his journey from Fort Crèvecœur to Lake Erie in 1680. At this place, he remained until September

\*This journal was fortunately published by Le Clercq, in his "Etablissement de la Foy" at Paris in 1681, and forms the principal source of information with regard to the second expedition of La Salle in the Mississippi countries.

† This place is now called the Starved Rock, from some tradition respecting a party of Indians besieged on it by their enemies, and reduced to the last extremity of famine, before their strong hold could be taken. It is one of a line of sandstone cliffs, rising from the Illinois on its left bank, about a mile above the entrance of the Vermillion river, thirty miles below the town of Ottawa, where the two great branches of the Illinois unite, and 270 miles from the junction of the latter with the Mississippi.

1683, engaged in forming a settlement, and collecting the Indians around it, in the manner usually pursued by the French, with the object of securing the possession of the lands and privileges, which would extend, agreeably to his charter, only to such establishments as he might have founded anterior to the 12th of May of that year. He then departed for Quebec, leaving Tonty in command of the fort; and on his way, he met an officer sent by the Governor to summon him to repair to that capital. What passed between him and M. de la Barre is not known: La Salle however certainly received assurances from the Governor, and from the Intendant de Meulles, that his rights and privileges in the Illinois, as well as at Fort Frontenac, would be respected, and that recommendations in favor of the preservation and increase of those settlements would be addressed to the ministers; and confiding in these promises, he immediately embarked for France, where he arrived, at Rochelle on the 13th of December.

Fort St. Louis on the Illinois, was the first spot occupied by civilized persons, with a view to a permanent establishment, in the whole division of America drained by the Mississippi; and it continued to be the only post in those regions, until the close of the century, when it was abandoned. In the year of its establishment, 1683, the city of Philadelphia was founded by William Penn, as the capital of his province of Pennsylvania, which had been granted to him in the previous year by Charles II., extending westward from the Delaware river, through five degrees of longitude, between Maryland on the south, and the forty-third parallel of latitude on the north. The English colonies had continued to increase, though they were nearly all afflicted by wars with the Indians, or by internal disturbances, during the period in which the discovery of the Mississippi countries was in progress. The attempts of Frontenac to extend the dominion of France over the Iroquois regions, served only to render the Five Nations more inimical to the French, and more dependant on the English, who supplied them with merchandise of all kinds, and particularly with arms and ammunition, on terms much better than those offered by the other party.

The Spaniards at this period were suffering severely from the incessant attacks on their commerce in the West Indies by the English and French bucaniers, whom no measures on the part



of their own governments could restrain. Campeachy, Chagres, Maracaibo, Laguaira, and many other places on those coasts as well as on the Pacific side of the continent, were plundered by these daring miscreants; and even Vera Cruz, notwithstanding its strong castle and other fortifications, was surprised and sacked in 1683 by two vessels, under the command of the noted Van Horne and Laurent de Grave, who carried off property to the value of several millions of dollars. Scarcely less injurious to the Spanish supremacy were the contraband operations of the English, for which their establishment in Jamaica afforded every facility; and the losses thus occasioned together with the enormous expenses of convoys, fortifications, garrisons, and guardacostas or cruising vessels for the protection of the coasts, rendered his West Indian dominions of little value to the Catholic monarch.

The Spanish settlements founded in New Mexico on the Rio del Norte, or upper branch of the Rio Bravo, in the latter years of the sixteenth century, as already related, though cut off from all other civilized countries by a wide expanse of desert, had flourished in an extraordinary degree, and contained several large towns, from which considerable amounts of precious metals were annually sent to Mexico. In the summer of 1680, however, symptoms of hostile feelings were observed among the Indians of the surrounding territories, and the governor, Otermin, prepared for defence, by arming the Spanish population, and fortifying the principal places. This seems to have served only to quicken the movements of the savages, vast hordes of whom poured into the settled districts, in the month of August of that year, and the whole province was soon desolated, and its inhabitants destroyed, or forced to fly towards the south. The Marquis de la Laguna, Viceroy of New Spain, on receiving news of these disasters, despatched a small force to New Mexico, under Juan de Vargas de Luxan, who for some time endeavored to restore the country to its former occupants; but he could only succeed in reconquering the southern portion, where the town of Paso del Norte was founded by the fugitives, on the right bank of the river, about three hundred miles below the former capital, Santa Fé. The upper countries were subsequently recovered; but the province never regained its prosperity.

In the sketch presented in this chapter of the re-discovery and exploration of the Mississippi by the French, it has been impossible to portray the innumerable difficulties, dangers and embarrassments to which those engaged in it were exposed; nor indeed is it easy to estimate them fully, even with the aid of the original narratives, at the present day, when the whole journey of more than three thousand miles, from the outlet of Lake Ontario to the mouth of the Mississippi, may be accomplished in less time than was spent at that period on the way from Frontenac to Niagara. With regard to La Salle, under the disheartening contrarieties and crosses to which he was subjected, he displayed great courage, skill and constancy: but in reviewing the results of his labors, strict justice requires the admission, that he visited no part of the Mississippi regions which had not been previously seen and described by the followers of Hernando de Soto, or by Joliet and Marquette; and that he only verified the discoveries made a hundred and forty years before by the Spaniards, which would no doubt have been otherwise soon done, either by his own countrymen or by the English.

The merit of re-discovering the great river of North America, should in justice be assigned to Joliet and Marquette, and to the Intendant Talon, by whom their expedition was suggested. The additions made by La Salle to the knowledge of the geography of those regions, were in fact few and unimportant. To have traced the Mississippi from the Arkansas to the gulf, was of no consequence, so long as the exact position of its mouth remained undetermined; and on this latter point, La Salle is certainly amenable to the charge of want of enterprise. Deficiency of food and apprehensions of attack from the Spaniards, are stated as the reasons which induced him to return up the river, without examining the coasts near its entrance; but such reasons would not have prevailed with Orellana, Pizarro or Soto, or in our days, with Lewis, Clarke, Franklin, Ross, Back or Lander, or with many others whose names will not long survive them.

The farther proceedings of La Salle in America, will be related in the following chapter.



## CHAPTER VII.

1684 TO 1690.

**EXPEDITION OF THE FRENCH UNDER LA SALLE TO THE MEXICAN GULF—ESTABLISHMENT OF FORT ST. LOUIS ON THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF THAT SEA—UNFORTUNATE RESULTS OF THE ENTERPRISE—MURDER OF LA SALLE AND ABANDONMENT OF THE COUNTRY BY THE FRENCH—FIRST EXPEDITION OF THE SPANIARDS INTO TEXAS.**

WHEN La Salle arrived at Paris in the beginning of 1684, Louis XIV. was precisely at the culminating point of his career; holding all the other nations of western Europe in awe, by his armies, his fleets, and his apparent wealth, which rendered him even more successful in negotiation than in war: and the title of Great, bestowed on him by the unanimous vote of the Parliament of Paris three years before, might have seemed at the time, not to be undeserved. The encroachments made or attempted by him on the territories of surrounding nations, had united all those powers, in alliance against France; and he was in a state of *quasi* war with the United Provinces, Spain, Germany and Sweden. Charles II. of England, though burning to join the allies, was too fast bound in the golden chains of the French monarch to make any efforts for that purpose; the remaining sovereigns were all so weak, and so little in accord with each other, that they exhibited evident signs of anxiety to escape from the contest.

Under these circumstances, a plan for the extension of French dominion in the New World, was likely to be received with favor; and La Salle had devised such a plan, while engaged in his peregrinations through the Mississippi countries. In submitting his views to the government, he had to encounter at first, greater difficulties than he anticipated. His patron Colbert had died in September previous; and the Marquis de Seignelaye, the son of that minister, then at the head of the depart-

ment of commerce and navigation, through which his propositions must pass, had been prejudiced against him by the representations of the Governor of Canada. With the aid of the Count de Frontenac however, he succeeded in conciliating the Marquis, who could not but have been flattered by the high compliment paid to his family, in the application of the names of Colbert and Seignelaye, to two of the greatest rivers\* of the New World; and through his agency the memorials of La Salle, containing the outlines of the scheme, were received, and recommended to the notice of the sovereign.

The objects of this scheme, as detailed in the memorials of La Salle†, were simply to form a military establishment in the

\* The Mississippi and the Red river: See the latter part of the following note.

† The two memorials of La Salle, containing the particulars of this scheme, are preserved in the archives of the Marine Department of Paris; translations from them have been made by Falconer, and published with his work on the Discovery of the Mississippi, from which the following extracts are taken:—

The first memorial begins thus:

“The principal result, which the Sieur de la Salle expected from the great perils and labors, undergone by him, in the discovery of the Mississippi, was to satisfy the desire expressed by the late M. Colbert, of finding a port, where the French might establish themselves, and harrass the Spaniards in those regions, from whence they derive all their wealth. The place which he proposes to fortify, lies sixty leagues above the entrance of the river Colbert, (Mississippi) into the Gulf of Mexico, and possesses all the advantages for such a purpose, which could be desired; on account of its excellent situation, and the favorable disposition of the savages, dwelling in that part of the country. [The distance of the place thus selected, from the mouth of the Mississippi, indicates its position as being near the La Fourche outlet of that river, about eighty miles above New Orleans.] The right of the king to this territory, is the common right of all nations, to lands which they have discovered—a right which cannot be disputed, after the possession already taken in the name of His Majesty by M. de la Salle, with the consent of the greater number of its inhabitants. A colony might easily be founded there as the land is very fertile, &c.”

After enumerating the nations of Indians on the Mississippi, of whom he declares that he met eighteen thousand assembled in a single camp, he conceives that—

“By the union of those forces, it would be possible to form an army of more than fifteen thousand savages, who, finding themselves supported by the French and the Abenaki followers of the Sieur la Salle, with the aid of the arms given to them, would meet no resistance in the province which he intends to attack, where there are not more than four hundred native Spaniards in a country more than one hundred and fifty leagues in length and fifty in breadth, all of whom are officers or artisans, better able to explore mines, than to oppose vigorously an expedition which would be moreover favored by mulattoes, Indians, and negroes, if their liberty were promised to them.”



Mississippi regions, and thence to invade and to conquer the adjoining northern provinces of Mexico, in which the richest mines of silver and gold were supposed to be situated. For the first expedition with these objects, he asked only that a vessel of thirty guns with her crew and two hundred other men, and a moderate supply of arms, ammunition and provisions, should be placed at his disposition for a year. With these forces, he would sail to the mouth of the Mississippi, and ascend that river, to a point already selected by him, distant sixty leagues from the Gulf, where a fortified post would be established; and having there

La Salle then proceeds to describe the Spanish province of New Biscay, which he proposed to invade; and the advantages which France might derive from its possession:

"Assuming then," he continues, "these facts, the *Sieur de la Salle* offers, if the war should continue, to leave France with two hundred men; fifty more will join him who are in the country, [meaning doubtless those with *Tonty* in the Illinois,] and fifty *bucaniers* can be taken in on the way at *St. Domingo*. The savages at *Fort St. Louis*, to the number of more than four thousand warriors, with many others who will join, can be directed to descend the river. This army he will divide into the three divisions, so that it may be more easily subsisted. In order to compel the Spaniards to divide their forces, two of these divisions shall be each composed of fifty French, fifty *Abenakis*, and two hundred savages. They will receive orders to attack at the same time the two extremities of the province, and on the same day the middle portion of the country will be entered by the other division; and it is certain that we shall be seconded by all the unhappy beings who there groan in slavery. \* \* \*

"There never was an enterprise of such great importance, proposed at so little risk and expense; since the *Sieur de la Salle* asks for its execution, only a vessel of about thirty guns, the power of raising in France two hundred men, whom he may select for the purpose, and exclusive of the equipments of the vessel, provisions for six months, and the means of payment to the men for a year. \* \* \*

"It would not require much time to bring this expedition to an end, since it is nearly certain that the savages could be assembled next winter, and the conquest be completed in the spring, in sufficient time to report the news of it by the return of the first vessel to France."

The principal body of the invading forces was to be directed against *New Biscay*, by way of the *Seignelaye*, which name is assigned by *La Salle* to the *Red river*, and not to the *Illinois*, as will be seen in many parts of the memorial, and especially in the following extract:

"It may be objected, that the *Seignelaye* is perhaps more distant from *New Biscay*, than has been assumed. To answer this difficulty, it is sufficient to mention, that the mouth through which it enters the Mississippi is one hundred leagues west north-west from the place where the latter river discharges itself into the Gulf of Mexico; and that it has been ascended more than sixty leagues going always to the west." This description could apply to none other than the *Red river*, which *La Salle* might have caused to be explored, on his way up the Mississippi.

collected a sufficient number of Indians, and if necessary some bucaniers from St. Domingo, he would proceed by way of the Red river, to the northernmost Spanish province of New Biscay, which he did not doubt would prove an easy conquest, as he was satisfied that it then contained only four hundred Spaniards, and that the aborigines would readily join the invaders. France would thus become possessed of the mines, from which Spain annually imported six millions of crowns, and perhaps also of a means of communication with the Pacific, securing to her the monopoly of the India and China trades. Should peace be made with Spain before the completion of this conquest, the colony established in Louisiana would of itself prove important, politically as well as financially; and would afford the means of effecting the other objects with facility, whensoever war might again occur with that nation.

These propositions of La Salle, shew that his eagerness to acquire wealth and renown had overcome his habitual prudence and cautiousness. With a force scarcely sufficient to establish and maintain the smallest settlement, or to secure a single point against attack by regular troops, he offered not only to occupy the Mississippi, and defend it against intrusion by other nations, but also to conquer a vast and valuable territory inhabited by the subjects of a powerful European sovereign, who, moreover, possessed extensive and populous countries immediately contiguous. So confident did he appear of the speedy and successful issue of his plans, that he conceived it necessary in his memorials, to provide against the objections which might be raised, on the ground that the attractions presented in the regions to be thus brought under the dominion of France, might be so great, as to lead to the depopulation, not only of Canada, but also of the mother country.

It is difficult to conceive that La Salle could really have entertained schemes so extravagant; and it seems reasonable to suspect, that they may have been presented merely for the purpose of engaging the attention of the ardent and superficial Seignelaye, and securing his aid for the prosecution of other and more feasible designs. La Salle had been for nine years a Jesuit; and on throwing off the robe of that order, he had not divested himself of the systematic reserve, and constant watchfulness to conceal



his views, which he had so long practised. Yet the history of his operations in America, shows that his mind was ever turned towards Mexico and the Indies; and that all his labors on the Mississippi, were undertaken with the sole object of opening a route to those regions where his sanguine disposition led him to hope that he might enact the part of Cortés or Albuquerque. His plans were nevertheless approved, in part, at least, by his government; and preparations were immediately commenced at Rochefort, under his directions, for the equipment of a force, larger in some respects, even than he had demanded.

At Paris, La Salle in the meantime, met Father Hennepin, whom he had not seen since their separation at Fort Crèvecoeur in February, 1681. The Friar had in 1683 published his journal of the expedition to the Mississippi, which was very annoying to La Salle, as it made known a portion of his discoveries and plans; and he was probably also irritated by the undue pretensions of Hennepin to a large share of the merit of the enterprise. Of what passed between them, the particulars are not known; but Hennepin became thenceforth the bitter enemy of La Salle, whose character he endeavored to blacken by falsehoods, in works published by him many years after.\*

\* Hennepin's second work published in 1697, under the title of "*Nouvelle découverte d'un pays plus grand que l'Europe*," "A new discovery of a country larger than Europe," is merely his first work, interlarded with falsehoods, inconsistencies, and impertinence. In it, the Friar pretends, that he explored the whole of the Mississippi, from its sources to the sea in 1680; and that though he had "from modesty," suppressed all notice of the lower portion of the great river, in his first narrative, M. de la Salle had become his mortal enemy from the moment when he learned that he had thus been anticipated in the discovery. "This," writes Hennepin, "is the true cause of his malice against me, and of the barbarous usage which I underwent in France, and which was carried so far, that the Marquis de Louvois, was persuaded to command me to depart from the French king's dominions; which I did willingly, though I had reason to believe, that this order was forged after the death of M. de Louvois. The pretended reasons of that violent order were, that I had refused to return to America, where I had been already eleven years, &c."

The eleven years here mentioned, by the veracious Friar, as the term of his residence in the New World, were however all comprised according to his own statement between 1678 and 1682. La Salle could scarcely have had much agency in the banishment of Hennepin, if it took place about the time of the death of Louvois, which did not occur until 1691, when La Salle had been long dead and still longer forgotten by the French minister. More will be said of these works of Hennepin in the following chapter.

La Salle having at length completed his business at Paris, set out for Rochefort, where he arrived on the 28th of May. He there found nearly prepared for his expedition, the barque *La Belle*, carrying six guns, which had been presented to him by the king, and the brig *l'Aimable* and schooner *St. François*, chartered for the transportation of the people and materials: and these vessels were to be convoyed to the mouth of the Mississippi, by the frigate *Le Joly*, of thirty-six guns, under the command of the Chevalier de Beaujeu. Agents were at the same time employed at Paris, Rouen and other places, to enlist persons as soldiers and settlers; and they were enjoined by La Salle, to admit none but those of good character, in either capacity, and especially to see, that among them, should be a large porportion of mechanics of the different branches required in the colony. As his lieutenant, he had chosen M. Joutel, an officer of considerable experience, who had been recommended to him by his friends in Rouen; and his old companion Father Zenobe, was to accompany him as chief of the ecclesiastical corps in virtue of a brief obtained from the Pope: two other Recollets, Fathers Maxime le Clercq and Anastase de Douay, and three secular priests, namely Cavalier, the brother of La Salle, Chefdeville his relation, and Majulle, forming the remainder of that body.\*

Whilst these preparations were in progress at Rochefort, the dispute between France and Spain was unexpectedly brought to a conclusion, by a truce for twenty years, signed, at Ratisbon on the 10th of June. By this event, the principal object of the en-

\* The evidence respecting this expedition of the French under La Salle to the Mexican Gulf, is derived from the original narratives of Joutel and Father Anastase, to which Charlevoix and Tonty, have added some particulars, obtained from other sources. The accounts of Father Anastase are given in his own words by le Clercq in his "*Etablissement du Foy*," chapter 24th, (for a notice of which see page 197.) Joutel furnished the materials, from which a M. Michel composed the work under his name, entitled "*Journal Historique du denier voyage de M. de la Salle*," published at Paris in 1713, when the grant of Louisiana to Crozat began to attract attention to that part of America. The two accounts agree in general; they were both written from recollection, and Joutel had the advantage of consulting the narrative of Father Anastase, which had been long before published. Joutel however complained to Charlevoix, that the composer of his narrative had misrepresented his statements on many points. The history of the expedition given by Hennepin, in his third work, printed in 1697, under the title of "*Nouveau voyage d'un pays plus grand que l'Europe*," is derived from Father Anastase and Tonty, and is filled with errors.



terprise was of course placed beyond the reach of its projector; as no attack\* could be legally made on the recognized possessions of Spain, and the expedition must be limited, for a time at least to the discovery and settlement of unoccupied countries, and the opening of new channels of communication with the Pacific. This was doubtless a severe disappointment to La Salle: no change, however, seems to have been made in the extent and equipment of the forces assigned to him by the government, though its interest in the enterprise, would have been necessarily diminished, if not destroyed; and he probably had no apprehension of being called to a strict account of the manner of employing those forces, provided that success should crown their efforts.

By the terms of the Royal commission,† dated April 14th, the object of the expedition was declared to be to bring certain coun-

\* This material fact, and its consequences have been strangely overlooked, by all the historians, who have hitherto related the particulars of La Salle's expedition to the Mexican Gulf.

† The following translation of La Salle's commission, is worthy of insertion, in order to show what it does not contain, as well as the extent of the powers and privileges actually granted:

"LOUIS, By the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre-Greeting—Having resolved to engage in certain enterprises in North America, in order to bring several savage nations under Our dominion, and to afford them the lights of Faith and of the Gospel, We have considered, that We could not chose any one better fitted, than the Sieur de la Salle, to command, in Our name, all the French and the savages, whom he may employ, in the execution of the orders given to him by Us. For these and other causes, thereunto moving Us, and being well assured of his affection and fidelity to Our service, We have appointed and ordained, and by these presents signed with Our hand, We do appoint and ordain, the said Sieur de la Salle, to command for Us, in all the Countries in North America, from Fort St. Louis on the Illinois river to New Biscay, which shall be brought anew under our dominion, as well the French, as the savages employed by him in the enterprises committed to him by Us; authorising him to make them live in Union and concord with each other, to keep the military in good order and police, according to Our regulations, to establish Governors and Commandants in such places as he may judge proper, until We shall have ordered otherwise, to maintain commerce and trade, and in general to do and exercise everything, which may belong to the office of Our Commandant, in the said countries, and to enjoy the powers, honors, authorities, prerogatives, pre-eminences, franchises, liberties, salary, duties, fruits, profits, revenues, and emoluments thereof, so long as it may seem good to us.

To all which, We have given and We give You power, by these presents, whereby, We order all Our said subjects, and military forces to recognize, obey and submit to you, in all matters, concerning the present power: for such is Our pleasure. In witness whereof, We have caused Our secret seal to be affixed to these presents. Given at Versailles, this 14th of April, 1684.

tries in North America, under the dominion of France, in order that the lights of religion might be afforded to their inhabitants : to which end, La Salle was empowered to command all the French and the natives employed in the service of the crown, in the whole division of that continent, between the Illinois country and New Biscay, with authority to establish posts in such places as he might judge proper, to maintain commerce, and to perform all other duties of a Royal Commandant. By another order, Beaujeu was instructed to command the squadron, and direct its navigation, and to afford to the enterprise, every facility in his power; though he was to comply with the instructions of La Salle, in all matters consistent with the safety of the vessels. In case of La Salle's death, the expedition was to be conducted by the Chevalier de Tonty. What farther instructions may have been given by the government we know not; it is however remarkable, that the commission, although dated more than two months before the Truce of Ratisbon, contains no allusion whatsoever, to hostile operations, against the Spanish Provinces.

Beaujeu was by no means content with the part assigned to him in the expedition; he complained to the ministry of the injustice of thus placing him, after thirty years of service on sea and land, under the orders of a man, who held no military rank, and had never served except against savages; and he entreated that he might at least be allowed to share the command in all that related to war. This request however does not appear to have been granted; nor were his wounded feelings soothed by the conduct of La Salle, who anxious, irritable, and accustomed to submission from those around him, insisted upon directing every thing, even in matters pertaining to the police and navigation of the vessels; so that a contest arose between the two commanders, which rendered their cordial co-operation impossible.

The vessels were pronounced ready for sea, in the middle of July, and the people were accordingly embarked. The volunteers were about thirty in number, of whom the principal were La Salle's two nephews Moranget and Cavelier, the latter a boy, the Marquis de Sabloniere, Messieurs Planterose, Ory, Barbier and Thibault, and Talon, a Canadian gentleman with his family; these with the soldiers, settlers, mechanics, and the seamen of the four vessels, amounted to about two hundred and eighty individuals.



All things being prepared, the vessels sailed on the 24th of July; but they were soon obliged to return, in consequence of an injury sustained by the frigate in a storm, which having been repaired, they again departed on the 1st of August. On the 20th of that month, they were in sight of Madeira, where Beaujeu wished to stop, in order to procure refreshments; but La Salle peremptorily opposed it, on the ground that the Spaniards might thus receive information of the force and objects of the expedition, and the voyage was continued without interruption, until the end of September, when the *Joly*, the *Belle*, and the *Aimable*, arrived at Petit Gouave, on the south coast of St. Domingo. The schooner *St. François* had disappeared, and was supposed to have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards.

In St. Domingo, the vessels were detained nearly two months, before the supplies required for the remainder of the voyage, could be got on board. The differences between the two chiefs of the expedition, had by this time arrived at the point of open war, and La Salle had moreover discovered, that the persons enlisted as soldiers, settlers and mechanics, were for the most part vagabonds from the streets of Paris; who had never handled an arm or a tool, and were in every other respect, totally unfit for the purposes contemplated. Many of these people were diseased at the time of their embarkation, and others after landing in the island, indulging too freely in the pleasures which it offered, became sick, enfeebled and demoralised. La Salle himself was seized with fever, which soon reduced him apparently to the last extremity; he recovered, to the evident disappointment of Beaujeu, and was then driven almost to despair, by learning that a large number of his men had died or deserted, to supply the places of whom and to retain the others he was obliged to sacrifice nearly all his private property in the vessels. The new recruits were in general of worse character than those brought from France, being taken mostly from among the disbanded smugglers and bucaniers, who formed a large class of the population of the island; and to their evil dispositions, were due many of the unfortunate occurrences which followed.

The vessels at length put to sea again on the 25th of November; La Salle, with Joutel, Fathers Zenobe and Anastase, Cavellier and others of his party, having transferred their quarters from

the frigate to the *Aimable*. According to the advice received at St. Domingo, they sailed along the south coast of Cuba, to Cape San Antonio, the western extremity of that island, from which they took their departure on the 18th of December.



At that period the Mexican Gulf was, as already said imperfectly known, even to the Spaniards, although they had occupied its southern side for a hundred and fifty years. The general direction of its coasts was delineated with some approach to accuracy on the maps of that day as may be seen in the preceding copy of one of them published in 1670: but scarcely a single point on the northern side had been determined with sufficient exactness to guide the navigator in search of it. A large bay



was always represented on those maps, under the name of Bay of Espiritu Santo, as lying nearly in the actual position of the Bay of Achafalaya, for which it may have been intended; and south-west of this supposed bay, La Salle believed the mouth of the Mississippi to be situated, between the 27th and 28th degrees of latitude—that is to say, about four hundred miles west of its true place, at which another considerable river was then said to enter the Gulf. They accordingly on leaving Cape San Antonio steered north-westward across the Gulf, and, after encountering some severe gales, on the tenth day land was seen in the north-east. Continuing the same course slowly, for three days longer, the land was again seen, on the 1st of January, 1685, in latitude of 29 degrees 10 minutes; which, on approaching it, proved to be a level country, with vast quantities of drift wood on the shore. As no one on board was acquainted with the Gulf, the French were left to conjectures respecting the situation of the place: and La Salle having been informed at St. Domingo of the existence of the strong current rushing eastward across the northern part of that sea, imagined that they might have been thus carried far out of their intended course, and that the land before them might be the coast of the Bay of Apalache, in the angle between the peninsula of Florida and the mainland.

Whatsoever might have been the opinion of Beaujeu on this point, the navigation was continued, agreeably to La Salle's wishes, in a westward direction, until the 9th of the month, when some shoals were observed near the entrance of a bay, in latitude of 29 degrees 23 minutes. Joutel and others, on board, believed this to be the mouth of the Mississippi, or of the Bay of Espiritu Santo as represented on their maps; but La Salle, being persuaded that they had not yet advanced so far west, and that the mouth of the river lay between the 27th and 28th degrees, contented himself with a slight examination of the spot, and then pursued his voyage westward along the coast in advance of the other vessels. Proceeding slowly in this way, they soon observed the land trending towards the south; and when they had reached the latitude of twenty-eight and a half degrees, Joutel was sent with some men in a boat to explore and obtain water: he was, however, unable to reach the shore, on account of the violence of the surf; and, though some Indians swam off to his boat, and

were carried on board of the *Aimable*, nothing could be learned from their signs.

On the 15th, Joutel succeeded in landing at a place somewhat farther south, which he found to be a sandy plain, apparently an island, containing many large salt pools but no fresh water. The *Aimable* then sailed on for a few hours longer, during which the coast was observed to turn constantly more towards the south; and as she had been for some days separated from the other vessels, La Salle anchored as near the land as he could with safety, to await their arrival.

The *Joly* and the *Belle* did not make their appearance until the 19th, and a dispute then arose between La Salle and Beaujeu, as to the causes of their delay, and the exact position of the spot in which they were, with relation to the mouth of the Mississippi. La Salle at length admitted that they had most probably passed the outlet of the great river, and he proposed that they should return along the coast in search of it; to which Beaujeu assented, but on condition that a large supply of provisions should be allowed to the frigate, from the stores in the *Aimable*. La Salle offered to allow enough for fifteen days, within which time they might reasonably expect to reach the object of their search: this, however, did not content Beaujeu; and La Salle, suspecting that the *Chevalier* intended to desert him, and sail for St. Domingo, refused any farther allowance of provisions to the frigate, on the ground that the articles could not be obtained from the hold of the *Aimable*, without endangering her safety, by throwing her out of trim or balance.

The two commanders being equally fixed in their determinations on this point, La Salle adopted another course, the motives for which it is not easy to divine. Instead of continuing the search for the outlet of the Mississippi, with the *Aimable* and the *Belle*, which were entirely at his disposition, when he had every reason to believe himself within a few days' sail of that spot, he suddenly ordered the people engaged for the enterprise to be landed opposite the place of his anchorage, with directions that they should march along the shore towards the north, accompanied by the *Belle*, sailing in sight of them, until the mouth of the Mississippi, or some other great river, should have been discovered. Accordingly, in the beginning of February, one hundred and



thirty of those persons were disembarked at the entrance of an inlet, which had been already visited by La Salle and other officers; and, on the 4th of that month, they took their departure, as directed, under the command of Joutel and Moranget.

The place at which this landing was effected was situated, according to their observations, about the 28th degree of latitude, near which the Spanish maps of that period placed the mouth of two large rivers called Rio de Montañas and Rio de la Magdalena, flowing from the north-west; the inlet was no doubt the entrance of the bay, to which the name of Espiritu Santo seems to have been at length definitively assigned, lying immediately under the 28th parallel above mentioned, four hundred miles west of the mouth of the Mississippi. Thence they marched along the shore, towards the east, for three days, with only a flat sandy waste on the left; and, at the end of that time, their progress was stopped by a wide inlet, or river as they at first supposed it to be, on the banks of which they encamped until the vessels came up. La Salle having then sounded the inlet, and found it sufficiently deep, resolved to bring the Belle and the Aimable into it, and to leave them there until the mouth of the Mississippi should have been discovered. He seems indeed to have considered it possible, that the opening, from which a strong current issued, might be one of the outlets of the great river; and, in this supposition, he was confirmed by the appearance of a number of Indians in canoes, resembling those seen on the lower Mississippi: farther examinations, however, soon showed it to be the entrance of a large arm of the sea, on which he, as its discoverer, bestowed the name of Bay of St. Louis.

Thus La Salle, with two vessels at his disposition, determined to abandon the search for the Mississippi by sea. Accordingly, on the 20th, the Aimable, having been previously lightened by landing some of her guns, and other heavy articles, near the entrance of the bay, weighed anchor and sailed towards that place; in doing which, however, she struck upon a shoal and sprang a leak. La Salle soon found that she could not be got off in safety, and directed all his efforts to save her cargo, in which he partly succeeded: but a violent storm came up a few days after, and obliged all on board to abandon her; and in the following night she went to pieces. Some of her light goods

floating ashore excited the cupidity of the Indians, who attempted to seize them, but were driven off with menaces by the French; this exasperated the savages, and finding an opportunity, they fell on a small party of the strangers, of whom they killed or wounded several with arrows before they could be repulsed.

Beaujeu, according to the accounts of the expedition, observed these disasters with coolness if not with satisfaction. He received the captain and crew of the *Aimable*, and other persons engaged for the enterprise, on board of his ship, and he soon after announced his intention to sail for St. Domingo. La Salle thereupon demanded, that he should at least land the cannon, balls, and other articles destined for the use of the colony, which were in his ship; the Chevalier however returned the answer received by him from La Salle on a former occasion, that those stores were all in the bottom of his hold, and could not be obtained without endangering the safety of the vessel; and on the 14th of March, he set sail for the West Indies. Of the conduct of Beaujeu on this and other occasions, we have no means of forming a correct judgment, as the accounts are all from those interested in favor of La Salle; and it would be unjust to condemn him, when those accounts themselves show, that his temper must have been put to many severe trials, by the arrogance of his colleague. It is, nevertheless, impossible to justify his refusal to land the articles demanded by La Salle, or his desertion of a large number of his countrymen on an unknown coast, even had he not been sent thither, as he was, for the special purpose of protecting them, until their settlement should have been formed with some promise of success.

The whole number of the French thus left on the western shore of the Mexican Gulf, was about one hundred and eighty. A temporary habitation had been erected for them, near the entrance of the bay, in which the articles landed and those saved from the wreck of the *Aimable*, were also deposited; but as the place was entirely unsuitable for their longer residence, La Salle set out with a small party, to explore the interior country, in search of some better situation. After a few days he returned, having discovered a spot, which he considered well adapted for a settlement; and thither the people with their supplies and materials were transferred, and a fortified dwelling was commenced,



which was completed in the course of the summer, and received the name of Fort St. Louis. The Belle was likewise brought into the bay, and anchored midway between the fort and the inlet.

The exact position of this fort or settlement, remained for a long time undetermined, in consequence of the incorrectness of the accounts and maps of that part of America, which were in nearly all respects, irreconcilable with the original narratives of the enterprise. These narratives are indeed by no means clear, and the latitudes given in them are generally incorrect: more exact information as to the localities, has, however, been obtained from the journals of Spanish expeditions to Texas, cotemporary with that of the French; and by comparing all the accounts, with the results of modern surveys, the positions of the principal points may be now stated with assurance of their accuracy.



The coast of the Mexican Gulf on its north-west side, is exposed in only a few places, to the open sea; being for the most part, bordered by sandy islands, between which and the mainland, are a number of sounds and bays connected with the gulf by narrow and shallow inlets. The bay of St. Louis, on which the French settlement was situated, was undoubtedly the same

afterwards called by the Spaniards Bay of San Bernardo, then Bay of Espiritu Santo, and now known as Matagorda Bay, joining the Mexican Gulf at its south-east extremity by an inlet, called Paso del Cavallo, in latitude of 28 degrees 18 minutes. The bay is irregular in form. Its greatest length, from east to west, is about fifty miles; in breadth it varies from ten to twenty miles. One large river, now called the Colorado, and several others much smaller, enter it from the north; on the south-east, it is separated from the gulf, in its whole length, by a low and narrow peninsula of sand; on the south-west, it communicates by shallow passages with another bay, to which, as already said, the name of Espiritu Santo has been definitively assigned. Vessels drawing about ten or twelve feet, may enter it from the gulf; but only those of much less draught, can approach its shores or ascend its rivers.

Fort St. Louis was situated on the west side, and five miles from the mouth of a small river, called by the French Riviere aux Vaches or aux Bœufs, on account of the buffaloes seen near it, which empties into a cove on the north-west side of the Bay of St. Louis; the river is now known by its Spanish name of La Vaca, or La Baca river, having the same signification with that given by the French, and the cove is called La Baca bay. The French establishment consisted of some wooden buildings, made chiefly of pieces of the wreck of the *Aimable*, covered with buffalo hides, and enclosed by a palisade of logs: on its ramparts were mounted eight pieces of cannon; and it was furnished with a small number of muskets, swords, pistols, and other arms, and a moderate supply of ammunition, but no cannon balls.

In the labors required for this first establishment, the French

\* "We were," says Joutel, "in about the 27th degree of latitude [for which read 28½] two leagues inland, near the Bay of St. Louis, and the bank of the Riviere aux Bœufs, on a hillock, whence we saw vast and beautiful prairies extending far to the west, all level and covered with grass, affording pasture to infinite numbers of buffaloes and other animals. Towards the south appeared other plains, adorned with thickets of several kinds of trees. South and east, lay the bay and the plains which border it on the east. In the north, was the Riviere aux Bœufs running along the side of a hill, beyond which were other wide plains with tufts of wood at short distances apart, bounded by a forest of large trees."

The spot might no doubt be easily identified, as there should be on it, some vestiges of an extensive fortification, erected there, as will be hereafter shown, by the Spaniards in 1722.



passed the summer of 1685, during which a large number of them died, chiefly from diseases contracted at St. Domingo; others were killed by Indians or deserted, and some fell victims to fevers apparently endemic in the country. Their attempts at agriculture all proved vain, either because the seeds planted were unsuitable to the soil and climate, or more probably from want of proper attention and labor; there was, however, no scarcity of food, as deer, buffalo, wild turkies, and other game abounded in their vicinity, and the bay was filled with delightful fish, oysters and turtle. They were once alarmed by the appearance of a vessel at the entrance of the bay; but she departed without any signs of having observed them.

La Salle having effected what was immediately required by the circumstances at Fort St. Louis, set out in October, to explore the country, and to teach the natives to respect his people. He took with him sixty men, leaving in the fort thirty-four persons under the command of Joutel; and as there were about six others on board of the *Belle*, the whole number lost by sickness, by wounds received from Indians, and by desertion during the eight months which had elapsed since their landing, could not have been less than eighty. From the fort, La Salle proceeded to some distance along the northern side of the bay, when finding a spot suitable for anchorage, he caused the *Belle* to be brought thither, and laid up for the winter; an operation which was attended with the loss of the pilot of that vessel, and five other men, surprised at night and killed by Indians on the shore of the bay. La Salle then placed the priest Chefdeville and some other persons on board of the vessel, and with the twenty remaining men, he continued his exploration.

As neither Joutel nor Father Anastase were engaged in this journey, very little is known of the direction taken by La Salle, or the distance to which he proceeded. It appears however to be certain, that he discovered the great river now called the Colorado, falling into the north-east extremity of the bay; and it is probable that he thence advanced north eastward, in the vicinity of the sea coast, far enough to be assured that the mouth of the Mississippi, must lie at a much greater distance from his settlement than he had previously imagined. It has been conjectured that he endeavored also to penetrate westward to the vicinity of

the Spanish provinces: this supposition is neither sustained nor invalidated by either of the narratives from which our knowledge of his movements is exclusively derived; it is however not easy to divine why he should have adopted the course of a journey by land merely in search of the Mississippi; and we know from his memorials, that he believed the Spanish settlements to extend much farther north, than they actually did at that time.

On returning to Fort St. Louis in March, 1686, La Salle learned that several men, whom he had sent back from the upper end of the bay, had never arrived and had therefore probably been starved or killed by savages; and also that an extensive conspiracy had been discovered among the people in the fort, the object of which was to murder the principal persons of the garrison and then to escape in the Belle to the West Indies. But that which must have occasioned the greatest concern, was the disappearance of the vessel from her anchorage; affording strong reasons for apprehending that she might have been wrecked in one of the violent storms during the winter. Many deaths had also occurred at the fort; and the stock of ammunition being almost exhausted, it became indispensable to obtain assistance from some other quarter, ere their forces should become insufficient, to hold the Indians in check. La Salle therefore declared his intention to set out immediately towards the Illinois, where his friend Tonty was in command; calculating that he might be able to return to the fort with supplies before the following winter. In order that this long journey might be accomplished with speed and safety, light portable canoes were made for crossing rivers; and clothing of wicker work was provided for the men, sufficient to resist the arrows of the Indians. These preparations consumed much time; but being at length satisfactorily completed, La Salle set out from Fort St. Louis on the 22d of April, accompanied by twenty persons, including Father Anastase, from whom all the accounts of this journey are derived, as Joutel was again left in command of the place.

Shortly after their departure a canoe reached the fort, bringing the priest Chefdeville, Sabloniere, and five or six others, the only survivors of those left in the Belle, which had been driven from her moorings in the preceding winter, and wrecked on the south-east shore of the bay. Several of her men had been pre-



viously lost in their only boat, while returning from the shore: the others, after the destruction of the vessel, passed three months on the sandy slip of land which separates the bay from the Gulf, supporting themselves as they could, on the provisions saved from the wreck; and there they must have perished, had they not fortunately discovered an old canoe on the shore, in which they made their way to Fort St. Louis. It appears strange that they should not have endeavored to pass around the eastern extremity of the bay: possibly however the sandy slip, now forming the peninsula separating the bay from the gulf, may have then been an inland; such changes being common on that coast, in consequence of the severe storms to which it is subject.

From the account of Father Anastase,\* we learn that La Salle in this journey, took a direction east of north from Fort St. Louis; and pursuing it five days, he reached a river, named by him the Robek, which must have been one of the upper waters of the Colorado. Near this river they met a number of Indians, many of whom were mounted on horses, with saddles and other articles of European manufacture, derived doubtless from the Spaniards; but they could give no information respecting those people. At the distance of two leagues farther, the French crossed a larger stream—probably the main Colorado—called by them the Maligne, in consequence of the danger to which one of their men was exposed there; and beyond it they found others, of which one received the name of Hiens, from a German who fell into it, and another was called Riviere des Malheurs, from the accidents experienced in passing it. The country traversed by these streams was much better than those farther south, and was inhabited by friendly Indians, of whom those first met were the Biskatronge, the next the Kironoas, and the next, a numerous and intelligent nation, called the Cenis, who likewise had horses and Spanish articles in their possession; though they appeared to have never before seen a white person. Through their country ran a large river, which the accounts of subsequent Spanish expeditions show to have been the same now called the Neches, emptying

\* The account of this journey given in the "Etablissement du Foy," [chap. 25] from the journal of Father Anastase, is so vague that it is impossible to identify a single spot mentioned; and we are only able to arrive at some conclusions on these points, from Joutel's narrative of his passage over the same ground, and from the journals of subsequent Spanish expeditions to that part of America.

into the Sabine Lake. Thence after some days the French continued their route north-eastward to the region of the Nassonis, near the Red river, where La Salle was unfortunately seized with a fever, and lay languishing for two months. Meanwhile several of his men died, and others quitted him to live among the savages: their stock of powder, on which they depended for subsistence, was moreover nearly exhausted; and being unable to proceed onwards, under such circumstances, they returned to Fort St. Louis. There they arrived in the middle of October, with only eight of the twenty men, who had left the place in April preceding; and La Salle had then to receive from Joutel, confirmation of the loss of their only vessel, and accounts of sickness, deaths, treachery and conspiracies among the inmates of the fort.

The condition of the French colonists on the Bay of St. Louis was indeed most deplorable. Of the hundred and eighty, who had landed with La Salle, in March, 1685, only thirty-seven could be mustered at the fort, in the latter part of the following year; and these were nearly all despairing or desperate, and dissatisfied with their leader, towards whom some of them entertained the strongest feelings of animosity. Even the Recollet Father Maxime le Clercq, though considered a good man, could not refrain from consigning to his journal, reflections so bitter upon La Salle's conduct, that Joutel, on learning the fact, thought proper to require the destruction of the papers. Of relief from France no hope was entertained; and under such circumstances, the only resource which seemed to be left was the immediate transfer of the whole party to the Illinois. This would no doubt have been at once attempted had there not been among them six women and four young children, who could not possibly have performed a journey so long, painful, and dangerous: Joutel offered to go with sixteen men to that country in search of assistance; but La Salle considered his own presence necessary on the journey, and he accordingly determined to make another effort to reach the Illinois.

For this object, he divided his forces equitably; taking with him sixteen men, and leaving the remaining ten at the fort for the protection of the women and children. The party destined for the journey included, besides the commander, his brother Cavalier the priest, and their nephews Cavelier and Moranget, Joutel as



lieutenant, Father Anastase, Liotot the surgeon, the eldest son of Talon, and Nika an Indian from Canada, who had accompanied La Salle in his expeditions, for several years, and always proved true and useful. In the fort remained Barbier as commandant, Fathers Zenobe and Maxime, Sabloniere, Chefdeville, Talon with his wife and three young children, and others to the number of twenty. The place was left tolerably well supplied with arms and ammunition, except that there were no balls for the eight pieces of cannon.

The separation between the two parties took place in gloom and silence, on the morning of the 7th of January, 1687. Pursuing nearly the same route, as in his last expedition, La Salle, on the 13th, passed a large river emptying into the Bay of St. Louis, which Father Anastase calls *Riviere aux Cannes*, and Joutel names *Riviere des Princesses*; it was of course the Colorado. Farther on, they crossed another stream, to which they gave the appellation of *La Sabloniere*, running through a sandy country; this may have been the St. Bernard: and, in the beginning of February, they reached the *Maligne*, the description of which, in both the accounts of this expedition, applies to the Brazos, rather than the Colorado. Having passed it, as well as the *Hiens*, which Joutel calls the *Eure*,—possibly the same now known as the *Navasoto*,—they spent some time among the friendly Indians in its vicinity; and, in the middle of March, they reached the large river, called by Joutel *Riviere aux Canots*, which seems to have been the same now known as the *Trinity*, falling into *Galveston Bay*. Why they spent more than two months, on their way to this point, which could not have been at a greater distance than two hundred miles from Fort St. Louis, on a route already known to them, and when time was so valuable, we do not learn from either account of the expedition.

Thus far the French had encountered no obstacles or accidents of importance; dark thoughts, however, had been brooding in the minds of some of the party, and a bloody tragedy was about to be enacted, on the banks of the *Riviere aux Canots*.

It has been said, that a large proportion of the people brought by La Salle from France, were of the lowest order, and that others of worse character joined him at St. Domingo. Disease had indeed so far diminished the number of these persons, that they

formed an inconsiderable minority of the whole body of the colonists; but a large and effective portion of those who accompanied La Salle in this expedition, were inimical to him, and had determined to destroy him, so soon as an opportunity should present itself. The principal of these enemies of their commander were Liotot the surgeon, and Duhaut one of the colonists, who had been detected in several attempts to excite mutinies at the fort; the animosity of the latter, seems to have been in part occasioned by the loss of his brother, who had been sent back by La Salle to the settlement, for some misconduct during the first expedition to the north, and was supposed to have been murdered on the way by Indians.\* The other conspirators were Hiens or Hans, the German already mentioned, who had been a bucanier, and had entered the service at St. Domingo, and L'Archeveque and Teissier, seamen: their motives of discontent are not known, but probably had their origin in the haughty manner, and absolute if not tyrannical character of La Salle.

The conspirators kept their intentions to themselves until the party had crossed the Riviere aux Canots; two leagues beyond which La Salle encamped on the 14th of March, and thence sent back Liotot, Duhaut, Hiens and the Indian Nika, to bring the meat of some buffaloes, killed in the morning. As these men did not return on the 17th, La Salle despatched Moranget, accompanied by L'Archeveque, Teissier, a man named Marle or Marne, and his own servant Saget, in search of them. On arriving at the place where the buffaloes lay, Moranget found the men, and reprehended them for their conduct, in harsh language, taking from them moreover, not only the meat required for the use of the whole company, but also the marrow bones and other parts of the animal, usually considered as the special perquisites of the hunters. This irritated the conspirators, who being all assembled, determined no longer to defer the execution of their plan. Accordingly on that night, Moranget, Nika, and Saget, were each in succession, murdered while they slept, by Liotot, who des-

\*Charlevoix says, as received by him from good authority, that two of the murderers of La Salle—doubtless meaning Liotot and Duhaut—were associated with him in the enterprise, and had advanced a portion of the funds for the equipment of the expedition, in the success of which they were consequently interested; and he intimates that nothing but the unbearable ill temper and tyranny of La Salle could have induced them to commit this act.



patched his victims with an axe; the others standing by with their arms ready, in case resistance should be attempted. The Indian and Saget made no movement after receiving their death blows; Moranget started up and lived some minutes, until Marne had been compelled by the villains to complete their bloody work.

The conspirators had now gone too far to recede, and indeed they held the power in their own hands. They remained about the scene of their crime until the 20th of the month, when La Salle becoming uneasy, went himself with Father Anastase, and an Indian, to inquire into the cause of the delay.\* On approaching the river, he fired his gun as a signal; and he soon after met L'Archeveque, who, in answer to his questions about Moran-

\* Joutel thus relates the particulars of this murder:

"When he [La Salle] came near the camp of the assassins, on looking around in search of it, he observed some eagles flying about a spot not far off, which led him to believe that they had found some dead animal; and he fired his gun, which was the signal of his death, or at least hastened it. The conspirators hearing the report, concluded that it came from M. de La Salle, who had come in search of them; and they prepared their arms to surprise him. Duhaut first crossed the river, with L'Archeveque; and the former, seeing M. de La Salle at a distance, as he was approaching them, advanced and hid himself among some high weeds to wait for him; so that M. de La Salle, suspecting nothing, and not having even charged his gun again, saw L'Archeveque in front and immediately enquired for his nephew Moranget; to which L'Archeveque answered, that he was up the river. At the same moment, the traitor Duhaut fired his piece and shot M. de La Salle through the head, so that he dropped down dead on the spot without speaking a word."

"The shot by which M. de La Salle was killed was also a signal to the other assassins to come up, and they all drew around the place where the poor corpse lay, and barbarously stript it to the shirt, and vented their malice against their former commander in vile and opprobrious language. The surgeon Liotot several times said in derision, 'Lie there, Grand Bashaw! Lie there, Grand Bashaw.' They then dragged it naked among the bushes and left it exposed to the ravenous wild beasts; so far was it from being true, as stated by a certain author, [Father Anastase, in the *Etablissement de la Foy*,] that he was buried, and that a cross was erected over his grave."

The murder of La Salle has been usually supposed to have been committed near the Brazos river; a careful examination of the narratives of Joutel and Father Anastase has, however, convinced the author of this history, that it must have occurred on the east bank of the Trinity, which river appears to correspond in all respects with the Riviere aux Canots. It is moreover certain, from the journals of the Spanish expeditions through those regions, that the Ceniz, among whom the French arrived after the murder, without crossing any other large river, inhabited the country traversed by the Neches and its branches, around the present town of Nacogdoches. See the account of the expedition of Alonzo de Leon, in the latter part of this chapter.

get and the other men, said in a surly tone that they had gone up the river. In the meantime Duhaut crept softly through the weeds, and when near enough to be sure of his aim he fired his gun at his commander, who, receiving the ball in his head, fell almost instantly dead. The other conspirators then coming up, stripped the body, and treated it with every indignity; though they finally allowed Father Anastase, as he says, to bury it, and erect a cross on the spot.

The conspirators, after the murder of La Salle, were the masters of the party. Of the eight others, Joutel, the two priests, and the two boys, were all who could have been considered as attached to their late chief; and resistance by them would have been unavailing. Cavelier, on learning his brother's fate, expected to be the next sacrificed, and asked only half an hour to prepare himself; but they assured him that he had no cause for alarm, as what they had done was occasioned by the tyranny of La Salle, which had driven them to desperation. Joutel, whom Duhaut had resolved also to kill, was spared through the influence of L'Archeveque. Duhaut then assumed the command, and, proceeding onwards, they soon reached the Ceniz village: there they remained two months, and were joined by Ruter and Grollet, two of their companions who had deserted during the former expedition. Meanwhile a difference had arisen between the chiefs of the murderers, some wishing to remain in that country, while others insisted upon returning to Fort St. Louis, where they proposed to build a vessel, and go to the West Indies; and a dispute took place as to the division of the goods, in the course of which, Liotot and Duhaut were killed by Hiens and his partizans. After some time, during which the bucanier and his followers engaged with the Indians in an expedition against their enemies, it was agreed that a separation should be made; and the two Caveliers, Father Anastase, Joutel, Marne, Teissier, and two others, accordingly took their departure for the Illinois, in the middle of May; leaving Hiens, L'Archeveque, Grollet, Ruter, and Breman, among the Ceniz. The young Talon also remained with the Indians; but for what reason we know not, unless, as most probable, from anxiety respecting the fate of his father and family.

The separation probably took place near the head waters of the



Neches. Cavalier, Father Anastase, and their party, proceeding north-eastward, crossed a river probably the Sabine, and entered into the country of the Nahordikes Indians; thence they passed to the Nassonis, and, on the 16th of June, they crossed another and very large stream, which was no doubt the Red River. Farther on, they met in succession the Nachitos, the Cadodakios, and the Cahainano tribes, through whose territories ran many large rivers; in one of these streams, probably the Washita, Marne was drowned, and his name was assigned to it in consequence. At last, in the middle of July, the wearied travellers reached the mouth of the Arkansas, on the banks of which they, to their joy and surprise, observed a cross, and soon after a house evidently made by civilized people.\*

It will be necessary now to revert to the Chevalier de Tonty, who was left in command of the fort on the Illinois when La Salle departed for France in 1683. On learning that his former chief had embarked for the mouth of the Mississippi, he endeavored to obtain the means of joining him there; but was constantly disappointed by the opposition of M. de la Barre, the Governor General of Canada. In 1684 however, de la Barre was succeeded by M. de Denonville, who being friendly to La Salle, immediately authorised an expedition from Canada to co-operate with him. Tonty accordingly quitted the Illinois in February, 1686, and reached the mouth of the Mississippi in April. From that point he sent canoes in each direction along the coast to some distance, in search of his countrymen; and even endeavored to prevail on his men to accompany him in a voyage in that way, around the peninsula of Florida to New York. They however all refused to engage in so hazardous an enterprise; whereupon he left marks in conspicuous places on the coast, and gave a letter to a Quinipissa chief, to be delivered to La Salle in case he should arrive there;† after which he returned

\* According to the computation of Father Anastase, they had travelled from Fort St. Louis north sixty leagues, and east north-east forty leagues to the Cenis; thence twenty-five leagues east north-east to the Nasonis; thence forty leagues north north-east to the Cadodakios; thence twenty-five leagues north-east to the Cahainano; thence sixty leagues east north-east to the Arkansas—in all two hundred and fifty leagues.

† This letter, as will be seen in the following chapter, was found by M. de Iberville, near the mouth of the Mississippi, in 1699.

up the river to the Illinois. He however took the precaution to build a house near the mouth of the Arkansas, and to place in it a few men, so as to form an intermediate point for the purpose of facilitating communications, if they should be required between the Illinois and the gulf.

At this place Cavelier, Father Anastase, Joutel, and the others of their party, arrived in the beginning of July, 1687; and having been there refreshed and provided with canoes and guides, they pursued their route up the Mississippi and the Illinois, to the Rock fort on the latter river, which they reached on the 14th of September. Tonty was then absent, but he returned in the end of October and greeted the wanderers as brothers. He was not treated with equal frankness by them; for Cavelier and Joutel, while relating the particulars of the expedition thought proper, for some reason not clearly explained, to suppress entirely the fact of the death of La Salle, whom they pretended to have left in good health in the Cenis country.\* Having been supplied with money and other necessities, the priest, the Friar and Joutel departed on the 27th of March, 1688, for Chicago, from which they went to Michilimackinac: there they gave the same false account to the commandant, the celebrated Baron de la Hontan; and even in Canada they concealed the death of La Salle from the Governor General, so that the fact did not become publicly known, until some time after their arrival in France.

Before, or soon after the departure of Cavelier and his companions from the Illinois, Tonty received the news of the death of La Salle, from the person charged with the direction of the establishment on the Arkansas, to whom the priest had been more communicative during his stay there. With the hope of rescuing his unfortunate countrymen at Fort St. Louis, he prepared to penetrate thither, if possible by land; but he was unable to set out until 1689. In April of that year, he reached the river of the Cadodakios, which the natives, says he, "call the Red river, because it deposits a sand, rendering its waters as red as

\* "This was true," says Joutel, "for Monsieur Cavelier and I, who gave the account, were not present at the death of M. de la Salle; and he was well when he left us." Father Anastase, who was an eye witness, and Teissier, one of the murderers, "to avoid lying, said nothing." No mention is made of this concealment in the account given in the *Etablissement de la Foy*, which is copied from the narrative of Father Anastase



blood;" crossing it near the present town of Natchitoches, he went to within three days' journey of the place, where La Salle had been killed, and there learned, that some of the French, who had remained in that country, as already related, had been put to death by the Indians. Farther on, Tonty was assured that a large body of Spaniards were in his vicinity, whereupon he was obliged to return to the Illinois.\*

The report received by Tonty, of the presence of the Spaniards in that country, was correct.†

Information that the French were engaged in making an establishment on the north coast of the Mexican Gulf, was received early in 1685 by the governor of Havanna, from a vessel of that nation which had been taken on the coast of Yucatan; and a ship was in consequence sent under Juan Enriquez Barroto, who examined the north coast from the southern extremity of Florida, to Vera Cruz, without discovering any thing calculated to confirm the report. Other rumors to the same effect were received by the Court of Madrid; and the Count de Monclova, on being appointed Viceroy of Mexico in 1686, was specially instructed to seek for the intruders, and to deal with them according to the general law of the Indies—that is to say to put them to death or confine them for life in the mines.

For this purpose, two armed vessels commanded respectively, by Martin de Ribas, and Juan de Iriarte, with Barroto, as pilot, sailed from Vera Cruz in 1686; and tracing the coast northward,

\* Tonty when at Paris in 1693, presented to the ministry a petition for employment, accompanied by a memorial, containing a sketch of his services in Canada, in conjunction with La Salle, and of his subsequent endeavors to penetrate from the Illinois to the fort erected by the French on the Mexican Gulf. This document seems to have fallen into the hands of some unauthorised person in Paris, who from it and from other sources, manufactured a book entitled "*Dernieres découvertes de M. de La Salle dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*," and published it in 1697, under the name of Tonty. It is filled with blunders; and its publication proved very annoying to the honest Italian, who afterwards disavowed it entirely. The original memorial of Tonty, still remains in the archives of the government at Paris; a copy of it was procured by Mr. T. Falconer, who in 1844 published a translation at London in his work on the discovery of the Mississippi. It is a clear and concise account, bearing every mark of truth, and correctness (except some inaccuracies as to dates) and is calculated from its whole tone, to convey a most favorable opinion of the character of the writer. See page 197.

† The following accounts of the movements of the Spaniards, are derived from Barcia's "*Ensayo Chronologico*," and from Spanish manuscripts, in the possession of the author.

they found the remains of a vessel, at the entrance of a bay on the west side of the gulf, in latitude of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, to which they gave the name of Bay of San Bernardo. Within the bay they discovered the wreck of another vessel, and took from it four pieces of cannon of French manufacture, and a shield bearing the arms of France; and being thus persuaded that the intruders had all perished, they returned to Vera Cruz. The wrecks were no doubt those of the *Aimable* and *Belle*; the latitude assigned to the entrance of the bay, is about one degree too high; but that was a small error for a Spanish navigator, at the period in question.

The Viceroy, being however still unsatisfied as to the destruction of the French, despatched two vessels to the north coasts, under Don Andres de Pes, a distinguished naval officer, who in the spring of 1687, also examined the bay of San Bernardo or St. Louis, and found there the wrecks observed by Ribas and Iriarte; but he did not learn any news of the French establishment. The Spaniards thence traced the coast eastward to the Bay of Apalache, from which they passed over to Vera Cruz.

In the following year, an Englishman named White, who had been carried as prisoner to Havanna, declared that the French settlement was still maintained, and that he had visited it himself; whereupon it was determined in a council of the authorities at Mexico, that farther search should be made for the obnoxious trespassers on the territory of his Catholic majesty. A frigate and a schooner were accordingly sent under Pes, who leaving his ship in the Bay of Mavila, (as the Bay of Mobile was then called,) traced the coast in the schooner westward, and entered the Mississippi or Rio de la Palisada, which he ascended to the distance of thirty leagues, without seeing or hearing any thing of the French. If this account be true, as there is every reason to regard it, the Spaniards may claim the merit of having first entered the great river from the gulf, as well as of having first ascertained its existence, and first navigated it from the interior to the sea.

In the latter part of that year, 1688, the Count de Monclova was succeeded in the government of Mexico by the Count de Galve, who immediately took measures for the exploration and settlement of the unknown regions bordering upon the Gulf, north and east of the Rio Bravo. The execution of this duty was committed to Alonzo de Leon, who was with that view, ap-



pointed governor of a province called Coahuila, or New Extremadura, formed from the western portion of New Leon.

The capital of the new province, which then contained only a few villages of converted Indians, was the little town of Coahuila, now called Monclova, situated on a branch of the Salado river, one of the tributaries of the Rio Bravo. From this place, Alonzo de Leon set out on the 23d of March, 1689, with a hundred soldiers and some Indians, under the guidance of a Frenchman from Fort St. Louis, who had been found wandering in the vicinity of Coahuila, in the preceding year. Descending the little stream, to its junction with the Salado, he thence turned north-eastward, and on the 2nd of April he reached the Rio Bravo, which he forded with his troops, probably near the site of the present town of Laredo. Continuing the march in the same direction eighteen leagues, they crossed another river, which was called the Nueces, from the number of nut trees growing on its banks; and ten leagues farther on, another named Rio Hondo or Deep river, probably that now known as the Aransaso. At the distance of eighteen leagues beyond, they rested on the banks of the Medina, now the San Antonio; and on the 14th of the month they crossed the Guadalupe, so named in honor of their patroness, the celebrated Virgin, enthroned near Mexico. The first distinct accounts of the French were there received from the Indians, who stated that the strangers had lived in houses near the sea, until within a few months, when they all died from some disease which broke out among them. These savages had in their possession French books, and other articles of the manufacture of that nation; and they furnished the Spaniards with guides to conduct them to the spot lately occupied by the white men.\*

Leaving the main body of his troops encamped on the Guadalupe, Alonzo de Leon proceeded, on the 21st of April, with a few men, to the place where stood the ruins of Fort St. Louis. They occupied a slight elevation on a small stream, near its entrance into a bay; and consisted of several wooden buildings, which had been enclosed by a palisade. The principal of these houses was in the form of a fort, made chiefly of pieces from the wreck of a vessel; over the door, was inscribed the number 1685,

\* See translation of the Journal of Alonzo de Leon, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter E.

indicating the year of its construction. Near it was a small building, which seemed to have been used as a chapel; and around were five other houses of logs, entirely covered with buffalo hides. The place had been evidently sacked, and all that savages could consider valuable, had been taken away. Among the ruins were found eight pieces of small iron cannon, some dismounted, others upon shattered carriages, with three old swivels; while the ground was covered with torn books, in the French language, broken casks, boxes and bottles, musket stocks, and other articles which the plunderers regarded as of no value. Near the ruins, the Spaniards discovered the remains of three human bodies, one of which seemed to be that of a female, from the fragments of dress adhering to it; these were decently buried by order of the Governor, who caused a mass to be sung over them.

Such was the condition of Fort St. Louis in April, 1689, according to the report of Alonzo de Leon. It has been asserted on the contrary, that the Spaniards found the place still occupied by the French, whom they made prisoners or put to death: but there is not the slightest evidence in support of the assertion; and it is much more reasonable to suppose, that the few helpless men, women and children left there by La Salle in January, 1687, had fallen victims to disease, and to the vengeance or cupidity of the savages, before the arrival of the troops from Mexico. Indeed, Alonzo de Leon, had he acted as thus asserted, would have probably proclaimed the fact as a proof of his punctuality in executing the orders of his government.

According to a solar observation taken by Alonzo de Leon, at his encampment on the Guadalupe, near Fort St. Louis, that place was situated in latitude of 28 degrees 48 minutes, which is within a few minutes of its real position. Having completed his examination of the spot, and buried the cannon, he continued his march along the south shore of the bay, crossing the lagoons and marshes between it and another bay farther south, to the coast of the gulf, where he found the wreck of the *Aimable*. He also discovered the entrance of the Guadalupe, into the other bay; and then returning to Fort St. Louis, he took his course north-east along the shore of the Bay of St. Louis to the great river, now known as the Colorado, but named by him the *San Marcos*, in honor of the saint on whose day, April 25th, it was first seen.



In the meantime he had learned from the Indians, that some of the French were still living among the tribes farther north; and he sent messengers with letters inviting them to come to him. One of these messengers brought back a letter, signed Jean L'Archeveque, in which the writer promised that he and one of his companions, Jacques Grollet, would as soon as opportunity should be offered, deliver themselves to the Spanish commander. Accordingly on the 1st of May, these two men appeared at the camp on the San Marcos, dressed and painted as Indians, and gave themselves up to the Governor, to whom they related what they knew, or chose to tell, respecting the proceedings of their countrymen in that part of America. They said that after more than a hundred of the French had died from disease, they and some others had gone to the country of the Ceniz farther north; there they had remained until a few months previous, when learning that the fort had been taken by Indians, and its inmates put to death, they had returned to the place, which they found in ruins, and had buried the dead bodies, fourteen in number, and set fire to the powder. They added that three of their companions who were in the Ceniz country when the fort was taken, still continued there, together with three children, who were spared by the savages on that occasion. Of the circumstances attending the murder of La Salle, in which L'Archeveque had taken part, they probably said nothing, as the report of the Spanish commander does not mention them.

Alonzo de Leon, having been thus assured of the destruction of the French colony, considered it unnecessary to proceed farther, and he returned to Mexico, just at the time when Tonty was making his way back from the Red River, to the Illinois, as already related. The Viceroy of New Spain, on learning the particulars of the expedition, from the Governor of Coahuila, and from the accounts of L'Archeveque and Grollet, immediately sent the two latter persons to Spain, under the charge of Don Andres de Pes, who was instructed to urge the government to establish forts and settlements, on the northern sides of the Mexican Gulf, in order to prevent the repetition of encroachments by other nations on those territories. Alonzo de Leon was moreover directed to make another expedition through the regions north of the Rio Bravo; with which object he again crossed that river, in the

spring of 1690. Thence proceeding in a line farther west than that first pursued by him, he passed the great river now called the Brazos, which was named by him Rio Colorado, from the extreme redness of its waters; and the other large stream, to which he gave the appellation of Rio de Trinidad, or the Trinity, probably the Riviere aux Canots of the French. Beyond this latter river, he met the Ceniz Indians, with whom he made a solemn treaty; and their chief, on declaring his submission to the king of Spain, and professing a desire to embrace Christianity, was duly baptised under the name of Bernardo, and appointed Governor of the Province of Texas.

This appears to have been the earliest application of the name of Texas to a country in America. It has been already said, that rumors had been current, ever since the conquest of Mexico, of the existence of a numerous and powerful nation of Indians called Texas or Teguas, inhabiting the regions north of the Rio Bravo; and Alonzo de Leon thought proper to consider the Ceniz as this nation, from having found in their language the word Teysas or Texas, signifying *friends*, used as one of the appellations of their principal tribe. The name of Ceniz was accordingly never afterwards employed by the Spaniards; in whose accounts the people of that region are generally termed Texas, and sometimes Asinais. These people were in fact a confederacy of tribes, of which the most powerful was called Taxus and Ainais.

From the country of the Ceniz or Texas, the Spaniards continued their march northward to that of the Cadodakios on the Red River, where they learned that many white men had been in the preceding year, distributing knives, beads, and crosses among the Indians, and endeavoring to excite them against the Spaniards. These white persons were no doubt Tonty and his companions: Alonzo de Leon used every means in his power to counteract the impressions which they had sought to produce; and not considering it necessary to proceed farther north, he returned to the Ceniz, where he established a mission of Franciscan friars, probably near the spot now occupied by the town of Nacogdoches. He also succeeded in obtaining possession of two Frenchmen, Meunier and Breman, and of the eldest son of Talon, a youth of seventeen, through whose means the other chil-



dren of Talon spared by the Indians on the capture of Fort St. Louis were afterwards recovered. The eldest Talon and Meunier were left at the mission as interpreters; the other children, with Breman, were carried by the Governor to Mexico in the latter part of the year.\*

Such were the events and the unfortunate termination of this first expedition of the French to the northern coasts of the Mexican Gulf. It was intended as shown in the memorials of its projector, for the subjugation of the northern provinces of New Spain, to which the proposed establishment on the Mississippi, was to be merely subservient, as a rendezvous for the French from Europe, Canada, or St. Domingo, and the Indians from the surrounding countries, by whom the conquest was to be effected: and his movements, after entering the gulf, afford strong reason for the belief, that he then designed, not to seek the mouth of the great river, but to place his forces as near as possible to the points which were to be first attacked, whensoever a change in the relations between France and Spain should justify it, or perhaps, whensoever an opportunity should be presented for so doing, with a prospect of success. In the mere establishment of the French at Fort St. Louis, there was nothing which could be justly termed illegal; but La Salle must have been aware that this act would be considered by the Spanish Government as highly criminal, and that he and his associates would become the objects of the unrelenting vindictiveness of that nation, from which they could only expect to escape, by dishonorable or calamitous retreat. How far he may have relied on promises of farther aid from France, we know not: there is however no evidence that expectations of that nature were entertained by him;

\* L'Archeveque and Grollet, were as already mentioned carried to Spain by Don Andres de Pes, and were brought back in 1692 to Mexico, where they and Breman probably passed the remainder of their lives in prison or in mines. The three eldest sons of Talon, were placed on board of a Spanish ship, in which they were captured by the French in 1696, and restored to their country; of the other son and the daughter, all that is known, is that they were carried to Spain by one of the viceroys. With regard to those who remained among the Indians, we only learn from Dumont, (*Memoires sur la Louisiane*,) that in 1751, an old half-breed was residing in the Red river country, who declared himself to be a son of Ruter; he said that his father had lived to a great age, as a chief of one of the tribes in that region, whom he had taught many arts, and particularly, the use of sails in navigating the rivers.

and unless they were, his conduct in exposing his helpless followers to the certainty of suffering, if not of destruction, without any probability of advantage, was either insane or highly culpable.

With regard to the conduct of the French government, in abandoning these people, thus sent out under its auspices, to a fate so certain and so dreadful, we are also without materials for forming a judgment. Louis XIV. and his Ministers were by no means indifferent to the interests of their nation in the New World; and their neglect of La Salle and his followers may in some degree, have proceeded from circumstances constituting a strong, if not an imperative political necessity for such a course. The ambitious monarch of France then had in view several great objects, of which the principal was, to secure in his family the succession to the crown of Spain, upon the decease of his brother-in-law, the reigning sovereign Charles II. For this end, every effort was employed to conciliate the Spanish King and his nation; and if the French Government were persuaded, on the return of Beaujeu—as every one else seems to have been soon afterwards—that La Salle proposed to subjugate the northern provinces of Mexico, no aid or countenance could have been given to his enterprise, without offending Spain so deeply as to endanger the success of the project, for placing a Bourbon Prince on the throne of that country. Such considerations may have prevented the despatch of succors to the colony on the Mexican Gulf; but those unfortunate people, were more probably forgotten, amid the cares which oppressed the government of France at that momentous period.

The magnificent Louis, had then extinguished nearly every spark of civil and religious liberty throughout his dominions: one thing however remained to be done, in order to render his authority absolute. A large and industrious portion of his subjects were Protestants, who, though restricted and persecuted in various ways, still enjoyed a certain degree of freedom of conscience and of worship, in virtue of some unrepealed provisions of the edict for their protection, issued by Henry IV. at Nantes, in 1598. On the 22d of October, 1685, this edict was entirely revoked; and decrees at the same time appeared, requiring the immediate submission of all persons in France, to the faith and forms of the Church of Rome, under penalties the most cruel and



revolting to humanity. A small number of the Huguenots complied with these requisitions; others fled with their families to the mountains of the Cevennes, in the centre of the kingdom, where they maintained their independence by their swords for several years: but more than three hundred thousand were driven forth, to die in misery, or to enrich other lands by their virtues, their intelligence and their mechanical skill. Many of the exiles sought refuge in the English provinces in America; and some of the most distinguished families in New York, Virginia and South Carolina, trace their descent with pride, from those victims of despotism and intolerance.

Encouraged by the fortunate results which Louis had thus obtained in France, his cousin, James II., who had succeeded Charles II. on the throne of England in 1685, endeavored three years afterwards, to introduce the same system into his kingdom. His entire failure, his expulsion from England, and the election of his son-in-law William of Orange in his place, are well known. No less vain and ineffectual were the efforts of James, to bring the American colonies, like New France, under the control of a Governor General, unshackled by charters and legislatures: and had the issue of the contest in the mother country been different, the independence of those colonies would have certainly been dated from 1689 instead of 1776.

Louis espoused the cause of the exiled James II. and a war ensued, in which England, the United Provinces, the emperor of Germany, and the king of Spain, were all soon joined in alliance against France: and when the particulars of La Salle's expedition, and the fate of those engaged in it, became known in Europe, the public mind was too much engrossed by victories, defeats and negotiations, to pay any attention to matters of so little comparative moment, as those concerning a few vagabonds, under an unknown leader, rambling and perishing in a country of which no one had any distinct idea.\*

\* The first accounts of these circumstances, were brought to Europe by Cavalier, Joutel and Father Anastase, in 1688; but very little was known of them, previous to the publication of the "*Premiere Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France*," by Father Chrestien Le Clercq, of which a particular notice has been already given.

The melancholy circumstances that attend the death of the *Sieur de La Salle* have enlisted the sympathies of all in his behalf; and biographers and historians have vied with each other, in endeavoring to place his character in the most favorable point of view, and to enhance the importance of his services in the exploration and settlement of the Mississippi regions and those adjacent on the south-west. Yet, if the accounts above presented be correct, little will be found worthy of admiration, either in the constitution of his mind, as shown by his conduct, or in his objects, so far as they have been brought to light. Courage and perseverance he certainly possessed, but these qualities were neutralized by an overweening confidence in his own judgment and capacity, leading him not only to treat with indifference and disdain the opinions of others on all points, but also to reject or neglect those precautions, the proper estimation and use of which are essential to success in all enterprises. He seems, indeed, never to have clearly defined his own intentions; it is otherwise difficult to account for the singular want of adaptation of his means to the end apparently in view, or to any others of a reasonable nature. In his expeditions from Canada to the Mississippi, his forces were greater on each occasion than could have been required for mere exploration, while they were wholly insufficient for any purpose of occupation; and his last enterprise was undertaken with means in every respect inadequate to carry out the simplest preliminary measures proposed by him to his government, much less to effect the grand objects of conquest and commercial communication, towards which his mind seems to have been wildly directed.

These considerations appear to authorize doubts as to the propriety of assigning to *La Salle*, at the present day, a position in American history, which he certainly did not enjoy among his cotemporaries; and which nothing that has been since learned of his character, objects, or acts, is calculated to strengthen. On the other hand, it must be admitted that he possessed in a high degree the virtues of benevolence and generosity, so rarely found combined with ambition and self-confidence; and upon the whole, he deserves to be regarded among the good, rather than among the great men, who have employed their energies in the discovery and settlement of the New World.



## CHAPTER VIII.

1690 TO 1712.

WAR IN EUROPE ENDED BY THE TREATY OF RYSWICK—FOUNDATION OF PENSACOLA—SETTLEMENT OF THE FRENCH UNDER IBERVILLE AND BIENVILLE ON THE NORTHERN SIDE OF THE MEXICAN GULF, NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI—FOUNDATION OF BILOXY AND MOBILE—WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION, INVOLVING THE ENGLISH, FRENCH AND SPANISH COLONIES IN AMERICA—HOSTILITIES IN FLORIDA.

WE now approach the period, when settlements of a permanent character were made in the countries bordering upon the northern sides of the Mexican Gulf; and that portion of America began, in consequence, to attract the attention of the great European nations which already held dominion in the New World.

The war begun in 1689, between France and England, soon involved their colonies in America, notwithstanding the provision in the treaty, concluded three years previous, that those countries should remain neutral in the event of a rupture of the peace. Indeed, at the very time when that treaty was signed, a party of French from Canada took forcible possession of several English establishments on Hudson's Bay; and before the declaration of the war, Count de Frontenac had been restored to his position as Governor General of New France, with orders to invade and conquer New York, of which M. de Callieres had actually been appointed the Governor.

This latter project was entirely defeated, by the unexpected irruption of the Iroquois into Canada, where they burnt Montreal, and put to death nearly all its inhabitants in August, 1689; and the armament under Frontenac, then entering the St. Lawrence, was wasted away in efforts to retrieve the losses consequent upon

that misadventure. The great naval expedition of the English against Quebec, in the following year, proved equally ineffective; the attack on that city was unsuccessful, and the whole fleet under Phipps was lost or dispersed by storms in the St. Lawrence. Acadie was conquered by the people of New England; but it was soon regained by the French, who moreover obtained possession of Newfoundland, and the whole of the Hudson's Bay countries, which they held until the conclusion of the war.

The other events of this contest in America were of little importance. Fortunately for the English and French colonies, obstacles nearly insuperable, prevented them from doing much injury to each other. The settlements of the two nations were separated by wide tracts of territory, covered by forests, and inhabited by warlike Indians, who hated both parties as intruders, and whom it was indispensable for either to conciliate, ere any hostile movement could be commenced against the other; and as provisions sufficient for large bodies of men, on a long march, could neither be carried nor be obtained on the way, these expeditions were generally on a very small scale, and seldom led to results more material than the destruction of some frontier post or settlement.

The enmity of the Iroquois to the French, encouraged in every way by the English traders, caused many and long interruptions of intercourse between the St. Lawrence countries and those of the Upper Lakes. La Motte Cadillac at Mackinac, and Tonty at Fort St. Louis on the Illinois, aided by the Jesuits, who had returned to those regions, however, succeeded in maintaining their positions; and after some rude combats with the natives, the predominance of the French was finally established. A number of Canadians were at the same time engaged in trade in that part of America, one of whom, M. le Sueur, discovered the rich mines of copper and lead, which now give so much importance to the countries about Lake Michigan, in addition to their agricultural advantages; and a hardy class of men, called *coureurs de bois*, were growing up, composed chiefly of half-breeds, the offspring of Frenchmen and Indian women, who, subsequently, proved very useful in the exploration and settlement of the Mississippi regions.

Thus the French and English colonies, on the whole, suffered



little by the war; and those of the latter nation, south of New York, scarcely felt any inconvenience from it. The settlements in Carolina, however, began already to be annoyed by the Indians in their vicinity, particularly by the Catawbas, and the Cherokees of the upper country, of whom the latter were, no doubt, the same people, called Chalaqué, in the accounts of the expedition of Soto. The Yamassees, inhabiting the coasts and islands between Charleston and St. Augustine, had been also, at first, inimical to the English, against whom every means was employed by the Spaniards, to excite the hostility of the Indians; but in 1686, Cabrera the Governor of Florida, having seized and put to death one of the principal Yamassees chiefs, named Nicosatly, those savages rose in a body in the following year, and destroyed all the Spanish settlements and forts north of the river San Matheo; after which they remained for thirty years the firm friends of the English. With the great confederacy of the Muscoghees, afterwards called Creeks, who extended from the upper waters of the Savannah and the Alatomaha westward to those of the Alabama, the people of Carolina soon formed relations of commerce and friendship, which the Spaniards were unable to break, as they could offer the Indians neither presents, nor trade, nor protection in return.

Spain joined the coalition against France in 1690, and she, in consequence suffered many calamities in the West Indies, where the war was conducted with much determination on all sides. Soon after the commencement of the hostilities in that quarter, Don Andres de Pes arrived at Madrid, whither he had been dispatched by the Viceroy of Mexico, to solicit authority for the establishment of forts and colonies in the territories north of the Rio Bravo; and after much delay, he at length obtained orders to that effect, on the condition, however, that the remittances from Mexico to the mother country should not suffer any diminution in consequence. The Viceroy, thus limited, could only take preparatory measures, in the hope that they might be followed by others more efficient; and with that object he commissioned Don Domingo Teran de los Rios, to examine the interior of the territories above mentioned, and select proper spots for settlements, whilst two vessels should survey the coast northward from Panuco, in search of a position for a naval establishment.

The vessels under Captain Martinez, quitted Vera Cruz in the spring of 1691, and examining the coasts on their way, they reached the Bay of St. Louis or San Bernardo, where they lay until the arrival of the land forces. Teran departed from Coahuila, in May of the same year, with a large party of soldiers and priests, and following the route of Alonzo de Leon he crossed the Nueces early in June. Thence he continued his march due north to the Medina, and passing it he discovered immediately beyond, a rich and beautiful valley, traversed by a crystal stream, bursting from the side of a hill, to which he gave the name of San Antonio, in honor of that saint, on whose day, June 13, it was first seen. Having spent some time in examining this place, where he found all that could be required for an interior settlement, he continued his progress towards the north-east; and crossing, in succession, the rivers named by Alonzo de Leon, the Guadalupe, the San Marcos, (now the Colorado,) the Colorado, (now the Brazos) and the Trinity, he, in August, arrived at the missions of the Ceniz country, which were in a prosperous condition. There he spent some weeks in exploring; but his men were seized with fevers, and his provisions being insufficient, he removed his quarters southward to the Bay of San Bernardo, where he obtained supplies from the vessels, and was thus enabled to return to the north. In December he reached the river of the Cadodakios, (now the Red river,) where a council of officers and priests was called to determine whether or not they should attempt to descend the stream to its mouth: and it being resolved that this could not be done without great hazard, the whole party marched back to the Ceniz country. Disputes then took place between the commandant and the missionaries, in consequence of which the latter refused to remain longer in that region; and the Spaniards, repaired, accordingly to the Bay of San Bernardo, where they all embarked for Vera Cruz, in the latter part of March, 1692.\*

This expedition was to have been followed by the immediate establishment of Spanish colonies in Texas, for which the Count de Galve began preparations, on a scale as extended as his means would allow, in virtue of farther authorization received

\* The concise account here presented, embraces all that is worthy of note in the voluminous journal of the expedition of Teran, of which a copy in manuscript is now before the author of this history.



from Madrid. A formidable insurrection, however, at that moment broke out among the Indians in the City of Mexico and its vicinity, in the course of which the palace and other public buildings were destroyed; and considerable expenses being moreover rendered necessary for the re-conquest of New Mexico, where the Spanish dominion had been, as already said, entirely overthrown by the natives in 1689, the execution of the projects above mentioned, was in consequence, deferred.

In the meantime the Spanish government had resolved to abandon St. Augustine, and to transfer all the materials and garrisons to the northern side of the Mexican Gulf. Apprehensions, however, arising, that the English might seize on the places thus relinquished, it was considered more prudent to retain them, though the occupation of the countries farther west was to be carried into effect; and orders were accordingly sent to the Viceroy of Mexico, to form a naval establishment, and colony in the Bay of Santa Maria, or Achusi,\* of which the most favorable descriptions were found, in the documents connected with the expedition of Tristan de Luna y Arellano in 1560.

The superintendence of these operations was committed to Don Andres de Pes, who, immediately proceeded to Mexico, carrying back with him the two French prisoners, Larcheveque and Grollet. The disturbances in that country had been soon quelled, though great devastation was committed in the capital and its environs; and Pes, after a short time employed in preparations, sailed in March 1693, with a frigate and a schooner carrying soldiers, workmen, priests and materials for the Bay of Santa Maria. He reached that place on the 4th of April, and finding it, on examination, well worthy of the commendations bestowed on it by Arellano, he began a fort on the western side of the entrance, which was called the Castle of San Carlos in honor of the king. The name given to the bay by Arellano, was too sacred to be changed; but the title of the Viceroy was appended to it, and in subsequent Spanish histories and documents, it is usually termed the Bay of Santa Maria de Galve. It is an extensive sheet of water joining the Gulf on its north-eastern side, in latitude of 30 degrees 21 minutes, and thence stretching by two arms north-

\* Achusi was probably Hatchusee or Hutchusee, meaning a Little river, in the language of the aborigines of that part of America.

ward to the distance of more than twenty miles; it admits large vessels of war, to which secure anchorage is afforded, and on the whole it presents advantages for a naval station superior to any other place in the Gulf, except Havanna. The Spaniards appreciating these advantages, endeavored to secure them, by increasing the fortifications, and by the settlement of a town on the western side of the bay, which was called Panzacola or Pensacola, from the Panshacoola\* Indians inhabiting the adjacent country; but there, as at St. Augustine, every thing was done in so languid and inefficient a manner, that the occupation was for a long period merely nominal.

Whether the Spaniards at that time held any other points on the northern shore of the Mexican Gulf, is uncertain. It is probable that they had some small forts and missions on the Bay of Apalache and in the adjoining country; though none of them are mentioned, in the very particular accounts which have been preserved of the proceedings of that nation in Florida, at the period in question. The expenses of the establishment on the Bay of Santa Maria, were such as to prevent any further attempts from being made for the extension of the Spanish dominion north of the Rio Bravo; and those countries remained unoccupied for twenty-three years longer, during which interval, they were visited only by a few missionaries and vagabonds from Mexico.

The war in Europe was, meanwhile, conducted on a scale of grandeur and desolation worthy of the powerful sovereigns engaged in it; yet, at the end of seven years, they all remained nearly in the same relative positions as at the commencement. Negotiations were then begun, and in September, 1697, various treaties of peace were concluded between the belligerents, at Ryswick, in Holland. William of Orange was recognised as sovereign of England and its dependencies, by Louis XIV., who engaged, never in any way, directly or indirectly, to aid the enemies of the former prince. With regard to America, it was agreed between France and England, that all territories taken by either nation from the other, since the declaration of the war, should be restored, including even the posts on Hudson's Bay, which had been captured by the French during peace, and though

\* Pansh-acoola meant Hairy-people; being compounded of Panshe, Hair, and Acoola, or Agoola, or Ookla, as variously pronounced, signifying a Nation.



recaptured by the English, were to be given up to France; and that commissioners should be appointed by each power, to ascertain the true limits of their co-terminous possessions, and to recommend such exchanges as might be advantageous to both. By the treaty between France and Spain, all places taken by either party from the other were, in like manner to be restored, with certain exceptions specially mentioned, none of them, however, relating to the New World. It is stated by some historians,\* that, on this occasion, Spain formally surrendered to France all her claims to the western part of Hispaniola or St. Domingo; but this is incorrect, though, the surrender might be clearly inferred from the silence of the treaty on that point, particularly as the country was not again directly claimed by Spain.

The stipulation in the treaty between France and England for the determination of the boundaries in America was, no doubt, merely a diplomatic expedient, to defer the discussion of questions, which were not considered immediately important, but on which neither party was willing to make any concession of its claims; and each remained at liberty, to employ such measures as it might judge necessary, to enlarge its own dominions, until another war should put an end to the existing arrangement. Commissioners were appointed according to the treaty, but they could agree upon nothing: the French insisted that Acadie embraced the whole country east of the Kennebeck, while the English claimed all west of the St. Croix as belonging to New England, alleging that Acadie was neither more nor less than their province of Nova Scotia, of which that river was the western boundary; and each nation wished to exclude the other from the whole Iroquois region. Under such circumstances, all compromise was impracticable, and the questions remained unsettled.

No attention had been given by the French, or English governments, to the countries of the lower Mississippi, whilst the war was in progress; the efforts of each party being then directed especially to the acquisition of the regions on the southern sides of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, which were considered far more important. Tonty was suffered to remain with a small garrison in the Illinois, where he rendered great services, as al-

\* Burke, in his account of the European settlements in America, Part V.

ready shown, by counteracting the influence of the English; and some Jesuits were engaged in establishing missions in those countries, of which the earliest seems to have been that of St. Joseph, founded by Father Allouez, about the year 1695, among the Potawatamies on the Miami, or St. Joseph's river, emptying into the south-east part of Lake Michigan. These were the only European establishments of any kind in the whole division of the continent, traversed by streams entering the Mexican Gulf, between Pensacola and the valley of the Rio Bravo; the English traders had, probably, penetrated westward from Carolina and Virginia to the Mississippi,\* though no positive accounts have been preserved of any of their expeditions.

Immediately after the restoration of peace, the attention of the public in Europe was again directed towards the Mississippi and its territories, by several works, especially by those from the pen of Friar Hennepin,† who had resided, for several years previous, in exile and obscurity in Holland. In these works, the Friar professed to describe the whole interior division of North America, from personal observation: assuming to himself the merit of the first discovery of the Mississippi, from its head waters to the Gulf, during the summer of 1680, when he was sent by La Salle to examine the upper portion; and setting aside entirely the claims of Joliet and Marquette, as founded on false statements, and those of La Salle as posterior in date to his own. Hennepin moreover

\* Mitchell in his Map of North America, published at London in 1755, presents a line extending from the Savannah, westward, to the Mississippi, as the route of Colonel Welch in 1698.

† The first of these works was entitled "*Nouvelle découverte d'un tres grand pays situé dans l'Amérique*," published at Amsterdam in 1697, and in English in the following year at London, under the name of "*A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*." This is a second version of Hennepin's first work published in 1683, as already mentioned (page 197,) containing his real adventures and discoveries on the Upper Mississippi in 1680, with the interpolation of false accounts of his pretended voyage down that river to its mouth, in the same year. The particulars of the latter portions are gathered from Le Clercq, and are introduced in so bungling a manner, as to lead to the suspicion, that the author's mind must have been disordered when he wrote them.

Hennepin's last work, which he calls his third volume, entitled "*Continuation de la Nouvelle découverte*," published at Utrecht in 1698, and in England, as a "*Continuation of the New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*," contains an account of La Salle's expedition to the Mexican Gulf, derived from Tonty and Le Clercq, with descriptions of the manners and customs of the Indians.



asserted, that he had been assured of the existence of a direct and easy route from the Mississippi to the Pacific; and he declared his readiness to conduct an expedition thither for the King of England, to whom he had dedicated his works, and for whom he professed the utmost attachment and respect. The innumerable and evident falsehoods and contradictions, with which these books abound, though intermingled with much that is curious and interesting, should have prevented any reliance from being placed in the declarations and promises of the author: they, however, attracted much notice, especially in England, where translations were immediately published; and they led to the revival of an old pretension on the part of that nation, while they also had some effect, in producing the measures adopted at the same time by the French, with regard to the Mississippi regions.

It has been already mentioned, that King Charles I. of England, granted in 1629, to Sir Robert Heath, the whole division of North America, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, between the 31st and the 36th parallels of latitude, under the name of the Province of Carolana; and that this patent having become void, from non-fulfilment of the conditions, the same countries were, subsequently, conceded to other persons, who established in them the province of Carolina. Dr. Daniel Coxe, an eminent physician of London, however, many years afterwards, obtained possession of the patent to Heath; and considering the rights thus conveyed as still valid, at least with regard to the territories west of those actually occupied by the proprietors of Carolina, he, with the assent of the government, fitted out three vessels at his own expense, which he dispatched from London in 1698, provided with all that was required to form a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi. These vessels sailed for Charleston, where two of them, having taken on board a number of refugee French Protestants as colonists, proceeded to the Mexican Gulf, in search of the Mississippi; but ere they reached that river, the French had already made an establishment in its vicinity, of which an account will be first presented.

In France, the project of occupying a position on the Mexican Gulf, appears to have been revived by the representations of the Condé de Peñalosa, a discontented Spaniard, who is erroneously termed, in the accounts of that period, an ex-viceroy of

Mexico. This person produced a map and a memoir, tending to show, that great facilities would be offered for trade with the northern provinces of Mexico, and even with the Pacific, by the foundation of a French settlement near the mouth of the Mississippi; and as the colony of St. Domingo was then beginning to prosper, by the cultivation of sugar, it was conceived that such a settlement might prove advantageous, by supplying that island as well as the mother country with many articles of which they were in want, or which might prove advantageous to their commerce. A commission was accordingly granted, on his urgent request, to Pierre Lemoine d'Iberville,\* a Canadian by birth, and a captain in the French navy, who had distinguished himself greatly by his skill and gallantry during the late war, authorising him—to plant colonies, and to maintain garrisons, at the expense of the king, for the preservation of the French dominion, over the countries claimed and occupied by M. de la Salle, extending on the Gulf of Mexico between Carolina on the east, and Old and New Mexico on the west—to establish factories for trade with the natives in furs, skins and other articles, and—particularly, to seek for mines and places where pearls or precious stones might be obtained.†

\*The important parts borne by Iberville and his brothers, in the settlement of Louisiana, renders some account of their family interesting, if not necessary, in a history of that country.

The founder of this Canadian family was Jacques Lemoine, the son of an inn-keeper of Dieppe, who came to Canada in 1640, while a youth, in the service of the Jesuits, and there acquired a large fortune by his skill and industry as a trader. He died in 1685, leaving many sons, each of whom, according to usage, bore the title of one of the estates of the family. Of these sons, three, Messrs. de Mericourt, St. Helene and Bienville were killed in battle near Quebec, when Canada was invaded by the English in 1690. M. d'Iberville, another son, distinguished himself, particularly in the capture of the English establishments on Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland, and in the expedition led by him in 1690, against the English settlements on the Mohawk, where he destroyed Schenectady. Of Iberville's subsequent career, much will be said, but more of that of his brother, Bienville, (the second of that name,) to whom the French colony in Louisiana in fact owed its subsistence, during the hard trials of its infancy. The eldest son of the family was ennobled by Louis XIV., who bestowed on him the title of Baron de Longueil; his descendants in the female line, composing the families of Grant and Montenach, of Montreal, are believed to be the only living representatives of the many children of Jacques Lemoine of Dieppe.

† See the preamble to the charter granted, in 1712, by Louis XIV. to Crozat, of which a translation will be found among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter F.



In order to carry these objects into effect,\* Iberville was furnished in the first instance, with two armed vessels, commanded respectively, by himself, and M. de Surgere, and two small schoon-

\*The principal authorities with regard to the early proceedings of the French in the settlement of Louisiana are the following:

"Journal Historique de la Louisiane," a history of Louisiana, in the form of a journal, by Bernard de la Harpe, a French officer, who served in Louisiana from 1718 to 1723, and during that period compiled these accounts from private journals, the registers of the colony, and his own notes. Notwithstanding its numerous inaccuracies, respecting events occurring in other countries, and at other times, it is of inestimable value, as being the only original evidence of the greater part of the circumstances, connected with the first establishment of the French in the Mississippi regions.—The "*Histoire de la Nouvelle France*," a history of the French possessions in North America from their first occupation to the year 1740, by the Jesuit Father Charlevoix, has been already mentioned: the last volume contains a sketch of the history of Louisiana, which like other parts of the work, when compared with the authorities, is calculated to convey a higher idea of the sagacity and ingenuity of the author, than of his good faith as a historian.—The "*Memoires sur la Louisiane*," a general description and history of Louisiana, compiled by the Abbé le Mascrier, from the papers of Lieutenant Dumont, a French officer, who had served many years in that country, and published in 1753, bears the impress of truth, in all that relates to the author's own experience and observation.—The "*Histoire de la Louisiane*," by Le Page Dupratz, is well known, having been translated into English and other languages. The author resided in Louisiana for several years, as a manager of estates, and his evidence, like that of Dumont, is valuable, so far as he confines himself to what he saw; he was, however, ambitious to produce effect, and was thus led to embroider his narrative, by striking details and observations which detract from its value.—The "*Histoire de la Louisiane*," recently published at New Orleans by C. Gayarré, an eminent citizen of Louisiana, is very valuable from the documents contained in it, copied from the originals in the archives of the French government.

The particulars respecting the history, language, manners, &c. of the Indian nations, are derived from various sources, in addition to those above mentioned, among which are "*Travels through South Carolina, Georgia and Florida*," in 1774-'5, by William Bartram, a Quaker Naturalist—"The Natural History of Florida," by Bernard Romans—"The History of the Indian Nations of America," by James Adair, for many years a trader in the Creek, Chickasā and Choctā countries—The "*Journal and Memoir of Col. Benjamin Hawkins*," well known as an agent of the United States, among the Southern Indians, which still remains unpublished, in the possession of Peter Force, Esq. of Washington city—The "*Synopsis of the Aboriginal Tribes of North America*," by the Hon. Albert Gallatin, in the second volume of the *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, &c. The author has, moreover, obtained much curious information, from Choctās, Chickasas, Creeks, and other members of the great nations here so often mentioned; and he acknowledges his obligations, in this respect, to Colonel Pitchlynn, a Choctā gentleman of intelligence and education, who has devoted himself to the study of the language and antiquities of his race.

ers, carrying together about thirty persons, in addition to their crews, with a moderate supply of provisions, ammunition, and other articles. Among the volunteers, were M. de Sauvolle who was appointed second in command, M. de Bienville, a younger brother of Iberville, then a lieutenant in the French navy, and not more than twenty years old,\* and Father Anastase de Douay the Recollet, who after surviving the dangers and difficulties of La Salle's last expedition, had been induced again to quit his cloister, in order to aid the enterprise by his councils and the fruits of his observation. The little squadron sailed from Rochefort, on the 24th of September, 1698, and on the 4th of December reached Cape Français in St. Domingo. There several recruits were obtained, among whom were Laurent de Grave, the celebrated bucanier, so much dreaded by the Spaniards, on account of his capture of Vera Cruz, in 1683, with others of the same stamp, engaged as pilots; and being, moreover, joined by a frigate under the Marquis de Chateaufort, they entered the Mexican Gulf in the beginning of the year 1699.

Taking their course towards the northwest, the French vessels, on the 21st of January, reached the entrance of a bay on the northern side of the Mexican Gulf; and on steering towards it, they saw, to their surprise and mortification, several Spanish vessels, at anchor within, and a fort on the shore, under the flag of that nation. A boat soon came off, bearing an officer, who tendered to Iberville, the compliments of the Governor Don Andres de Arriola, and informed him that the place, which was the Bay of Santa Maria de Galve, or Pensacola, had been, for some time occupied by the forces of His Catholic Majesty. Under these circumstances, the French could only continue their voyage towards the west; and on the 31st of the month, they anchored near an island, to which the name of Ile de Massacre,† or Massacre island, was given, from the quantity of human bones scattered upon it. Farther on they found a convenient anchorage, between

\* From the records of the family of Lemoine at Montreal, it appears that M. Pierre d'Iberville was born April 16th, 1659, and M. Jean Baptiste de Bienville, on the 23d of February, 1680.

† The Ile de Massacre was afterwards named Dauphine Island, and then comprised the two islands, now called Massacre and Dauphine, which were separated by an invasion of the sea in 1717, as hereafter related.



an island named by them *Ile au Vaisseau*, or Ship Island, and the mainland, to which they removed on the 2d of February. A group of small islands, seen by them, in the south, received the appellation of *les Chandeleurs*, from their discovery on Candlemas day; and the small sandy strips of Horn island, Cat island, and Dog island, were also observed and named about the same period.

Iberville had endeavored, before leaving France, to collect all the information relative to these countries, and particularly as to the position of the mouth of the Mississippi, which, according to the maps published during the latter years of that century, lay at the north-western extremity of the Mexican Gulf, near the actual situation of the entrance to Galveston Bay. He had, however, been convinced by the celebrated geographer Delisle, that the great river discharged its waters much farther east; and this opinion appearing to be confirmed, by what he was able to extract from some natives of the coast, near Ship island, he quitted that place on the 27th of February, with two shallops, accompanied by Bienville and Father Anastase, in search of the Mississippi.

Following the coast towards the south-west, they, on the 2d of March, discovered and entered an opening, which, from the force of the current rushing through it, they conceived to be one of the mouths of the Mississippi.\* This supposition was strengthened, when advancing up the stream, they observed other outlets; and farther on, the turbid waters were seen rolling down in a mass, and with a force, which could only belong to one of the greatest of rivers. Laboring upwards, they met numerous parties of natives on the shore, and in canoes; and landing at a deserted village, they found in a cabin, some papers, one of which proved to be a letter addressed by Tonty to La Salle, and left with the savages, in 1686. Communications were soon established with these Indians, who called themselves *Mongoulachas*; but it was discovered that they had another

\* See the letter addressed in 1700, by the French geographer Delisle, to the Astronomer Cassini, respecting the position of the mouth of the Mississippi, of which a translation may be found in the "History of the works of the learned," vol. 2, page 276. This paper is devoted chiefly to an examination of a manuscript map of Mexico, and the adjacent countries, sent to the Royal Academy of Paris, by the Duke of Escalona, as compared with the information relative to the position of the mouth of the Mississippi, obtained by La Salle, Iberville and others

name—Colapissas or Acoola-pissas—meaning People who see;\* and it was afterwards rendered certain, that they were the same mentioned in the account of La Salle's expedition, as the Quinipissas, who had exhibited so much hostility to the French on that occasion. Several other small tribes were also visited, among whom were the Bayagoulas, occupying the country about the site of New Orleans, and the Ouachas or Washas, on the opposite side of the great river: beyond these were the Houmas, or Red men, separated from the Bayagoulas by a small rivulet, in which several red stakes were planted, as land-marks; and the place was, in consequence, named Baton Rouge.†

At length, after eighteen days of laborious navigation up the Mississippi, Iberville and his companions reached one of its great circumvolutions, probably\* the same now known as the Tunica Bend, from the Tunica Indians‡ dwelling on its banks, not far from the mouth of Red river; and being satisfied with the results of their exploration, they began to retrace their course. While on the way, they were assured by a Bayagoula chief, that a small passage, opening from the Mississippi on the east, communicated with another stream, and through it, and some lakes, with the sea; and placing confidence in the account, Iberville directed his brother to return with the shallops, by the river, to Ship island, while he himself, with a few men, and their guides, should explore the other route in canoes. They accordingly parted at the mouth of the passage, which was called Manchac by the natives; and Iberville was soon carried by the current into a small stream, and down it into a small lake, communicating on the other side, with another and much larger lake, from which he entered the Gulf, about twelve leagues west of Ship island, on the 1st of April. To the larger of the two lakes thus discovered, he gave the name of Pontchartrain, and to the other that of Maurepas, in honor of the Ministers of Marine and of Foreign Affairs of France; the small stream falling into Lake Maurepas, which

\*The Mongoulachas may have been the Muglashas, a tribe of Choctās, occupying the country between the Pearl river and Lake Pontchartrain.

† Such is the origin of the name according to La Harpe: others, however, say that it was suggested by a very large red cypress tree, found growing at the place, on beholding which, one of the men cried out, "Quel beau baton rouge!" "What a fine red stick there is!"

‡ The word Tunica signifies a Pillar or Post in the Choctā language.



received the waters of the Mississippi through the outlet of Manchac, has ever since been known as the Iberville.

The observations made by Iberville, on the depth of water at the mouth of the Mississippi and the rapidity of the current within, induced him to conclude, that it would not admit large vessels, and that the ascent of such as could enter it, would be difficult and dangerous; the passage explored by him on his return, was navigable only by boats, for which it however offered a safe and easy access, from the coast to the river. These circumstances were calculated to lower his expectations of advantage from the trade and settlement of the interior; and he abandoned the idea of an immediate establishment on the Mississippi: but he also had in view the commerce with the Spanish Provinces, by which, especially, if a Bourbon Prince should be placed on the throne at Madrid, a large portion of the produce of the mines of Mexico might be diverted to France. For this latter object a depository on the coast was indispensable, to which others afterwards founded in the interior might be useful accessories; and as such a depository should be near the mouth of the Mississippi, in order to guard that important point, and to secure the communications by the river with Canada, he carefully examined the adjacent coasts in search of a proper site. The first place to which he directed his attention was a small bay, near the entrance to Lake Pontchartrain, named by him Bay of St. Louis; but it proved too shallow, and he afterwards selected a spot called Biloxy,\* on the coast farther east, where the stores and materials from the vessels were landed, and a fort and some dwelling houses were immediately commenced.

Having completed his preparations at Biloxy, Iberville sailed for France on the 4th of May, leaving his colony under the command of M. de Sauvolle. His acute and active brother M. de Bienville, though a mere youth, immediately employed himself with zeal, in the examination of the surrounding coasts; he especially explored the large bay, north of Massacre island, and the river emptying into its northern extremity, which the Spaniards

\* More correctly Apaluxy, meaning Turtle-eaters, the name of the Choctā tribe, occupying that part of the coast. The Choctās have a tradition, that the Indian who first met the French at this place, was named Ullah Mingo, the Roy Chief, and that he was ever after respected by the French and the natives.

called Mavilla or Mabila, from the Mowilla nation of Indians, dwelling upon it, and the French adopting that name, with a slight variation, made it Maubile or Mobile; and thence he advanced across the country, as near to Pensacola as he could with safety, in order to ascertain the extent and strength of the Spanish establishment, taking pains to conciliate the Indians whom he met on his way.

In September, Bienville proceeded to the Mississippi, through Lake Pontchartrain; and while engaged in treating with the Ouacha or Washa nation of Indians, inhabiting the vicinity of a small lake, at a short distance farther west, he received information, that a strange vessel had entered the great river. He hastened to the spot where she was lying, and on reaching it he found her to be an English ship, carrying sixteen guns, and commanded by Captain Barr, who declared, that he had been sent by his government, with another vessel then at anchor below, to seek the mouth of the Mississippi and take possession of its territory. As the Englishman seemed to be uncertain, whether or not he had entered that river, Bienville assured him that he had not; that the Mississippi was much farther west, and that the French had taken possession of the stream, in which they were then lying, and erected a strong fort on it a little higher up. Captain Barr relying on the assurances thus given to him, with every appearance of good faith, by a French officer, immediately sailed down the river to its mouth, and there joining the other vessel, they took their departure together in the direction indicated by Bienville.

These vessels were two of the three, already mentioned, as having been dispatched by Dr. Coxe, for the purpose of making a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi.\* A circumstance connected with their appearance in that river, deserves to be related, as showing the spirit which then prevailed in France, with regard to independence in religious matters. Among the persons on board, were many Huguenots who had been expelled from their country on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1686, and had since resided in Carolina. One of their number privately

\* See the curious mass of extravagances respecting the claim of Coxe and the countries to which it extends, published in 1722 by his son Daniel, under the name of "A Description of the English province of Carolana."



presented to Bienville a memorial, assuring him, that nearly all the exiles, would willingly remove to Louisiana, and settle there as subjects of France, if they could be secured in the liberty of exercising their religion. Bienville sent this memorial to the government at Paris; but he received in answer a positive refusal, with the declaration, "that the King had not expelled those heretics from his dominions, in order that they should form a republic elsewhere." Louisiana was thus deprived of a large and valuable French population; but no other answer could have been expected from those who were preparing to exterminate the few Protestants then dwelling in the dreary wilds of the Cevennes.

Bienville's "prudent and politic conduct" on this occasion, was highly commended by the French Government, and, indeed, proved the foundation of his fortune. In commemoration of the circumstance, the bend in the river where the English vessel was found at anchor, received the name of *Le Detour des Anglais*—the English Turn—which it still retains; it is twenty miles below New Orleans, and eighty from the mouth of the river. The English did not renew their attempt to occupy the Mississippi country, though Dr. Coxe used every exertion for many years afterwards, to induce the government to send an expedition for that purpose. King William is said to have favored the design so strongly, as to have declared, that he "would leap over twenty stumbling blocks to effect it;" but he died in 1702, and in the long and bloody war, which desolated Europe during the ten ensuing years, Louisiana was scarcely remembered.

Biloxy, the site of the first French settlement in lower Louisiana, is a barren, sandy spot, offering no other advantages than a tolerable anchorage in front of it. The people left there, were soon seized with fevers, and on the return of Iberville from France in December, 1699, he found them all suffering and dejected. They had, however, unexpectedly received accessions to their numbers, by the arrival of two Jesuits, Messrs. Montigny and Davion, from the Upper Mississippi, and, afterwards, of the Chevalier de Tonty and his men, who had obtained leave to abandon their rock fort on the Illinois, and join their countrymen on the coast. Iberville brought with him a number of settlers and soldiers, and supplies of necessary articles; and he was ac-

accompanied by several gentlemen and officers, among whom were his relation M. Juchereau de St. Denis an active and adventurous Canadian, and M. le Sueur the discoverer of the mines on the Upper Mississippi, who had been sent out with a number of men, by M. L'Huillier, a capitalist of Paris, to work a supposed mine of copper, on the St. Peter's river.\*

Iberville was alarmed by the accounts of the attempt of the English to establish themselves on the Mississippi; and, in consequence, he ordered a fort to be built near the principal outlet of that river, which was placed under the command of St. Denis, and was afterwards called *la Balize*. He also determined to examine the great stream more carefully, in order to see whether settlements might not be advantageously made on its banks; and with this view he proceeded by way of the lakes to *Manchac*, and thence up to the *Tunica Bend*, where he landed and marched to the principal town of the *Natches Indians*, situated fifty miles farther north, near the spot now occupied by the city of *Natchez*.

Father *St. Come*, a Jesuit, had arrived at that place a short time previous from Canada, and had ingratiated himself with the people and their chiefs, so far, that the *Great Sun*, as the head of the nation was called, with all his nobles, came forth in procession to meet the French Commandant. Presents were exchanged, and the utmost good feeling seemed to prevail on both sides; and Iberville, after examining the environs, was so much struck by their advantages of soil, climate and position, that he formed a plan for the establishment of a city near the chief town of the *Natches*, which he proposed to call *Rosalie*, in honor of the Countess de *Pontchartrain*.

\*The adventures of *Le Sueur* on this expedition are related at length in *La Harpe's Journal*. Immediately after his arrival in Louisiana, he proceeded with his men up the Mississippi, and the *St. Pierre*, (more properly the *Sans-Pierres*) or *St. Peter's river*, which joins the great stream near the 45th degree of latitude, to the entrance of the *Blue river*; and there he built a fort, in which he spent the winter in preparations to extract copper from a greenish earth, supposed to contain a large proportion of that metal. In the spring of 1702, he, however, returned to *Mobile*, bringing with him a quantity of this earth, which he carried to France; and he was soon after followed by his men who abandoned their fort in consequence of the dangers apprehended from Indians. The analysis of the earth showed it to be merely clay, slightly tinged by copper; but the proportion of that metal was so small, that it could not be extracted to advantage, and the enterprise was not prosecuted farther.



Amongst the Natches, Iberville observed the same degree of refinement in many respects, accompanied by the same barbarity in others, which had been remarked by La Salle twenty years previous. The people supported themselves almost entirely by agriculture, and they were governed according to laws and customs, which seemed to be rigidly enforced; yet the utmost licentiousness prevailed, and human beings were sacrificed, without mercy, at the funerals of their chiefs, and on many other occasions. The same character, disposition and customs, were found among the Taensas, on the opposite side of the Mississippi, about fifty miles above; and the French, moreover, had an opportunity of witnessing the horrible effects of superstition on those savages, who, when their temple was set on fire by lightning, threw a number of infants into the flames, in order to appease the wrath of their offended gods.

After spending a few days among the Taensas, Iberville, with a portion of his men, returned by the Mississippi and the lakes to Biloxy; while Bienville and St. Denis, with the others crossed the country westward, to the Red river, which they reached early in April, at the chief town of the Natchitoches Indians. Thence they extended their observations to the Yatassi, the Adayes, the Nadaco, and other nations farther distant from the Mississippi, with whom they traded and made treaties of peace; and having spent a month in this manner, they joined the commandant at the capital of the province, in the middle of May.

During the absence of Iberville on this expedition, Arriola, the commandant of Pensacola, appeared in a frigate before the French establishment, with the intention of destroying it, agreeably to orders received from the Viceroy of Mexico; but finding his forces unequal to the task, he contented himself with summoning the people to quit the dominions of His Catholic Majesty. The summons was treated with contempt by Sauvolle, whereupon, the Spaniards sailed away; but a storm arose, soon after their departure, in the course of which the frigate was driven on one of the Chandeleur islands and lost.

Shortly after his return from the Mississippi, Iberville sailed for France. The ensuing summer proved very unfortunate for the colony; more than sixty of the French, including the Commandant M. de Sauvolle died, and of the remaining one hundred

and fifty, a large number suffered severely from fevers and from want of food. No attempt had been made to cultivate the ground; and the provisions brought from France were almost exhausted, before the middle of December, when Iberville arrived in a ship, commanded by his brother M. de Serigny, with a fresh supply, and a reinforcement of soldiers and colonists. Being convinced of the entire unfitness of Biloxy for a settlement, he caused the coasts to be farther explored by Bienville, who at length reported in favor of two places—one at the eastern end of Massacre island for the magazines of the colony—and the other on the west bank of the Mobile river, about twenty-five miles above its entrance into the bay, for the principal town and seat of the government: and his selections being approved, store houses were erected at the former place, which received the name of Dauphine island, while a town and a fort called Fort Louis were commenced at the other point on the river.

These dispositions being made, Iberville again sailed for France, in May, 1701; but he never re-visited Louisiana, which remained, during the five following years, under the direction of Bienville as Commandant, and their brother M. de Chateaugué as Lieutenant.

The establishment of the French on the Mobile, soon brought them into contact with the Indian nations occupying the interior regions drained by that stream. Of these nations, the principal were the Choctās, an extensive confederacy of tribes, dwelling on the western branch of the Mobile, then called the Chickasā river and now the Tombigbee, and on the upper waters of the Pearl river, entering the Gulf midway between Mobile Bay and Lake Pontchartrain. Farther north, between the head waters of the Chickasā, and those of the Tallahatchee or Yazoo, and of the Loosa-Chitto or Big Black rivers, dwelt the Chickasās,\* another confederacy, less numerous than that of the Choctās, but powerful from their courage and the strength of their union. The upper streams of the eastern branch of the Mobile, now called the Alabama were occupied by the Alibamons, the westernmost portion of the great Muscoghee† confederacy, which thence extended eastward to the Savannah and the Alatomaha. These

\* Correctly Shickashās, supposed to signify the First settled.

† More correctly Muscogee, the hard sound of *g* being unknown among them.



three nations were evidently of one great family, and their languages were dialects of one common tongue. The Chickasās were celebrated for their stern intrepidity, and their unbending resistance to foreign rule or influence; they subsisted almost entirely on the produce of the chase, for which they held almost exclusive possession of the whole territory extending northward to the Ohio. The Choctās no less brave, and more ferocious, were noted above all other Indians, for their love of intrigue, their cunning, dissimulation, covetousness, and disregard of engagements;\* occupying one of the most fertile portions of America, they derived much of their support from agriculture, and they presented the remarkable peculiarity, that the men labored with the women in the fields. The Alibamons seem to have been less stubborn than the Chickasās, more grave and honest than the Choctās, and more politic than either.

The Choctās and Chickasās were the dominant powers of the Lower Mississippi, and between them subsisted the most rancorous hostility. Of the smaller nations dwelling near that river, the Yazoo,† the Chacchoumas, the Offagoulas, and the Natches were in strict alliance with the Chickasās, while the influence of the Choctās prevailed over the Tunicas, the Houmas, and the others farther south. The Cherokees, inhabiting the mountainous regions about the head waters of the Tennessee, the Savannah and the Chatta-hoochee, were too far removed from the French settlements on the Gulf to have much intercourse with

\* Adair in his history of the Indian nations, characterises the Choctās, as “in the highest degree, of a base, ungrateful and thievish disposition; fickle and treacherous, ready-witted, and endowed with surprising flow of smooth or artful language, on every subject, within the reach of their ideas; in each of which qualities, they far exceed any other society of people. They are such great proficient in the art of stealing, that in our store-houses, they often thieve, while they are speaking to, and looking at the owner in the face.” Bernard Romans is more favorable to the Choctās, whom he styles a “nation of farmers, rather than of savages;” all the other evidence of the former character of these people however corresponds with that of Adair, though the Choctās of the present day certainly exhibit, in their new home between the Red river and the Arkansās, as much honesty, sobriety and industry, and as strong a tendency to cultivation, as any other of the aboriginal nations of America.

† Yazoo is properly Eyashoo, the Choctā word for the Departed, signifying their secession from that confederacy: Chacchouma means a Red craw-fish, an animal abounding in those countries; the Offagoulas were the Dog nation; the Houmas were simply Red men.

them for sometime; and they were almost always at war with the English in their own vicinity, in Carolina. The English had however, as already said, penetrated to the Chickasās, at an earlier period, and amicable relations had been established between them, to the disadvantage of the Choctās, who were beginning to feel their inferiority from the want of guns and ammunition, when the French made their settlement at Mobile.

Bienville was soon aware of this state of things among the Indian nations, and he endeavored by every means in his power to counteract the English and to establish the influence of France in those countries. For such purposes no one was better qualified than Tonty, from his acquaintance with the habits and modes of life of the aborigines, as well as his courage and his habitual good temper; and in 1703, he undertook a mission to the Chickasās, whom he induced to consent to a peace with the Choctās under the guarantee of the French. In confirmation of these engagements, seventy Chickasā chiefs came to Mobile, where they were met by a large number of Choctās, and the sacred calumet was smoked with great ceremony; presents were made to both parties, by Bienville, and treaties were concluded between each of them and the French. But the Choctās were unable to resist the temptation to plunder and revenge offered by the return of the Chickasās through their country; and the latter were all murdered, while on their way up the river, though under the protection of a French escort, commanded by M. de Boisbriant. From that period the Chickasās became the irreconcilable foes of the French, whom they regarded as accomplices in the treachery; and their baneful influence, contributed, as will be seen, more than any other cause, to depress the colonies of that nation on the Mississippi.

Bienville endeavored, at the same time, to establish amicable relations with the Alibamons, but there also he had been anticipated by the English, and his emissaries were beaten and driven away. In order to avenge this insult, Tonty and St. Denis were sent in the spring of 1704, with a small party of French, and some Choctās, to invade the lower towns of the Alibamons, in which they were wholly unsuccessful, being surprised and obliged to retreat with the loss of several men.

In these expeditions, Tonty explored the two great branches of the Mobile, and obtained much information as to the geo-



graphy of that part of America, of which he seems to have compiled the earliest maps. His long and active life was, however, drawing to a close; and after his return from the Alabama, he was seized with a fever, of which he died at Fort St. Louis, on the 4th of September, 1704.

Whilst the French were thus laboring to establish themselves on the shore of the Mexican Gulf, their numbers were slowly increasing in the regions of the Upper Mississippi, which were then comprehended under the general name of the Illinois. After the abandonment of Fort St. Louis by Tonty and his men in 1699, no military post was maintained in those countries for several years, during which they were visited only by Jesuits and traders. The foundation of the Jesuit mission on St. Joseph's river, by Father Allouez has already been noticed: in 1700, Father Gravier, established another on the rock where Fort St. Louis had stood; and he soon after begun a third, at Cahokia, on the Mississippi, almost opposite to the present city of St. Louis, and a fourth at the principal village of the Kaskaskia Indians, near the mouth of the Kaskaskia river, which falls into the Mississippi from the east, midway between the entrances of the Missouri and the Ohio. Detroit was, at the same time, occupied by the French, under La Motte Cadillac, the commandant of the Upper Lakes; and the discovery of the more direct route between Canada, and the Mississippi, by way of the Miami and Wabash rivers, led in time to the desertion of the old line of communication by lakes Huron and Michigan and the Illinois. In 1702, an attempt was made by M. Juchereau, and a party of Canadians to form a trading post at the junction of the Ohio,\* then called the Ouabache or Wabash, and the Mississippi; but the death of Juchereau, and the enmity of the surrounding Indians, caused the place to be evacuated two years afterwards.

The Jesuits endeavored also to extend their establishments to the southern portions of the Mississippi Valley, with which object, several members of their order came to the Natches towns,

\* Ohio was the Iroquois name for the northernmost branch, now called the Alleghany; Ouabache and Ouabouskigou were the names used by the Indians near its junction with the Mississippi. The French gave the name of Ouabache to the stream now called the Wabash, and that portion of the Ohio below its mouth.

in 1700. They were, however, less successful there, than in the Illinois; their first missionary Father St. Come,\* was a dissolute person, and his amours with one of the female Suns, occasioned his expulsion from Natches, after which, he was murdered by the Chetimechas Indians dwelling farther south. Father Davion, a Jesuit of a different character, took his position on the Tunica heights overhanging the Mississippi, nearly opposite the mouth of the Red river, where he resided for more than twenty years, in defiance of all dangers and difficulties: the spot on which his hermitage stood, was called in honor of him Rocher à Davion; it was afterwards known as Loftus' Heights, and now as Fort Adams.

In the meantime, the whole civilized world had been again involved in war, by the personal ambition of the sovereigns who controlled its affairs. The object of the contest on that occasion, was the succession to the throne of Spain, upon the death of King Charles II., the last male descendant in the direct line, from the Emperor Charles V. This king, who died in 1700, left no children; and several claimants to his throne immediately appeared, all deriving their titles through his sisters, and other females of his family. The principal pretenders were, however, the Archduke Charles of Austria, second son of the Emperor Leopold of Germany; and Philip Duke of Anjou, second grand son of Louis XIV. of France; each of whom had been preferred to his elder brother, in order to lessen the jealousy, which would have arisen from the union of two crowns on one sovereign. The King of Spain had been induced in his last moments to designate the Duke of Anjou as his successor; and immediately after his decease, that prince was proclaimed to the nation, which almost unanimously received him, under the title of Philip V. The Austrian Archduke, nevertheless, persisted in his claim; and an alliance being formed in his behalf, between Germany, the United Provinces and England, against France and Spain the supporters of the party on the throne, the war famous in history, as the War of the Spanish Succession, was commenced in 1701.

Of the particulars of this war in Europe it is unnecessary here

\* Some accounts of St. Come may be found in that repository of scandal, entitled the *Memoires de Maurepas*. Father Davion was, probably, the original of Father Aubry, in Chateaubriand's celebrated Romance of *Atala*.



to speak. The French were defeated in many dreadful battles, of which it will be sufficient to name those of Blenheim, Ramillies, Turin and Malplaquet; and Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean fell into the hands of the English, who have ever since retained it. Philip V. whom it was the object of the allies to dethrone, though often driven from his capital, nevertheless, maintained his crown; not indeed by his talents or merits, for he had none, but the nation was with him, and regarded his opponents as its enemies.

With regard to America, attempts had been made by the English, before the commencement of the war, through agents sent from their West India islands, to induce the Spanish provinces to embrace the cause of the German pretender to the throne who was styled King Charles III. Those countries, however, remained firm in their allegiance to Philip V., as being the party in possession, on the principle, that the colonies should follow the lot of the mother country.

Upon the rejection of these overtures, orders were sent from England to the Governor of South Carolina, to prosecute the war with vigor against the Spaniards, in his vicinity; and six hundred militia, with a number of Yamassees and Muscogee Indians, were accordingly collected, with whom the Governor, James Moore, sailed for St. Augustine, in November, 1702. Another body of militia and Indians had previously set out for the same point by land, under Colonel Daniel, who arrived there before the appearance of the vessels, and took and burnt the town, without much opposition. The Governor of Florida, Don Jose de Zuniga, however effected his retreat, with the garrison and people to the Castle of San Marcos on the north side of the town, where he remained secure against the attacks of the English, even after the arrival of their vessels from Charleston, as they were unprovided with artillery capable of producing any effect on the works. In order to supply this deficiency, Colonel Daniel was dispatched to Jamaica; but soon after his departure, two Spanish ships of war appeared off the harbor, and Moore being seized with a panic, abandoned his vessels to the enemy, and made a hasty retreat, with all his men by land to Carolina.

Such was the disgraceful result of the first expedition of the Carolinians against the Spaniards. The Governor of St. Augus-

tine hastened to restore his town to its former state, and to place it in a condition to resist a new attack; with which view he sent messengers by land to Pensacola, to request assistance. None could be afforded by the latter place; but the request was forwarded to Bienville, who immediately furnished the Spaniards with some arms and ammunition, and dispatched a vessel to bear the news of what had occurred in Florida, to the Viceroy of Mexico. This act of courtesy led to an extension of the intercourse between the settlements of the two nations on the Mexican Gulf, which was carried on to the advantage of both parties, without interruption, until the end of the war, and probably, prevented the entire dispersion of the French colonists.

The Governor of Florida, by the assistance thus obtained from the Mobile, Vera Cruz and Havanna, was soon enabled to place his province in security; and in order to keep the Indians of the lower Apalachicola in subjection, he established several posts in that country, of which the principal was at the junction of the Flint and Chattahoochee branches. The English, on the other side, also, exerted themselves to secure the friendship of the Indians of the upper Chattahoochee and Savannah; and in 1704, Governor Moore at the head of a large number of those savages, attacked the Spanish posts last mentioned, from which their garrisons were all driven, in the course of that and the following years. Of the Indians taken by the English in these campaigns, a large number were sent to Boston and sold as slaves; but they died in a short time from consumption or despondency, and the attempt to defray the expenses of the war by such means was not repeated.

Iberville had been, meanwhile, actively engaged in France, in preparing an expedition of which he was to have the command, against the British possessions in the West Indies and Carolina. For this object, he sailed from Rochefort in the spring of 1706, with a large squadron, and after laying waste the British islands of St. Christopher and Nevis, he was about to attack Jamaica; but finding that island prepared to resist him, he proceeded to Havanna, where he made arrangements with the Captain-General Villarin, for the addition of a Spanish naval force, to aid in the accomplishment of his project. There, however, he was seized with the yellow fever, which soon put an end to



his existence; and nearly one-half of his men, were carried off by the same disease in a few weeks. His successor in the command, M. Le Fevre de la Barre, after waiting some time in vain for the promised succors, departed with as many vessels as he could man for St. Augustine; and being there joined by a few Spanish soldiers, he continued his voyage to Charleston, off which place he arrived in September.

Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had succeeded Moore in the government of South Carolina in 1704, had, however, received from a Dutch vessel, timely notice of the approach of the French, and was actively engaged in preparing for defence, when they appeared off the harbor. Le Fevre might, nevertheless, have succeeded in taking Charleston, had he spent less time in reconnoitering and sounding; but when he at length entered the harbor, he found a large body of militia drawn up on the shore, covered by batteries at the most exposed points. The French commander thereupon summoned the governor to surrender the town and province; and this having been refused, he attempted to land with a body of men, who were at once repulsed. Other efforts with the same object proved equally unsuccessful; and the French were in the end obliged to retreat, with the loss of one of their vessels and a large number of men, having only afforded the Carolinians an opportunity to recover the credit lost by them at St. Augustine.

In the following year, a body of several hundred Indians, mostly Muscoghees from the Chattahoochee and Alabama countries, directed by some English and negroes from Carolina, suddenly attacked Pensacola, which, like St. Augustine, was burnt, while the inhabitants retired to the fort. The Indians then surrounded that place, which must soon have fallen into their hands, had it not been relieved by Bienville and a body of French and Choctās from the Mobile, on whose appearance the English and their Indians retreated to the interior. After this occurrence, the French and Spanish settlements in Louisiana and Florida remained undisturbed by the English, except that in 1710, the stores at Dauphine island, were plundered by a privateer from Jamaica.

Farther north, the English provinces of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, felt no other effects of the war,

than those caused by the embarrassment of their communications with Europe and the West Indies. New York and New England suffered from the surprise of some of their frontier settlements by the French of Canada; and Acadie, that is to say, a few small fishing villages and forts on the peninsula, fell into the hands of the English in 1710. But the war was prosecuted very languidly on both sides; and the only great expedition, which was that of the English under Walker and Hill against Canada in 1711, terminated like that of Phipps twenty years before, in disaster and destruction to the invaders.

The war, however, produced a general fermentation among the Indians, especially in the Mississippi countries, in the course of which, many missionaries and traders were murdered, and the Jesuit missions in the Illinois, were entirely broken up. Father Gravier, the principal of those establishments, was severely wounded, while endeavoring to mediate between two contending tribes near the Peoria Lake, and was obliged to fly to Louisiana, where he died in 1706; the other Jesuits were all driven to Canada, and did not venture to return to their posts for some time. On the lower Mississippi, the Taensas were attacked and expelled from their country, by the Chickasās and the Yazoos of the opposite side of the river; and after wandering for some time, towards the south, they were invited by Bienville to settle on a branch of the Mobile, which was thenceforth called the Taensas, (or Tensaw,) entering the north-east extremity of Mobile bay.

The disputes among the Indians of the lower Mississippi, were fomented and encouraged as much as possible by the French, who never failed to exact ample atonement in blood for any attack upon their own countrymen. The Chetimechas who murdered the priest St. Come, were exterminated: and the Bayagoulas, the Mongoulachas or Colapissas, the Pascagoulas, and many other small nations speedily disappeared. The operations of the French in that quarter, were for the most part directed by the Canadian Louis de St. Denis, who had quitted the military service, and established himself as a trader, at a post or fort on the little bayou or creek of St. Jean, falling into Lake Pontchartrain, near the spot now occupied by New Orleans; there he acquired much influence over the Indians by his skill and daring,



and he was known and dreaded by all south of the Natches, as the great arbiter of their destinies.

In this interval, a change had taken place in the direction of affairs in Louisiana. During Iberville's life, the French colony in that country had been, as already said, left almost entirely at his discretion, or rather that of his brother Bienville; as Iberville passed but little time in the country, and never visited it after 1702. His high character and credit with the government, prevented any interference or inquiry as to his proceedings; but on his death, his family, having neither fortune nor influence at court, was subjected to attacks from numerous enemies. The inferior officers of the colony openly expressed their contempt for Bienville; and memorials were sent to Paris, signed by all who could write, civil, military and ecclesiastical, condemning his conduct, and praying for his removal and punishment. M. de la Salle, the commissary of accounts wrote to the ministry in 1706, that Iberville and Bienville and their brother Chateaugué the Lieutenant-Commandant, were three scoundrels, employed only in filling their purses, at the expense of the government and the colonists; and they were afterwards accused of every species of villainy—of embezzling the articles and money sent as presents to the Indians, or for the support of the garrison—of sacrificing the natives of France to the advantage of their fellow-provincials from Canada—and of various other delinquencies, in their public as well as their private capacities. Bienville foresaw the storm so soon as he received the news of the death of his brother; and he endeavored to avert it, by praying for his own recall, in order that he might justify himself in person at Versailles. But a decree had been already issued for his arrest on the 23d of July, 1707; and M. de Muys was appointed governor of the colony and province of Louisiana, with orders to carry that decree into fulfilment immediately on his arrival, and to send Bienville as prisoner to France.

Fortunately, however, for Bienville, and probably also for the colony, the new Commandant M. de Muys, died on his passage from France; and M. Diron d'Artaguet, the Royal Commissary, for the general superintendence of the civil affairs, had been empowered in that contingency to assume the direction of the government, until farther orders. The new governor reached Mobile in

February, 1708, and found the country and its inhabitants in a state far worse than had been represented. The French were, in fact, on the verge of starvation, and the greater part of the garrison of Fort Louis were living in the woods, among the Indians, by permission of the Commandant, in order that they might support themselves by hunting. From a census then taken, it appeared that the whole population of the colony amounted to only two hundred and seventy-nine persons, of whom one hundred and twenty-two were officers and soldiers, twenty-eight were white women, and eighty were Indians and negroes. These were all collected at Mobile, Dauphine island and Biloxy, except the few Canadians engaged with St. Denis in trade on the Mississippi, or in agriculture at his post of St. Jean, near Lake Pontchartrain; the others lived in absolute idleness, or were employed in contraband traffic with the Spaniards of Pensacola. The small amounts allowed by the government for the support of the establishment, had been remitted irregularly, and for the most part in the form of merchandise or provisions from France or St. Domingo, which were deposited in the public stores; and the orders for these articles, delivered by the Commandant and Commissary, as pay to the military and civil servants, constituted the whole currency of the colony: the little specie obtained from the Spaniards, being nearly all sent to France.

The French inhabitants were, for the most part, criminals or vagrants, sent from Europe as a punishment, and incapable of application to any useful pursuit. In the midst of a fertile region, they depended for food, on supplies from Europe, or the West Indies, or the Spanish provinces, or the Indian countries of the Mobile or the Mississippi; and the general belief that the establishment would be soon abandoned, served to paralyse all exertions, among the few who would otherwise have been disposed to labor. The female portion of the community was very small in comparison with the males, and little if at all, superior in character. The French Government did, indeed, in 1704, order twenty young girls to be sent out as help-mates for its disconsolate subjects on the Mexican Gulf; and the Bishop of Quebec made the selection, with the utmost regard for their moral as well as their personal qualifications. Unfortunately, however, he confined himself entirely to Parisians; and the women whom he



destined for the purpose, proved so utterly unfit to bear the labors and privations to which they were exposed, that the colonists became disgusted with them, and maledictions innumerable were showered by both parties, on the head of the worthy prelate, for his interference in matters belonging more properly to the laity. After this failure, the idea of providing virtuous wives and mothers for the people of the embryo colony on the Mexican Gulf, was relinquished; and the few women sent thither for many years, were like the men, chosen for the most part from among the inmates of hospitals and prisons.

This wretched state of things could not, however, be justly ascribed to Bienville or his brothers, though in many respects, their conduct had been undoubtedly marked by selfishness and dishonesty. The circumstances were duly weighed by D'Artaguet, who seems to have been a fair and intelligent person; and he was so favorably impressed by the sagacity of Bienville, his knowledge of the country, and his evident desire for the prosperity of the colony, that the order for his arrest was suffered to remain in suspense, and a good understanding was soon established between them. The enemies of the Commandant were thus all silenced, except La Salle, the former commissary, and M. de la Vente, the curate of Fort Louis, who continued to pour forth their denunciations against him. La Salle, however, died in 1710; and Bienville neutralised the venom of the curate's representations to the ministry, by his own, in one of which he proved that this head of the church, in Louisiana, did not scruple to keep a shop, in which he openly sold goods at extortionate prices "like an Arab Jew."

In this manner, things continued in Louisiana for three years, without any change of importance in the character or prospects of the French colony. In 1711, the buildings and stores at Fort Louis, were nearly all destroyed by a great and sudden overflow of the Mobile, in consequence of which it was determined to abandon that spot, and to form a new establishment elsewhere. Bienville exerted all his influence on this occasion, in favor of a settlement on the banks of the Mississippi. His experience had convinced him that the country could never be effectively and permanently occupied, until the people should be removed from the barren shores of the Mexican Gulf, where

no encouragement was offered for labor, to the fertile regions of the interior, in which many of the most valuable articles of commerce might be produced with ease, and of the finest quality; and with this view he had selected a spot on the left bank of the Mississippi, where it flows nearest to Lake Pontchartrain, possessing the advantage of accessibility from the sea by both those channels. But D'Artaguet was then preparing to return to France, having been informed of the appointment of M. de la Motte Cadillac, as Governor of Louisiana; and being unwilling to assume the responsibility of such a change under those circumstances, the new establishment was begun at the mouth of the Mobile, where a fort was erected, and the town of Mobile was laid out, on the spot now occupied by the important commercial city of that name.

Bienville had also become persuaded, that the most industrious persons who could be brought to Louisiana from France, would not easily be induced to labor in the cultivation of a country, the climate of which was so different from that of their native land. In order to remedy this deficiency, he, at first, endeavored to employ the Indians in agriculture, as hired servants, or as slaves; which, however, was soon found impracticable, from the facility offered for their escape, and the inimical feelings immediately excited among the surrounding nations. The Commandant next proposed to the planters of St. Domingo, that they should furnish Louisiana with negroes, in return for Indians brought from the more distant parts of the continent, in the proportion of three of the latter for each African; but no arrangement of that kind could be made, the planters having already become satisfied of the entire inefficiency of the aborigines of that part of America, as laborers: and Bienville resigned himself to await the period, when the colonists of Louisiana should be in a condition to import their own negroes from Guinea.

Cotemporary with the establishment of this French colony in Louisiana, were the first efforts of the Spanish Jesuits to introduce their system of civilizing the natives, into the Peninsula of California, in which their success was as great as could have been expected, considering the barren character of the country, and the brutish disposition of the people. The Spanish Government at the same time, endeavored to occupy effectively, the region



called Sonora, extending along the eastern side of the Californian Gulf, which was found to contain many rich mines of gold, in addition to the advantages presented by its soil and climate.\* In New Mexico, the authority of Spain was, after many years of war, completely restored; but that province never regained its former prosperity.

Farther east the territories north of the Rio Bravo, remained entirely in the possession of the natives; no attempt having been made to occupy them, after their evacuation by Teran in 1691: and the only persons of European race in that part of America, were a few missionaries and vagabonds from Mexico, of whom one of the latter class, named Urrutia, exercised authority as a chief, over a tribe of the Ceniz or Texas near the Trinity river. Father Hidalgo, a Franciscan friar, who had resided for many years in that country, addressed a letter in 1711, to the Governor of the French settlements in Louisiana, inviting him to open a trade with the Ceniz, and even to form establishments among them, by means of which a profitable intercourse might be opened with the northern provinces of Mexico; but D'Artaguettes did not avail himself of the suggestion, which was, however, adopted by his successor, as will be shown in the following chapter.

It is worthy of remark, that before the period last mentioned, the northern shores of the Mexican Gulf, had been surveyed with much care—though by whom we know not—from the mouth of the Apalachicola, to the mouth of the Mississippi; as those points, and all the principal places intermediate, are represented with perfect accuracy, as regards their latitudes and longitudes, in a map published at London in 1710. Nevertheless, although several astronomers and hydrographers were employed on that coast during the following twenty years, all the maps of it produced within that period, are remarkably incorrect, some of them to the extent of several degrees of longitude.

\* Accounts of those establishments of the Jesuits in the Californian Peninsula, will be found in the third chapter of the History of Oregon and California, by the author of these pages.

## CHAPTER IX.

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1712 TO 1718.

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THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION ENDED BY THE TREATIES OF UTRECHT—GRANT OF LOUISIANA BY LOUIS XIV. TO CROZAT—LA MOTTE CADILLAC AND EPINAY GOVERNORS OF LOUISIANA—DEATH OF LOUIS XIV. AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AS REGENT OF FRANCE—FIRST DISTURBANCES AMONG THE NATCHES INDIANS QUELLED BY BIENVILLE—EXPEDITIONS OF ST. DENIS TO MEXICO, LEADING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPANIARDS IN TEXAS.

THE War of the Spanish Succession begun in 1701, continued for ten years to desolate Europe, without producing any material change in the relative positions of the parties, or affording to those by whom it was commenced, any prospect of effecting the object in view. At length, in 1711, a disposition was evinced on both sides, for the conclusion of the struggle, in consequence of the elevation of the Austrian claimant of the Spanish crown, to the Imperial throne of Germany. A negotiation for peace, was commenced between the courts of France and England, which resulted in their agreement on certain points; and the other powers having been induced to join in this attempt to settle their differences, a congress of plenipotentiaries of the principal sovereign states, was assembled at Utrecht in Holland in January, 1712.

After several months spent in manœuvres on the part of some of the powers represented at Utrecht, to hasten, and of others to prevent certain arrangements, during which the war continued with unabated fury, a cessation of arms between Great Britain and France was proclaimed in August. The British forces were then immediately withdrawn from the allied army; the remaining members of that alliance, with the exception of the Emperor of



Germany, successively relinquished their opposition to the scheme presented and admitted by the principal powers on each side; and on the 10th of September, the preliminaries of a general peace were signed, agreeably to which, separate negotiations were begun between the several States.

The French Government had, meanwhile, received a petition from Antoine Crozat, an opulent merchant of Paris, for the cession of the trade of the Mississippi regions to him, during a certain space of time and under certain conditions, to which no definitive answer was at first given. In the spring of 1712, however, M. Diron d'Artaguet returned from Louisiana, and presented to the ministers his report on the state of that country and of the French colony established in it, which was so unfavorable, as to render them willing to accede to the plan proposed by Crozat, for their relief from a charge thus unpromising. It was, therefore, soon arranged, that Louisiana should be granted to the great capitalist, on terms apparently more liberal than he had expected; but the matter was to be kept secret, until the negotiations in progress at Utrecht should have been brought to an issue.

The preliminaries of the general peace reached Paris on the 12th of September, and on the 14th of the same month, Louis XIV. signed a charter,\* granting to Crozat and his heirs, the exclusive commerce of the whole division of America entitled Louisiana, for fifteen years, with the perpetual possession of all mines which might be discovered, and of all settlements, manufactories, and other establishments which might be formed in it, during that space of time, upon conditions the least onerous to the grantee. This concession was, however, kept secret for some time, during which the negotiations between the several powers were in progress; and no measures were taken to carry it into execution, until the general peace had been secured by the particular treaties concluded at Utrecht in April, 1713.

By these treaties, the Protestant succession in England was recognised and in a manner guarantied: and Philip V. was acknowledged as King of Spain, upon his renunciation for himself and his descendants of all claims to the throne of France; whilst the other Princes of the House of Bourbon, in like manner, re-

\* A translation of this Charter will be found among the Proofs and Illustrations at the end of this volume, under the letter F.

nounced their pretensions to the crown of Spain. The latter crown was deprived of Gibraltar and Minorca, which were secured to Great Britain, as well as of Sicily, which became the property of the Duke of Savoy, and of Naples and Lombardy, which were assigned to the Emperor of Germany as Duke of Austria. In America, Cape Breton and other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence were admitted to belong to France; but Great Britain was to possess all the Hudson's Bay territories, and Newfoundland, and "Nova Scotia or Acadie with its ancient boundaries" and dependencies of all kinds, in their fullest extent. The French were not to disturb or molest "the Five Nations of Indians subject to the dominion of Great Britain, nor the other natives of America who are the friends to the same;" and it was "to be exactly and distinctly settled by commissaries, who are, and who ought to be accounted the subjects and friends of Britain or of France." Other commissaries were also to be appointed, who were to determine within the space of a year, "the limits between the said Bay of Hudson, and the places appertaining to the French," which limits were never to be transgressed by the subjects of either party; the same commissaries being moreover charged "to describe and settle in like manner, the boundaries between the other British and French colonies in those parts."

The dismemberment of the Spanish empire by the alienation of Gibraltar, Minorca, Sicily, Naples and Lombardy, was a severe blow to the pride of the nation; and still more galling to Philip V., was the forced renunciation of his claims to the throne of France. The only person possessing a title to that throne, superior to his own, was the son of his eldest brother, then a sickly child of three years old, on whose death without issue, the crown would pass, in virtue of the renunciation of Philip, to the Duke of Orleans, the son of the younger brother of Louis XIV.; and thus by the treaty of Utrecht, was the fair prospect of inheriting the magnificent realm of France to be surrendered, for the certainty of possessing the inferior dominion of Spain and the Indies. The alternative was most distressing to Philip V., who did not submit to it, without the internal resolution, not to abide by his renunciation, in case the death of his young nephew should afford an opportunity for disavowing it.

By the treaty between Great Britain and Spain, it was admitted



“as a fundamental rule,” that the navigation and commerce of foreign nations, with regard to the Spanish West Indies, should remain as it was on the death of the late King Charles II. of Spain, in 1700; and that no license should be granted to the French or any other nation, to trade with those countries, otherwise than according to treaties already existing, and to an *Asiento de negros*, or treaty for the supply of negro slaves to the Spanish colonies, by British subjects exclusively, which was immediately to be concluded, in place of the similar contract made between France and Spain in 1701. In order farther to countervail the influence of France, it was stipulated that neither the King of Spain, nor his successors, should ever alienate from the crown of that nation, or in any way transfer to the French, or any other power, any portion of the Spanish territories in America; the Queen of England at the same time binding herself to employ her influence and aid, in order “that the ancient limits of the Spanish dominions be restored and settled, as they stood in the time of King Charles II., if it should appear that they have been broken into, and lessened in any part since his death.”

These last mentioned provisions of the treaty between Great Britain and Spain were, doubtless, intended to apply to Louisiana, where the British were anxious to restrict the French within as narrow limits as possible. The reference to the extent of the “Spanish dominions in the West Indies,” was most vague, as their boundaries were never less accurately determined, than in the time of King Charles II.; and to place the exercise of trade and navigation in those parts, as it was during the reign of that monarch, was only to open the way for future difficulties, between the two nations. Such, indeed, was the result.

In like manner, the treaty between Great Britain and France, left undetermined many important questions respecting America, from which difficulties could not fail to arise. Commissaries may settle the amount of money to be paid by one nation as damages to the subjects of the other: the party which pays, loses nothing in dignity, and little or nothing in resources; and if the compensation is insufficient, the loss falls usually on only a few individuals, and is soon forgotten by the public. Very different is the effect when extent of territory is in question: for the transfer of even a few square miles of land, from one

nation to another, may make an incalculable change in their relative positions, as to commerce, or military or political strength; and even when the real or apparent value of the territory is trifling, and ample compensation is made for it in another way, the nation surrendering, is always regarded as losing in dignity, and a map becomes a perpetual source of annoyance and disagreeable reflection, to its government and people.

For the settlement of the limits of the Hudson's Bay country, a basis was presented by the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, which defined the claim of Great Britain, as extending to all the territories drained by streams falling into that bay, not previously possessed by a Christian prince or people, and to none other; and the maps of that day accordingly, represented the line of separation between the British and the French possessions in that part of America, as extending along the highlands dividing the waters which flow to Hudson's Bay, from those falling into the St. Lawrence and the great lakes.\* With regard to Nova Scotia or Acadie, there were no grounds for determining what was to be surrendered by France under either of those names. The original charter of Henry IV. might be construed as embracing in Acadie, the whole division of America, between the 40th and the 46th parallels of north latitude; while the charter of James I. to Alexander, included in Nova Scotia, all east of a line drawn through the river St. Croix, from the Atlantic northward to the St. Lawrence; and no description of the boundaries had been made in any of the treaties, by which the same territories were previously transferred from the one party to the other. The provisions respecting the Indian nations, were also couched in language so vague as to afford room for various interpretation. But on all these points the plenipotentiaries, like those who concluded the treaties of Ryswick, merely proposed to remove the minor questions involved in them, out of the way of the general pacification.

A new subject for disputes between the three European nations, holding dominion in North America, was at the same time produced by the charter granted to Crozat, the preamble to which declares—that the King having, in 1683, ordered a discovery to be made of the territories between New France and New Mexico, and M. de la Salle to whom this duty was entrusted, having suc-

\* See the map of Senex mentioned at page 278.



ceeded in confirming the belief, that a communication by means of great rivers, might be established between Canada and the Mexican Gulf, orders had been given, immediately after the peace of Ryswick, to found a colony and maintain garrisons, by which the possession of the territories bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, between Carolina on the east, and Old and New Mexico on the west, had been preserved: but, that subsequent wars having prevented His Majesty from deriving all the advantages expected from those dominions, he had resolved to grant to M. Crozat, the entire commerce of the province of Louisiana, embracing all the territories between New Mexico and Carolina, traversed by the Mississippi and all its branches below the Illinois, together with the port and harbor of Dauphine island or Mobile, and the intervening countries.\*

This declaration by Louis XIV., of the extent and limits of the portion of America claimed by him, under the name of Louisiana, was as definite as the circumstances of the case required, and as the state of geographical knowledge could have allowed. France thus asserted her right, to the whole division of the continent drained by the Mississippi and Mobile rivers and their tributaries, which was supposed to extend eastward to the English provinces of Carolina, and westward to those of Spain in New Mexico; the countries of the Illinois being attached to New France, while those farther south were granted to Crozat. Of the territories thus assigned, very little was known beyond the immediate vicinity of the large rivers above named. The English had made no settlements west of the head waters of streams falling directly into the Atlantic; and New Mexico was only the general name for the vast interior tracts on the Rio del Norte, the sources of which were believed to lie far north of their real positions. Of the extent of Louisiana upon the Mexican Gulf, eastward from the Mobile, and westward from the Mississippi, nothing is said in the charter; and as the trade in the territory granted, would necessarily be confined for a long period to the vicinity of those two principal streams, the more exact determination of its limits, might well be deferred, until the interests of France, and of the

\* See the Preamble to the Charter, which may be found translated in full among the Proofs and Illustrations in the latter part of this volume, under the letter F.

other two nations should require it. The description of the territory claimed for France, was indeed nearly the same in character, with that of the countries included in the charter to the Hudson's Bay Company, which evidently served as a model for the other; and as the Utrecht treaty, directly recognised the validity of the English grant, Louis XIV. might consider himself equally entitled to assert in the same way, his right to a portion of the New World, which had been already in part explored and settled by his subjects, and in which no other European nation had made any recent discovery, or formed any establishment whatsoever.

The title of France to the Mississippi and Mobile countries was, in fine, as nearly perfect, as any title to countries not completely occupied, could be;\* and infinitely better, than those advanced with regard to the same portion of America—by Spain, in virtue of the Papal concession or of first discovery—or by Great Britain as founded on her charters of New England, Virginia and Carolina, embracing together the whole breadth of the continent from the 29th to the 46th parallels—or by either of those powers, on the grounds of contiguity to its settled dominions. From the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, already extended a line of French posts and settlements, which were daily increasing in number and in population; and considering the vast breadth of the territories still unoccupied and unexplored, separating the Mississippi regions from the settlements of the other nations on either side, the presumption was fair, that those regions claimed by France would be peopled, and provided with means of defence, sufficient to constitute an effective and unquestionable possession, long before they could be reached in the natural progress of colonization, from the English or the Spanish provinces. That this presumption was generally entertained, at the time when the charter was granted, is certain from the extreme jealousy and alarm created by its publication in England and Spain, as well as in the American colonies of those nations; in all of which, great and immediate danger was apprehended, from the establishment of the French dominion over the extensive and fertile division of the New World, thus formally claimed by that power. The political situation of Europe, however, prevented any active measures from being taken on the subject, at that time, by either Great

\* See observations on this subject at pages 180 et seq.



Britain or Spain, except with regard to the conduct which was to be pursued by the authorities of their respective provinces, adjacent to Louisiana; and no opposition was made to the immediate enjoyment by Crozat, of all the advantages which he might derive from his grant.

By the terms of his charter, Crozat, and those to whom the same privileges might be specially granted on his recommendation, were to enjoy the perpetual possession of all the lands in Louisiana, which they might bring under cultivation, and of all the establishments for manufactures or mining, which they might form within fifteen years and continue to work, on their payment to the crown, of one-fifth of all precious metals and stones, and one-tenth of all other metals, thence transported to France; and all goods introduced by him into that country, from France, were to be exempt from duties of every kind. The colony was to be governed according to the general ordinances and regulations for the colonies, and the laws and customs of Paris, through a governor and council appointed by the king. The officers and soldiers were to be maintained by the crown, for nine years, after which the expense was to be borne by Crozat: and he was to send, annually, to Louisiana two ships, each of which was to carry, free from expense, ten young men and as many young women, and a certain amount of provisions and ammunition, for the royal troops. These were certainly liberal terms; but the French Government could have done much more, in order to free itself from the other burthens of the colony, whilst at the same time assuring its continuance.

M. de la Motte Cadillac had been, as already said, appointed Governor of Louisiana in May, 1710; and when Crozat received the grant of that country, some understanding seems to have been established between him and the governor elect, by which the latter was to share the profits of the enterprise. La Motte Cadillac had been for many years the Commandant of the French posts on the upper Lakes of Canada, and had laid the foundations of Detroit in 1701; his conduct there was however, in many instances, unsatisfactory to the government, as he had produced difficulties between the French and the surrounding Indian nations, by his irritable and overbearing manner, in consequence of which he had been removed from his command. For what reasons he had been considered worthy of confidence, as the director of the

colony in Louisiana, is not known ; but, he probably, had influence enough to render the ministers willing to bestow on him a situation, which they must have considered as wholly unimportant, and scarcely desirable. The other principal officers of the colony, were M. de Bienville as Military Commandant, M. Duclos as Commissary of the King, M. Lebas as Comptroller of Accounts, and Messieurs La Loire des Ursins and Dirigoin as directors of the concerns of Crozat ; these with one or two others, were to compose a Council, which was to be consulted by the Governor on all matters of importance. Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty of peace, all these officers except Bienville, who was already in Louisiana, embarked for Dauphine island, where they arrived on the 17th of May, 1713 ; and an organized system of administration was thus at length provided for the colony, which had hitherto been left at the disposition of a few individuals.

The new rulers were resolved that all should thenceforth go on methodically ; and the representatives of Crozat's interests were instructed to maintain in Louisiana the same order, the same submission to the will of their chief, and the same exclusive devotion to his interests, which reigned in his counting-house at Paris. Agreeably to the plan proposed, the lands were to be granted by the crown in tracts of a certain extent each, to individuals, who could not receive the confirmation of their title, or dispose of any portion of the tract, until at least two-thirds of it had been cleared for cultivation. All commercial operations whatsoever, were to be carried on by Crozat and his agents : Dauphine island was to be the great depository of goods, imported or for exportation ; other depositories were to be formed in the interior, at places convenient to the Mississippi, to and from which the articles of commerce were to be transported by water at stated seasons ; and at these places, all purchases and sales were to be made on account of the grantee, according to a tariff of prices fixed for each. The sum allowed by the government for the maintenance of the colony, amounting to about sixty thousand livres or ten thousand dollars annually, was to be paid at Paris to Crozat ; from whose agents in Louisiana, the Royal Commissary was to receive the equivalent, in money for the pay of the officers, or in goods or provisions, at the prices fixed by the tariffs at the different posts, for the support of the soldiers and laborers.



Means were at the same time employed to attract attention to the colony, by the publication of accounts and maps of Louisiana, representing the country and the advantages offered by it in the most favorable manner; among which was the interesting narrative of La Salle's expedition to the Mexican Gulf, by Joutel, who was then living in retirement at Rouen. Of the knowledge of those regions possessed by Crozat himself, some idea may be formed, from the fact, that he proposed to have his merchandise carried up the Mississippi to the Ohio and the Illinois, in sailing vessels; being thus, evidently, unaware of the delays to which they would be subjected, from the mighty current and the innumerable bends and sinuosities of the stream, and of the perils which they would hourly encounter from sand-bars, and from the trunks of great trees, either floating on the surface, or imbedded firmly, like rocks, in the bottom.

In a country containing less than four hundred inhabitants,\* exclusive of savages, Crozat could not have expected that his commercial operations would at first be very extensive; though he appears to have entertained anticipations somewhat extravagant on that point: his great object, however, was to obtain a share of the commerce with the Spanish colonies, the extent and value of which was then much exaggerated. Accordingly his first ship, which carried out *La Motte Cadillac* to Louisiana, in 1713, had been laden with the most rare and costly articles of French manufacture; and immediately after the landing of that officer at Dauphine island, she was despatched to Vera Cruz, for the sale of her cargo. But before she reached that place, orders had been received there, for the revival and enforcement of all the prohibitory regulations with regard to commerce, navigation and settlement in America, which had been relaxed during the late war. Crozat's ship was, in consequence, not allowed to land any portion of her cargo at Vera Cruz; and as no purchasers could be found for her rich silks and delicate wines in Louisiana, and they

\* According to the report, made to the government by Diron d'Artaguette on his return to France in 1712, Louisiana contained twenty-eight French families, and twenty negroes, in addition to two companies of infantry of fifty men each, and seventy-five Canadians in the service of the government; making in all three hundred and eighty persons. The population of the Illinois not included in this estimate, may have been two hundred.

could not be sold in any other French colony, she was obliged to return with them to France.

Crozat was thus rudely awakened from his golden dream, and there was nothing to soothe him, in the communications which he received, respecting the state and prospects of his colony in Louisiana. Deplorable, indeed, was the condition of that colony, as depicted in the sarcastic despatches of La Motte Cadillac, to the government. The country is pronounced by him entirely unfit for the support of a population, producing neither grains, fruits nor vegetables for food, except a little Indian corn, the crops of which often failed in consequence of the drought: indigo, tobacco and silk, might indeed be raised in the southern portion, and wheat in the Illinois; but several years would be required for the formation of establishments for those purposes, during which flour and all the other necessities of life, must be brought from France. The colonists are represented, more correctly, as nearly all, miserable scoundrels, sunk in the lowest depths of indolence and vice:\* those—writes the Governor—who made any attempts at agriculture soon abandoned them, in despair; and the only branches of industry carried on with success, are tavern-keeping and a little smuggling trade with Pensacola, by which, and the embezzlement of the public funds, the Commandant Bienville, and his brothers Chateaugué and Serigny, are said to have accumulated large amounts of property. The plans of Crozat for the commerce of the interior, were treated by La Motte Cadillac as utterly absurd; and he maintained that the only advantages to be derived from the settlements, would be by the discovery of mines of gold and silver, by the promotion of direct or contraband trade with the Spanish and English colonies during peace, and by the facilities which would be afforded to privateers,

\* "According to the old proverb," says La Motte Cadillac, in one of his letters to the Minister M. de Pontchartrain, "Bad country, bad people. The inhabitants of Louisiana are composed of the dregs of Canada, real gallow's birds, without subordination, or respect for religion or government, given up to vice, and caring for nothing, but Indian women, whom they prefer to the French. The Canadians and the unmarried soldiers keep these women as slaves, under the pretext that they have no other means of getting their clothes washed, their food cooked, or their cabins swept: this conduct is intolerable.

"As for churches, the people would be delighted to remain without them; the priests and missionaries assure me. that the greater number have not taken the sacraments for eight years."



in the event of war with those nations. The Indians were mere beggars, from whom nothing was to be feared or to be gained; so that there was no necessity for continuing the presents to them, which they had been encouraged by M. de Bienville for his own purposes, to demand.

In these communications from the Governor of Louisiana, there was much truth; though his remarks were always more or less distorted by prejudices, and they exhibited undoubted evidences of the extreme irritability of his disposition, rendering him but ill adapted for the duties which he had undertaken. This same irritability and jealousy on his part, had soon placed him at variance with all the other high officers of the colony, especially with Bienville,\* who seems to have returned his outbreaks of animosity, by the most cold and measured contempt. There was also great difficulty

\*“The soldiers do but follow the example of their Commandant M. de Bienville, their Major M. de Boisbriant, their Adjutant M. Paillou, and Messrs. de Chateaugué the Captain, and Serigny the Lieutenant; to all of whom I have declared, that I should inform you of their conduct; and this has only made them violent against me, sure as they are of the support of the Commissary Duclos. The soldiers declare openly, that they will desert, and the other inhabitants that they will quit the country, if they are deprived of their women; and they all insist, that the king does not disapprove of their proceedings in this respect, as the Commissary, although he has several servants, bought an Indian girl, so soon as he arrived here. They are all badly disciplined, there being no one here capable of forming soldiers. M. de Bienville, the king's lieutenant, came into the country at the age of eighteen, without having served either in France or in Canada; and his brother M. de Chateaugué, as well as the Major Boisbriant, were still younger on their arrival in Louisiana. The Chief Director, M. Dirigoin, has no ability, and the Comptroller Lebas, is very dissipated and thinks of nothing but his pleasures.”—*Letter from La Motte Cadillac.*

On the other hand, the Royal Commissary Duclos says of the Commandant—

“I cannot praise too highly the admirable manner in which M. de Bienville has conducted himself towards the Indians, in order to reduce them to submission. His success, in this respect, has been due entirely to his honorable character, and to the scrupulousness with which he observes his promises, as well as to the firmness and equity of his decisions in the controversies between the different Indian nations, which select him as the arbiter. Most especially has he conciliated their esteem, by discountenancing all acts of robbery or depredation committed against the Indians, by Frenchmen, who are, on each occasion, obliged to make honorable amends to the persons injured.” With regard to articles intended for presents to the Indians, the commissary warns the minister against trusting them to La Motte Cadillac, as he would certainly convert them to his own use; and recommends that they should be left entirely at the disposal of M. de Bienville, “who is better acquainted than any one else, with the strength of the different nations, and the nature and extent of the presents to be made to each.”

in organizing the Council of Government, which was to include, in addition to the high officers above named, two persons chosen from among the most respectable inhabitants, and of those proposed, La Motte Cadillac objected to one on account of his being a surgeon, and to another, Lafréniere, the principal merchant in Louisiana, on the more reasonable grounds, that he could neither write nor read. This body was however, at length constituted, and proceeded to business, with the store-keeper as Attorney General, and a soldier of the garrison of Mobile, as Secretary and Archivist; and one of its first acts was to follow the example of the Parliament of Paris, by refusing to register the Charter to Crozat.

Crozat, notwithstanding these disappointments, persevered in his scheme; and in the following year he sent out vessels laden with goods more suitable to the wants and means of the people, and carrying colonists male and female, the latter of whom served to afford a theme for some caustic remarks by the governor.\* Crozat at the same time obtained from the king a decree, for the more effectual enforcement of his commercial regulations, which rendered him very unpopular in the colony, as it destroyed the contraband trade with Pensacola, almost the only source of profit to the people. The government moreover, on his request, ordered that several forts should be erected and garrisoned at its expense, on points in the interior, particularly with the object of restraining the English, whose traders from Carolina, were penetrating those countries in all directions, even to the Mississippi, and exciting the natives to hostilities against the French. To the mortification of La Motte Cadillac, however, the superintendence of the works thus directed, was assigned, in disregard of all his denunciations, to Bienville, who also received a commission as Commandant of the Mississippi and its branches, with powers so much enlarged, as to render him nearly independent of the general government of the colony.

\* La Motte Cadillac states that the women had all been seduced by the captain of the vessel which brought them out. Some of them had, however, found husbands, and one had been taken into the service of the Commissary Duclos, *who would, no doubt, improve her morals.*

Bienville usually maintained the utmost reserve, in speaking of the other officers; though on one occasion he declared, that the animosity of M. de la Motte Cadillac towards himself, arose from his refusal to marry that gentleman's daughter.



Whilst these events were passing in lower Louisiana the Jesuits in the Illinois countries were steadily pursuing their favorite objects, the civilization of the natives, and their conversion to the Christian religion, notwithstanding the discouragement which the utter indifference of those people was calculated to produce. In vain did the worthy fathers constantly set the example of industry and temperance; the Indians disdained labor, as a mark of servitude, and preferred habitual indolence and occasional debauchery, to all the comforts which regular employment could secure to them.\* To the explanations of the mysteries of the Catholic faith, they listened very patiently, yielding a ready assent to all, and frequently submitting to be baptised, to make their confessions and to receive the sacraments: but they often required in return the same respect to their own ceremonies, and to the harangues of their own priests, and the same admission of the truth of their traditions, and the reasonableness of their expectations as to the future; though it does not appear, that they ever exhibited the slightest inclination to persecute, or to punish any one, for adherence to his own religious belief.

The Jesuits were, however, not to be deterred by difficulties of this kind, which experience had taught them to expect. They persevered in spite of derision, obloquy, blows, and the falling

\* Interesting accounts of the establishment of the Jesuit missions in the Illinois may be found in the "Lettres Edifiantes," particularly in the communications of Fathers Marest and Gravier. It is difficult, however, to understand the simplicity if not *niaiserie*, of the portions of these letters relating to the conversion of the natives; the paragraphs in which the soul of the writer, seems to overflow with joy, on account of the success of his labors, usually contain some ridiculous instance of the utter carelessness of the converts, or their incapacity to comprehend that of which they are supposed to be convinced.

The obstacles to the conversion of the aborigines of America to Christianity, are clearly shown by Hennepin, in his accounts of the character and customs of those people. He concludes, with reason, that all efforts for that object, will be vain, until the Indians shall have been redeemed from their wandering state, which he, however, seems to consider almost impracticable, except in a very few cases, from their unconquerable indolence and indifference. He treats as wholly absurd, all the stories of conversions of tribes previously published in Europe; and doubts that any thing has been effected in the way of the salvation of souls, except by the baptism of a few infants who died immediately afterwards. The letters of the Jesuits tend to conclusions scarcely more encouraging; the worthy fathers, however, endeavor to console themselves and their brethren, for the general fruitlessness of their labors, by dwelling on the extraordinary piety of a few of their converts.

off of their proselytes, and it is probable that they might in time have succeeded in the Illinois, at least as far as they did in California and Paraguay, provided they could, as in the last named countries, have kept the natives free from communication with other civilized people. But this was impossible, and commerce there, as elsewhere, proved the great stumbling-block to all such schemes. Wheresoever the Jesuit established himself, and gathered a flock around him, there came the trader from Montreal or Mobile, with his trinkets, his arms and ammunition, his brandy, and his joyous and generally licentious habits; offering in all respects a contrast to the austere *black-gown*, not at all favorable to the latter in the eyes of the Indians of either sex. From that moment the influence of the Jesuit declined; and when he attempted to control or restrain his neophytes, their savage nature often burst forth, so that the palm of martyrdom was, in many cases, the last consolation of the devoted disciple of St. Ignatius.

Between the Jesuits and the traders, there could never be friendship or cordial co-operation. The missionaries usually found it best to yield, which they could do with a good grace, whenever it was indispensable; and as the traders could not venture to provoke too far, a body possessing so much influence with their government, a compromise was generally the result. The traffic was conducted more regularly and fairly; and the politic priests closed their eyes on many practices, which they were unable to prevent. Some of the traders moreover consented to be united in marriage with their Indian mistresses, and to have their children baptised and instructed by the missionaries; and in this manner, each mission was in time surrounded by a village, composed of French, Indians, and half-breeds, of whom the number of the latter, was continually increasing.

In the meantime news had been received of a most important change in the direction of the French Government. In September, 1715, King Louis XIV., quitted the world, which he had so long enjoyed and disturbed, leaving the throne of France to his great-grandson, Louis XV., a delicate boy of five years old. By the will of the late monarch, a Council of Regency was to conduct the affairs of the kingdom during the minority of the young sovereign; but this disposition was immediately set aside by the Parliament of Paris, which unanimously appointed, as



sole Regent, Philip Duke of Orleans, the nephew of Louis XIV. and heir presumptive to the throne, in virtue of the renunciation of Philip V. of Spain. Other events which materially influenced the destinies of Louisiana, soon followed this appointment; and those events, probably, proceeded directly from the trifling circumstances which will now be related.

In the spring of 1715, strong expectations of advantage from Louisiana, were raised by a Canadian named Dutisné, who had received from the Indians in the Illinois, some pieces of silver ore, with the assurance that they had been obtained from a rich mine in that country. As the specimens presented, contained a large proportion of pure silver, La Motte Cadillac despatched the joyful intelligence to Europe, where it was extensively circulated and believed; and he himself hastened up the Mississippi to the country in which they were said to have been found, but on his arrival there, it appeared that they had all been brought by Indians from New Mexico. The governor then caused a smelting furnace to be erected at a lead mine on the Marameg, or Merrimack river, which enters the Mississippi from the west, thirty-six miles below the mouth of the Missouri: it was, however, soon ascertained that the expense of reducing the metal and transporting it to France, could not be covered by the proceeds of the sale; and La Motte Cadillac in consequence returned to Mobile, less satisfied than ever with Louisiana, whilst the reports which he had sent to Europe, were beginning to attract universal attention to that colony.

La Motte Cadillac had ere this period engaged in an attempt to establish commercial relations with the northern provinces of Mexico, which produced most important results. On arriving in Louisiana, he found the letter which had been, as already mentioned, addressed to his predecessor, by Father Hidalgo,\* a

\* "This man," writes Stoddart, in his "History of Louisiana," page 32, "was an artful, cunning priest, extremely bold and daring in his actions. He was at the head of the missions in Texas, and makes a conspicuous figure in the history of that country. He published an account of the most material transactions of his life, which was long and active; and several families in Nacogdoches are in possession of the work. And finally, he was canonized for the services he had rendered to his religion and government!" The absurdity of this last assertion throws great doubt over the accuracy of what precedes it. Canonizing is a process rather more difficult and expensive than Mr. Stoddart seems to have imagined.

Spanish missionary, among the Ceniz Indians on the Neches river, representing the condition of that country, as highly favorable for settlement, and for trade with the northern provinces of New Spain. This letter was written when commercial intercourse was allowed between the French and the Spanish colonies, and under the impression that it would be continued: the governor, however, notwithstanding the subsequent revival of the prohibitory regulations of the Spaniards, and the repulse of Crozat's vessels from Vera Cruz, was induced by the invitations of the missionary to hope that he might still succeed in establishing an indirect trade with the provinces above mentioned; and he resolved to make an effort for the purpose.

There was at that time not a single post or establishment whatsoever, of civilized persons, in the whole division of America, between the Mississippi and the Rio Bravo del Norte, except in the narrow valley of New Mexico, traversed by the head waters of the latter stream; or further south, within two hundred miles of the Mexican Gulf, between the Rio Bravo and the Panuco, or Tampico. Those vast regions were only known from the accounts of the two or three Spanish expeditions through them, already mentioned; and their only inhabitants, other than savages, were a few Spanish missionaries and fugitives from Mexico, residing among the Ceniz.

The Spanish establishments nearest to those of the French in Louisiana, were the Presidio or Fort, and Mission of San Juan Bautista, situated at a short distance south of the Rio Bravo, about nine hundred miles from its mouth. Further, in the same direction, were Coahuila or Monclova the capital of the province of Coahuila, Monterey the capital of New Leon, and Saltillo, west of which were Parral, Parras and Chihuahua, all of them small towns; and beyond these, and separated from them by wide desert tracts, were Durango, Zacatecas, and San Luis Potosi, on the outskirts of the ancient and populous provinces of New Spain.

For communication with these settlements of the Spaniards, two modes presented themselves to the Governor of Louisiana; either to form a colony or factory on the west coast of the Gulf, at some point most convenient to the towns of the interior, or to make all the communications pass through the Mississippi and the Red River, and thence southward overland: the territories



bordering upon the Gulf, west of the Mississippi, being regarded as impassable, from the number of the streams and the extent of the marshes, as well as from the savage character of their inhabitants. The former mode was in every respect preferable; but the colony of Louisiana, then containing not more than five or six hundred white persons, was too feeble for the support and protection of a settlement so distant, which would infallibly be soon attacked by the Spaniards: and La Motte Cadillac accordingly determined to have an experimental expedition made, on the other line of route, in order to ascertain how far commercial intercourse, thus carried on, might be practicable and profitable.

The person selected for this enterprise, was the Canadian Louis de St. Denis, who had, as already said, distinguished himself by his shrewdness and courage, and had made several trading voyages up the Red river;\* and he was accordingly furnished with some goods from the public store at Dauphine island, and a passport from the Governor,† to be exhibited in case of need, declaring his object to be merely the purchase of horses and cattle for the colony. He quitted Mobile, on this expedition, in 1714, with about thirty Canadians, to whom he added a number of Tunica Indians, from the Mississippi; and early in October, he reached the principal village of the Natchitoches, on an island

\*This account of the first Journey of St. Denis to Mexico, is derived principally from the report of his examination at Mexico, and various other original and unpublished documents, French and Spanish, connected with his case. Charlevoix unaccountably blends the circumstances of the two expeditions of St. Denis into one; and he, as well as Le Page Dupratz, introduce into their accounts a number of adventures, which are here omitted, as unimportant or apocryphal.

† The following translation of this passport, is made from the copy attached to the report of the examination of St. Denis, at Mexico, in June, 1715:

“We, Antoine de la Motte Cadillac, Seigneur of Davaguet and Montdesert, Governor of Dauphine Island, Fort Louis, Biloxi, and of the country and province of Louisiana, do hereby authorize the Sieur de St. Denis, and the twenty-four Canadians of his party, to take with him any number of Indians, whom he may think necessary, to the Red River, or wherever else he may choose to go, in search of the Mission of the Recollet, Father Francisco Hidalgo, agreeably to the letter written by him, on the 17th of April, 1711, with the object of buying horses and cattle, for the colony and province of Louisiana; and we request all whom it may concern, to suffer the said Sieur de St. Denis and his party, to pass without impediment.—In faith whereof, we have signed this, and sealed it with the seal of our arms, and have caused it to be countersigned by our Secretary, at Fort Louis, Louisiana, this 12th of September, 1713.

“By my Secretary OLIVER.”

“LA MOTTE CADILLAC.

near the present town of that name. At that place he left a few men, with orders to return to Mobile unless he should come back within a given time; and taking some Natchitoches Indians as guides, he proceeded south-westward, to the country of the Cenís, where he learned that Father Hidalgo had returned to Mexico, sometime previous. Thereupon St. Denis resolved to continue his route to the settled Spanish provinces: being, however, fearful of exciting suspicion as to his motives, by carrying with him so many of his countrymen, he sent back the whole party to Louisiana, with the exception of Penicaut the carpenter, Jallot the surgeon, and one other; and with these and a small number of Cenís, under their chief Bernardino, he took the route towards the Presidio of St. Juan Bautista, in February, 1715. On his way he met with no adventures worthy of note, except an attack from some wandering Indians (probably the Apaches) after passing the Colorado, or San Marcos as it was then called by the Spaniards; and having repelled this attack, the travellers reached the Presidio on the Rio Bravo, early in March.\*

The commandant of this place, Don Diego Ramon de Vilescas, received the four Frenchmen with kindness, but he was obliged, agreeably to his instructions, to detain them, until the pleasure of his immediate superior, the Governor of Coahuila, could be learned; and that officer, soon after, sent orders to the fort, that St. Denis should proceed under a guard to the city of Mexico. This being in accordance with his wishes, he took his departure, accompanied by Jallot in the beginning of May, and passing through Saltillo, San Luis Potosi and Queretaro, he reached the capital of New Spain in the middle of that month.

The arrival of St. Denis created much excitement at Mexico. The Duke de Linares, then Viceroy, caused him to be rigorously interrogated as to the objects of his visit; and, notwithstanding, the readiness displayed by the Frenchman, in communicating all that was asked, and the favorable views of the Viceroy towards his nation, the case was submitted to the Audiencia, or Supreme Court of Justice and Council of Government of the Kingdom.

\* At Mexico, St. Denis declared, in June, 1715, that he had set out on his journey a year and nine months previous; but this seems to have been incorrect. He seems, indeed, to have considered it unwise to tell the truth to the Spaniards on any occasion.



After some weeks, a report was made on the case, by Espinosa the Fiscal or Attorney General, setting forth the magnitude of the dangers to which the Spanish dominions were exposed by the establishment of the French in Louisiana; and recommending that St. Denis, with his companions, should be escorted back to the Red river, and that Spanish missions, each supported by a small garrison of soldiers, should be planted among the Indian nations, near that stream, in order thus to check the advance of the French towards the Mexican provinces. These views were approved by the Viceroy, who immediately gave orders for their execution; and he likewise endeavored to induce St. Denis to remain and settle in Mexico, where a situation was offered to him, superior to any which he might reasonably hope to attain in Louisiana. In what manner these offers were received by the Frenchman, is not exactly known. The Spaniards insist that he accepted them, and asked only to be permitted to return to Mobile, and collect his property, after which he would establish himself in the position assigned to him; but it is more probable, that he only availed himself of the confidence reposed in him by the Viceroy, to obtain information and privileges, which he might turn to advantage as a French subject. He however certainly agreed to accompany the Spanish party which was to be despatched to form missions in the Red river countries, and to aid them by his advice and his mediation with the Indians; and the command of this party was, through his influence, entrusted to Ensign Domingo Ramon, the son of the Commandant of the Presidio of San Juan: St. Denis himself being appointed chief guide and conductor of the baggage and supplies, for which he was to be paid at the rate of fifteen hundred dollars per annum.

St. Denis quitted Mexico in the latter part of the year, and in February, 1716, he reached the Presidio of San Juan, where he was united in marriage to Donna Maria de Vilescas, the Commandant's neice, whose affections he had gained during his stay at that place. The soldiers, priests and other persons for the contemplated establishments in the north, were in the meantime collected at the fort, from which they set out on the 20th of March. The party consisted of twenty-four soldiers, nine friars, seven women and thirty-five other persons, including the four Frenchmen, but not the newly married lady, who, for some reason unexplained,

remained at the fort; and they carried with them more than five hundred head of horses, mules and cattle.\* Their progress was, therefore, necessarily slow. On the 2d of May, they forded the Nueces, the bed of which was found nearly dry; and having in the same way passed the Medina, the northern boundary of Coahuila on the 14th, they encamped for a few days in the beautiful valley of San Antonio, near that river on the north, which had been discovered, as already related, by Teran, in 1691. Continuing their march, they crossed in succession, the Gaudalupe, the San Marcos now the Colorado, the Colorado now the Brazos, and the Trinity, from which latter river, St. Denis, went in advance, to communicate with the Ceniz, and secure their friendship for the Spaniards. In this, the Frenchman was entirely successful; and on the 27th of June, he returned to the party, accompanied by the chief Bernardino and a number of his followers, with whom Ramon smoked the calumet of peace, and concluded a solemn treaty of amity and commerce. The places which had been occupied by the Spanish missions and churches, in 1692-3, were discovered, and some of them were again consecrated to the same purposes; the principal establishment being that of Our Lady of Guadalupe, so named in honor of the patroness of their expedition, and situated near the spot now occupied by the town of Nacogdoches. The Spaniards then crossed the river of the Adayes, since called the Sabine, and in like manner communicated and entered into agreements with the Adayes Indians, among whom they also founded missions; and St. Denis there taking leave of them, hastened by way of the Natchitoches town, the Red river and the Mississippi, to Mobile, where he arrived on the 25th of August, 1716, after an absence of nearly two years.

La Motte Cadillac was by no means satisfied with the result of this expedition, which in place of facilitating the advance of the French towards Mexico, had brought the Spaniards on the borders of Louisiana; and he immediately despatched M. Blondel, with a

\*The particulars of this expedition are related with minuteness, in the Journal of Domingo Ramon, and the report of the missionaries; of which documents, the latter affords some curious observations, as to the religious ideas of the Indians, and the possibility of making (converts) in that quarter, singularly coinciding with those of Hennepin, on the same subject.



few soldiers, to occupy the Natchitoches town, on the Red river, as a check upon the other party. The hope of establishing commercial relations with northern Mexico was, however, not abandoned; St. Denis was soon ready to return to the Rio Grande, and four traders of Mobile offered to accompany him, if goods to the amount of sixty thousand livres could be obtained from the public stores for the adventure. This was arranged; and St. Denis with the other traders Messrs. Lafréniere, Deléry and Beaulieu, brothers, and M. Graveline, all Canadians, took their departure from Mobile, in October, 1716.

During the absence of St. Denis on his first expedition to Mexico, some important events had occurred in Louisiana. In the beginning of 1715 considerable excitement was manifested among the Indian nations in those parts of America. The Chickasäs murdered several French officers and traders, among whom was M. de St. Helene the nephew of Bienville; and they attacked the French boats passing on the Mississippi, near the line of heights, then called the Ecores de Prudhomme, now the Chickasa Bluffs in the State of Tennessee. A party of Cherokees at the same time crossed the Ohio, and surprised M. de Ramezay and several other Frenchmen on the Wabash, who were put to death; and the Illinois Indians again destroyed the missions and settlements in their country, from which the people were driven, as they had been ten years before, to Canada or Louisiana. The Choctäs, moreover, begun first to show a hostile disposition towards the French, whose traders were expelled from all the northern towns of that nation; and the two tribes of the Conchatta and Chickasähay, which refused to take part against their former friends, were forced to quit their grounds on the Pearl river, and fly for refuge to the vicinity of Mobile.

All these hostile movements among the Indians were, as usual, attributed to the English, whose traders were then in large numbers in those countries; and the suspicion was no doubt well founded, as there is abundant evidence, that neither of the three European nations, possessing territories in North America, scrupled to excite the savages against its rivals, whensoever opportunities were presented. Bienville, acting upon this supposition, hastened with a few men, up the Mobile river, where he seized some of the English and destroyed their stores; and hav-

ing then assembled a number of chiefs of the Choctā towns, he required them immediately to banish the other interlopers, and to bring him the head of Watacta-chitto, the brother of their principal chief, who had been the leader of the opposition to the French. The Indians demurred at this imperious demand, but they soon obeyed: Watacta-chitto was killed by his brother, and his head was sent to Mobile; the English traders were expelled; the Conchatta and Chickasāhay tribes were reinstated in their country and indemnified for their losses, and the whole Choctā nation returned to its former state of amity with the French.

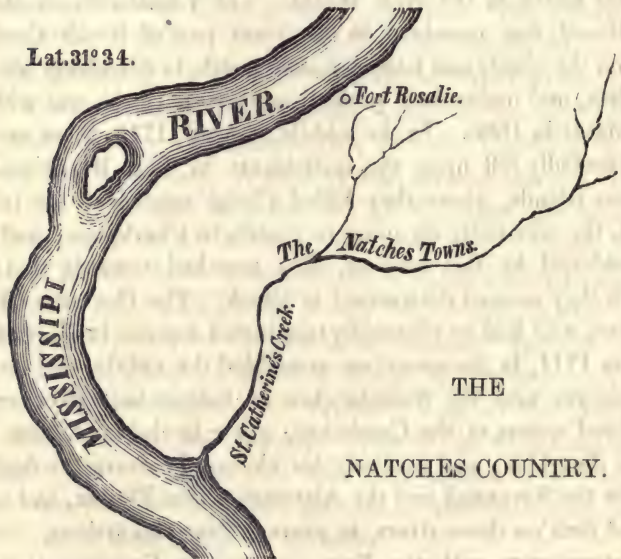
The English in Carolina were, however, during the same summer, themselves visited by an infliction of a similar character, which proved to be one of the most disastrous ever experienced by that nation in the New World. The Yamassees, as already mentioned, had remained in the lower part of South Carolina, and on the coasts and islands farther south, in friendship with the English, and under their protection, ever since the war with the Spaniards in 1686. In the middle of April, 1715, these savages unexpectedly fell upon the settlements in Port Royal and St. Helena islands, where they killed a large number of the inhabitants, the remainder escaping in vessels to Charleston; and then emboldened by this success, they marched towards that city, which they seemed determined to attack. The Governor Charles Craven, who had so effectually terminated the war in North Carolina in 1711, in the meantime assembled the militia, and met the Yamassees near the Salkehatchee or Saltcatchers river, one of the head waters of the Combahee, where he defeated them with great slaughter; and pursuing his victory, he drove the fugitives across the Savannah and the Alatamaha, into Florida, and established forts on those rivers, to prevent future incursions.

Cotemporary with the Yamassee war in Carolina, were the first difficulties experienced by the French from the Natches. As much will be said of these Indians in the following pages, it will be convenient here to present a concise account of them.

The Natches or Nā-chees were a small nation, numbering at that time, not more than two thousand five hundred persons, who inhabited a tract of country about twenty miles in length, on the left bank of the Mississippi, four hundred miles from its mouth, and nearly midway between the entrances of the Big Black and Ho-



mochitto rivers. They supported themselves principally by agriculture, for which strong inducements were offered by the fertility of the country, and its elevation above the river, securing it against the ravages of floods; and being surrounded by wandering tribes, they were necessarily led to form their habitations and fields near each other for mutual defence. The greater part of the nation was indeed collected in six or seven villages, situated on or near the banks of a small stream, now called St. Catherine's Creek, which runs for some distance from north to south, within three or four miles of the Mississippi, and empties into that river twelve miles below the present city of Natchez.



These villages, each occupied by a tribe or clan, bore distinct names, three of which signified respectively,—the Apple; the White Earth; and the Meal;—the others were called the Jenzenac, the Gris and the Tioux, whose meanings, if they had any, are unknown. The French accounts speak frequently of a great or principal town, where the head of the nation resided; but this was probably one of the three first named above. These villages

were merely groups of small cabins, made of stakes and earth, thatched with leaves and blades of Indian corn; the cabins of the chiefs were lined with mats, and furnished with rude seats and couches of wood, covered with mats or skins. The cultivation of the earth, was performed by the people of each village in common, under the direction of their chiefs, who distributed the produce; the whole labor consisted in planting corn, beans and tobacco, removing weeds, and gathering the harvest, which was usually plentiful, on account of the great fertility of the soil. The hunting was performed at stated seasons, by the people of each village in a particular section of the country, under the direction of the respective chiefs, who, in like manner, divided the fruits of the chase among the inhabitants.

In personal appearance and disposition, no difference was remarked between the Natches and the other Indians of that part of America. Of their language, only a few words have been preserved, some of which were nearly identical with those employed to express the same meaning, by the Choctās or Chickasās;\* two of the tribes, however, the Gris and Tioux, spoke languages entirely distinct from each other, and from the rest of the nation, so that they were considered, in some of the French accounts, as allies, rather than as members of the confederacy. The small remnant of the Natches, now residing as a tribe of the Muscoghees, on the upper Arkansas, are entirely unintelligible by any of the other Indians, from the Mississippi or Alabama; but they may be the descendants of one or the other of the two tribes above named.

As the natural consequence of their less erratic habits, and mode of life, the Natches were raised above the level of barbarism of the other nations of that division of America, though by no means so much, as some poetic writers have represented. This advancement was, however, accompanied by a corresponding increase of depravity. No Indians were more treacherous

\* Mr. Gallatin in the comparative vocabulary of fifty-three Indian nations, attached to his admirable "Synopsis of the Indian tribes," published in the second volume of the Transactions of the Archæological Society of Cambridge, gives a vocabulary of the Natches language, obtained by him from Istahlakteh, a chief of the remaining tribe of that nation, then incorporated with the Creeks, who visited Washington in 1826. Very few of the words bear the slightest resemblance to those of any other Indian nation.



than the Natches; among no other people, did greater licentiousness prevail in the intercourse between the sexes, or was human life sacrificed with less compunction; prostitution was enjoined by custom upon all women, and every civil or religious ceremony, was attended by the murder of individuals in cold blood.

The government of the Natches was a hereditary monarchy, limited by an aristocracy. Each tribe or village had its chief, called a Wā-shil or Sun, who was absolute within his dominion; the supreme power was vested, nominally, in a Great Sun, but in all matters of importance he was subject to the control of the other chiefs in council. These Suns were believed to be all descended from a man and a woman of dazzling brightness, who came among them directly from the great luminary; the line of succession being, as in all other cases, traced only through females. Thus, on the death of a Sun, he was succeeded in his title and powers by the eldest son of his nearest female relative; while his own children, fell into a lower rank, and their children, sunk into the common herd of plebians, or Stinkards, according to the signification of the word characterising them. Women of high rank were called Female Suns: they as well as the Suns could marry none but plebians, the offspring in all cases following the lot of the mother, without regard to that of the father, or reputed father; so that disputes as to legitimacy of birth could rarely occur. The mother or sister, or nearest female relative of the Great Sun, was styled Wā-shil-Tamail, or the Bright or Sun Woman, and was held in the greatest respect by the whole nation: she could, indeed, by law, have but one husband at a time; but she might repudiate him at her pleasure, or have him put to death on the slightest suspicion of infidelity, and there was no limitation as to the number of her lovers. Among all other persons, polygamy was allowed to the fullest extent, the forms of marriage being most simple. Chastity was, as already said, held in no repute, and jealousy was almost unknown.

The religion of the Natches, was like that of other barbarous nations, founded on the belief in the existence of a Great and Good Spirit, which directed all things for the advantage of man, while an inferior Evil Spirit was ever laboring for his injury. They worshipped the Sun as the representative or the abode of the Good Spirit; and the chief village contained a large cabin,

or temple as it was called by the French, in which a fire was kept constantly burning, and the remains of deceased chiefs were deposited:\* they however, addressed their prayers only to the Evil Genius, considering it superfluous to ask any thing of the Great Spirit, who was always intent on their welfare. They also had some vague ideas of a future state, at least for their chiefs, who were supposed to be transported after death to a delightful country, abounding in game and fish: but as, according to their notions, neither wives nor attendants were supplied in this new existence, custom required that on the death of each chief, all his dependants should be immediately sent to continue

\* The chief temple of the Natches, is thus described by the Jesuit in a letter addressed by him from New Orleans in 1730, and published among the *Lettres Edifiantes*:

“The religion of this people [the Natches] in certain points strongly resembles that of the ancient Romans. They have a temple filled with idols, representing men and animals, for which they have the most profound veneration. Their temple resembles an oven in form; and is about one hundred feet in circumference; it is entered by a small door, four feet high, and has no windows. The roof is covered with three layers of mats, to keep out the rain; and within and on the top, are three figures of eagles in wood, painted red, yellow and black. Before the door is a sort of shed, and a lodge in which the keeper of the temple resides: the whole is surrounded by a palisade, on which are exposed the heads of enemies, slain by their chiefs in war. Within the temple, are several benches, on which are placed oval baskets, made of canes, containing the bones of chiefs; and by them are placed those of the victims, who gave themselves up to be strangled, in order to follow their masters to the other world. On another bench, are several baskets neatly painted, containing the idols, which are figures of men and women of stone, or baked clay, heads and tails of snakes of extraordinary size, stuffed owls, bits of crystal, and jaw-bones of large fishes. There was also in 1699, a bottle and a plate of glass, which were preserved as treasures of much value.

“Care is taken to keep up a perpetual fire in this temple, and to prevent it from blazing, for which purpose, only dry wood of oak or walnut is used; and the old men, are obliged each in turn, to bring a large log to the enclosure. The number of keepers or guardians of the temple is fixed, each serving for one quarter of a year. The guardian lives in the lodge or porch, like a sentinel, and there watches the fire, to see that it does not go out. He feeds it with two or three large logs, which burn only at the ends, and are never placed one on another, in order that they may not blaze.”

Charlevoix who visited Natches in 1721, found the temple nearly empty, very filthy, and filled with smoke from the sacred fire, which was almost extinguished, the guardian having gone off to a festival: the custom of depositing the dead bodies of chiefs in the interior, had been abandoned; as to the heads of enemies placed on the spikes of the surrounding palisade, Charlevoix treats that as a mere embellishment.



their services to him; so that the funeral of each distinguished person was solemnised by the murder of a number of men, women and children, proportioned to the state which he had maintained on earth. Human sacrifices were also practised on many other occasions, in propitiation of the Evil Spirit; as during long droughts, and violent storms, or on the departure of a great chief for war. Many of the victims no doubt offered their necks voluntarily to the fatal cord by which they were strangled, and others resigned themselves with resolution, to the fate which they must have long anticipated; the greater number were, however, seized and confined until the moment of the sacrifice, shortly before which they were rendered insensible, by pills of tobacco forced upon them.

The Natches were, in general, disinclined to war, though they exhibited much energy and bravery in their expeditions for that purpose, and a corresponding degree of ferocity towards their captives. The direction of the hostile operations was committed to the great war chief, who was generally the active head of the government, though inferior in dignity to the Great Sun; and the commencement and termination of every expedition were solemnised by ceremonies in the temple. When the Great Sun himself went to war, much care was taken to shield him from all danger; as in the case of his being wounded, killed or made prisoner, the chiefs of the army were liable to be all put to death.

On all these points of government, religion and social life, many other aboriginal nations of America held nearly the same opinions, and observed nearly the same rules and customs. The temple with its perpetual fire, and the remains of chiefs deposited in it—the adoration of the Sun—the belief in a Good and an Evil Spirit, and in a future state of happiness for good and great men—the monarchy limited by an aristocracy—and the succession through females—were common to almost all the aboriginal nations north of the Mexican Gulf, which supported themselves principally by agriculture; though the Natches seem to have adhered to them more strongly and for a greater length of time after the establishment of Europeans in their vicinity, than any other people, in that portion of the New World. They appear, moreover, to have been the only nation, except the Taensas, in the valley of the Mississippi, among whom human sacrifices were allowed;

though such horrible practices certainly prevailed in Virginia,\* and, perhaps, in many other countries east of the great river, at the time of their discovery. It is still usual among the Indians of the upper Missouri to kill the horse or dog of a chief at his funeral, with the same idea of enabling him to prosecute his hunting in the second world.

Upon the whole it seems most reasonable to conclude that the Natches were Indians of the same race with those by whom they were surrounded;† though they may, like the Uchee tribe among the Muscoghees, have emigrated from some distant point, to that in which they were found by Europeans. The fanciful theories of some poetic travellers and historians, that they may have descended from a colony of Aztecs, or a colony of Carthaginians, appear to have had no other foundation, than in the simple facts of their human sacrifices, and their adoration of the Sun, neither of which customs was peculiar to them.

Until 1715, the Natches always maintained the most friendly relations with the French; and in the preceding year a plantation had been established near their towns, by M. La Loire des Ursins, which promised great advantages from the cultivation of tobacco.

\* See the account given by Captain John Smith, in his History of Virginia, page 36, of the annual sacrifice of fifteen boys, in honor of the Okee or Evil Spirit, on the north side of James river, a little above the Chickahominy.

† Charlevoix, in the 31st letter of the journal of his travels, says:

“As regards the nation of the Natches in general, nothing in their personal appearance distinguishes them from the other savages of Canada and Louisiana. They rarely go to war, and do not place their glory in the destruction of men. What particularly distinguishes them, is the very despotic form of their government, the entire dependence amounting to slavery of its subjects, the extreme pride and haughtiness of the chiefs, and the generally pacific disposition, in which, however, some change has appeared of late years. The Hurons also believe their hereditary chiefs to be the issue of the Sun; but no one amongst them would be the servant of one of those chiefs, or would follow him into the other world, to have the honor of serving him there, as often happens among the Natches. The greater number of the natives of Louisiana had their temples, as well as the Natches, and in all of them a fire was kept perpetually burning. It seems, indeed, that the Mobilians had a sort of supremacy in religious matters over all the other nations; for when in any other the sacred fire became extinguished, it could only be lighted again, from that burning in their temple. The temple of the Natches is, however, at present, (1721,) the only one which subsists, and it is regarded with great veneration by all surrounding nations.”

What is here said of the Mobilians, most probably refers to the Taensas, who removed to the vicinity of Mobile Bay in 1705.



Whether this establishment excited the jealousy of the Indians, or they were influenced by the Chickasâs or by the English, or they felt themselves insulted by the impolitic refusal of La Motte Cadillac to smoke the calumet with their Great Sun, they unexpectedly, in the autumn of that year, broke out in hostilities against the French, whom they expelled from their country; and they soon after attacked several boats descending the Mississippi, the people in which were murdered or wounded and beaten, while the cargoes were seized and carried into the interior.

Accounts of these last mentioned disasters on the Mississippi were brought to Mobile in January, 1716, by Father Davion, the missionary among the Tunica Indians; and La Motte Cadillac immediately ordered Bienville, to go with thirty-four men to Natchez, where he was to erect a fort, and exact reparation for the outrages. Bienville remonstrated against this order on the grounds of the insufficiency of the force, allowed for its execution: but the governor insisted, notwithstanding, that news had been received through M. La Loire des Ursins of the murder of three other Frenchmen, who were descending the Mississippi, and of farther disorders committed by the Indians; and the Commandant was obliged to cease his opposition. He accordingly departed with his little army for the Mississippi, where he was fortunately joined by fifteen sailors and by ten of Mr. Crozat's boats, on their way up the river with goods; and on the 23d of April the whole party reached the Tunica Cliff, on the left bank of the river, about thirty miles by land below Natchez. There a camp was formed, near Father Davion's hermitage, surrounded by an entrenchment, sufficiently strong to resist attack from savages; and though accounts had arrived of additional outrages of the Natches upon the French, Bienville dissembling his intentions, merely sent a friendly message to the head of that nation, expressing the governor's desire to establish a trading post near his town.\*

Four days after the despatch of this message, three Natches Indians appeared at the camp to present the calumet of peace; but

\* A particular account of this expedition, though somewhat contradictory in its details, may be found in the report of M. de Richebourg, which is given entire in the "*Histoire de la Louisiane*," by Gayarré, vol. 1, pages 132 to 147. Accounts are also presented by Charlevoix, La Harpe, Dumont, Le Page Dupratz, and other writers, which have been examined and compared.

Bienville learning that they were persons of inferior rank, refused to receive them, or to treat with any other than their highest dignitaries. They accordingly returned, and on the 7th of May, several canoes arrived, bringing the Great Sun and his brothers Olabalkebiche or the Stung Serpent, and the Little Sun, with their half brother the Bearded Sun, and eight other chiefs and their attendants, who on landing marched towards the camp with great solemnity, singing a song of peace. Bienville received the principal chiefs in his tent; but when they proffered the calumet, he rudely cast it aside, and charging them with their outrages upon his countrymen, he demanded immediate and ample satisfaction. The stupefied Indians remained silent; but they were soon aroused by the entrance of the French soldiers, who loaded them with heavy chains, and carried them off to a prison, prepared for them. There they remained for some hours in sullen silence; but there were warriors among them, who would not disgrace their nation, by showing signs of fear, and the death song of manly resignation was soon heard from their place of confinement.

Bienville had, in the meantime, obtained exact accounts of all the circumstances connected with the late outrages, and knew who were the principal authors of them. He, therefore, ordered the Great Sun, the Little Sun and the Stung Serpent, to be brought to his tent at midnight; and in a tone calculated to reassure them, he declared that he knew their innocence of all offence towards the French, and offered to restore them to liberty, on condition that the heads of the guilty persons should be delivered to him. In order to enforce his demand, he reminded them of many past occurrences, shewing the power of his nation; and conjured them to save their country from the fate which would certainly overwhelm it, unless the satisfaction required by him should be immediately granted. His representations produced the desired effect; and on the following day, the Little Sun proceeded to the towns, in order to submit the requisitions of the terrible commandant, to the council of chiefs.

On the 14th, the Little Sun returned to the French camp bringing three heads, which were laid at the feet of Bienville, with the assurance that they were those of the guilty chiefs. The Commandant, however, being well informed of all that had taken



place among the Natches, pointed to one of the heads, which he knew to be that of an innocent person, and sternly rebuking the Sun for the attempted deception, ordered him again to be placed with the others in irons. Meanwhile a fever had broken out in the camp, and Bienville being, moreover, aware that the Natches and several other nations in their vicinity were actively preparing for war, found all his address required to terminate the business satisfactorily. He accordingly removed the chains from his principal captives, and allowed the Great Sun and two other chiefs to go to their town, in order that they might employ their influence to obtain the heads of the remaining enemies of France; especially that of the high and powerful chief called the White Earth, who was known to have himself committed several of the outrages.

After the departure of the Great Sun, Bienville directed his powers of persuasion, particularly to the Stung Serpent, who was considered the wisest and bravest of the Natches; and he at length drew from that chief, the confession, which seems to have been anticipated by the Frenchman, that among the most active promoters of the robberies and murders, were his own half-brother the Bearded Sun, and two others of the prisoners in the camp. The Commandant on learning this, ceased to insist on the immediate delivery of the Sun of White Earth, who had fled into the interior; and he offered to liberate all the captives except the three who had been declared guilty, on condition that the property taken from the French should be restored, that a fort should be erected at Natches at a place to be chosen by him, on which a certain number of Indians should be employed, and that every means should be used to put to death the fugitive chief above named, and to deliver his head to the person left in command of the fort. These offers were gladly accepted by the Natches, and a spot was chosen near their towns, where several hundred Indians were compelled to cut and drag the logs, and to dig the ditches for the fort to be established on it. By the middle of August, the work was completed, and occupied by a small garrison under M. de Paillou; and it received the name of Fort Rosalie, in fulfilment of the original intention of Iberville.

It appears to have been understood, that the Bearded Sun, if not the two other chiefs, who had aided him in the outrages on

the French, should be spared, on the grounds that they had voluntarily come to the camp on the faith of the invitation of the Commandant;\* and it is thus expressly stated in one of the accounts of the transactions. In the middle of June, however, the two chiefs last mentioned were shot, by order of Bienville: several retainers of the Bearded Sun, thereupon came forward voluntarily, to offer themselves as hostages or as victims, to ensure the safety of their lord; but the inexorable Commandant refused to listen to their prayers, and on the following day the guilty Sun was sent down the Mississippi to some distance, where he underwent the same fate. The Stung Serpent and the remainder of the captives were liberated after the completion of the fort, and Bienville then returned to Mobile, well satisfied with the manner in which he had conducted the expedition.

Bienville's conduct in these affairs would have done honor to any savage chief. According to the relation of the circumstances presented by the French, his course had been marked by extreme duplicity and inhumanity, and was well calculated to impress the Indians, with the utmost dread of that nation, as well as the deepest animosity towards them. La Motte Cadillac did not lose the opportunity to mark his detestation of the whole proceeding, which he represented as a most execrable series of treacheries. The Commandant, in defence of his execution of the Bearded Sun, declared that he had intended to liberate him, but had been urged to put him to death, by his half-brother the Stung Serpent, on the ground of his turbulent character and unconquerable hatred to the French; in answer to which, the gov-

\* On this subject La Harpe writes in his journal:

"M. de Bienville, to put an end to this discussion, told the prisoners, that they could have no doubt, that the great war chief, named the Bearded, brother of the great chief of the nation, was one of the murderers of the French, and had caused the English to be received in their town; and that as he was in the power of the French, they would be justified in killing him: but that this could not be done, as he had come on the assurance of a promise of safety, unless his nation consented to it. Thereupon, all the chiefs told M. de Bienville, that it would be proper to get rid of him, as he was a turbulent and faithless man, who was always disturbing the public tranquillity, &c."

Richebourg in his memoir, says nothing of the promise of safe conduct: representing the arrival of the chiefs, at the French camp, as the result of a "snare set for them" by Bienville, in stating that his object was merely to found a trading post at their town.



ernor showed, that Bienville could not have been ignorant of the direct interest of the Stung Serpent, in the removal of the Bearded Sun, who agreeably to the law of succession among the Natches, would have inherited the chieftaincy, (as he in fact did) on the decease of the Great Sun. On this latter occasion, La Motte Cadillac forgot, that he had himself, only a few months previous, boasted in a despatch to the government, of his having induced one of the Choctâ chiefs, to kill his brother, by promising to insure to him the place of the murdered man.

The energetic proceedings of Bienville towards the Choctâs and the Natches, produced immediate and powerful effects on the other Indian nations in the vicinity of the Mississippi and the Mobile rivers. The Muscoghees of the upper Alabama, called Alibamons by the French, sent a deputation to Mobile, to renew their treaties of friendship; and they consented to the establishment of a garrison in their country, which was, accordingly, placed in a fort erected at the confluence of the Coosa and Tali-poosa rivers, a few miles above the present town of Montgomery, in the State of Alabama. The Chickasâs were induced to expel the English traders from their country, and the Illinois invited the French to resume their posts and missions in the regions of the upper Mississippi.

In the meantime, Crozat, becoming dissatisfied with the manner in which his affairs had been conducted, and attributing the unpromising state of his colony, to the incapacity of La Motte Cadillac and Duclos, had obtained their recall; and in their places, M. D'Epinay was appointed Governor, and M. Hubert, Commissary, on the 8th of October, 1716. In order to secure the attachment of the new officers to his interests, Crozat increased their salaries, on the express condition that they should not interfere with the commerce of the country, except in the enforcement of his monopolising restrictions; and he, at the same time, procured decrees from the government, defining more particularly the powers and duties of each and all the members of the administration in Louisiana. The Governor was made the exclusive director of all that regarded the civil and military operations; the financial affairs of the colony, and the courts of justice were to be under the superintendence of the Commissary, and these two chief officers were to regulate in

concert, what might be necessary for the police of the country. To console Bienville for the neglect of his claims to the governorship, the cross of St. Louis was sent to him, and he was made proprietor of Horn island, a barren strip of land rising above the sea opposite the mouth of the Pascagoula river, which was then, at least, utterly worthless.

The new Governor Epinay, and the Commissary Hubert, arrived at Mobile in March, 1717, with three companies of soldiers, and fifty settlers; and La Motte Cadillac and Duclos soon after returned to France. Bienville was of course little pleased with the obliviousness of his services, shown by the appointment of Epinay, for which his cross of St. Louis, and his island, were but poor indemnification; and he was accordingly soon at war with the Governor, and the Commissary both. Epinay immediately exerted himself to obtain a knowledge of the state of the colony and to remedy its evils, and he succeeded in causing the cargo of the ship, in which he made his passage to be smuggled into Mexico, near Vera Cruz. He also renewed treaties with the Indian nations, and had made arrangements for the commencement of an effective fortification on Dauphine island; but a storm in the month of August, entirely destroyed the harbor at that place, by filling it with sand, and the stores of the colony were in consequence removed to Biloxy, the spot at which they had been first established. Why Mobile was not selected in preference, is not stated in the records of that time; but probably, the bay had not then been examined with care sufficient for the discovery of the main channel through it. Bienville who never lost sight of the advantages to be derived from the agriculture and trade of the Mississippi country, again recommended the place which he had selected for the centre of government and commerce of Louisiana, on the great river near Lake Pontchartrain; and he had prevailed on Epinay, to take some measures for its occupation, when news arrived of a material change, which had been effected in the regulation of the affairs of that part of America.

In the meantime, St. Denis was engaged on his second expedition to the Mexican provinces, which ended still more unfortunately for the objects in view, than the first. He departed from Mobile in company with the four French traders, as already said, in October, 1716, for Natchitoches, where they arrived by way



of the lakes, the Mississippi and the Red river, on the 21st of November. During a month passed there, they procured a number of horses, sufficient to enable them to continue their journey by land; then taking their course westward, they crossed the river of the Adayes now the Sabine, and on the 6th of January, 1717, they reached the village of the Ayish Indians, where they found a Spanish mission and a small garrison, the members of which received them with much kindness. Thence they passed on to Nacogdoches, and through the other Spanish missions to the Trinity river, from which St. Denis left the traders to follow with their goods at their leisure, and hastened on with a few Indians to San Juan Bautista, to join his wife.

St. Denis arrived at the Presidio early in April; but changes had taken place in Mexico, since his former visit, which were by no means favorable. On the 10th of August, 1716, the Duke de Linares, the Viceroy by whom St. Denis had been treated with so much consideration, was succeeded by the Marquis de Valero, a man of stern character, and very inimical to the French, whose establishments in Louisiana he was specially instructed to restrict, and, if possible, to destroy. With this object, he had, immediately on assuming the government, strengthened the garrison and fortifications of Pensacola, and ordered other points to be occupied on the northern side of the Mexican Gulf; the prohibitory regulations against foreigners were enforced by him with rigor, and he resolved to have the regions north of the Rio Bravo, effectively occupied, so as to reduce the French within as narrow limits as possible.\* The charge of the operations for the latter purpose, was committed to Martin de Alarcon, an old soldier who entered fully into the views of the Viceroy, and had been appointed Governor of the province of Texas, or the New Philippines, extending northward from the Medina or San Antonio river; and this officer was at Coahuila, engaged in collecting supplies and men, for the settlement and defence of his province at the time when St. Denis reached the fort of San Juan.

Alarcon had been informed of the approach of St. Denis, and

\*The reasons for these measures are detailed with minuteness, in a report made by the Fiscal or Attorney of the Board of War and Finance of Mexico, to the Viceroy, in November, 1716, setting forth the unjustifiable encroachments of the French on the territories of His Catholic Majesty, and recommending means for preventing their farther progress.

had given orders for his arrest, which were obeyed by the Commandant immediately on his arrival at the fort; and farther orders were soon after received, agreeably to which, the Frenchman was sent as a prisoner to the city of Mexico, where he arrived on the 3d of May. Upon the recommendation of the Duke de Linares, who still remained in the capital, he was at first treated with some kindness by the Viceroy, and he was allowed to remain at large in the capital, where he endeavored to dispose of the goods brought by the merchants, which, as he learned, had been seized at the Presidio on the Rio Bravo, by order of Alarcon.\* St. Denis, however, at the same time wrote a letter to the Governor of Louisiana, advising him to occupy the Bay of San Bernardo, as the most convenient point for the introduction of French merchandise into Mexico; which communication falling into the hands of the Spaniards, he was thrown into prison, and kept confined for several months.

In this interval, numerous consultations had been held among the authorities at Mexico, and a detailed report of the case had been transmitted to Madrid, accompanied by recommendations for the employment of energetic measures, to restrain the encroachments of the French. In consequence of this report, a Royal Cedula or Decree was issued by the Council of the Indies, on the 30th of January, 1718, instructing the Marquis de Valero to establish forts, missions and settlements in Texas, and to induce St. Denis to remain in Mexico, by offers of employment, but in no event to allow him to return to Louisiana. The Viceroy accordingly liberated St. Denis from prison, and endeavored to persuade him to accept a grant of lands, and an office under the government, in Guatemala, to which he pretended to be favorably inclined; but having received private information of the order for his detention in Mexico, he made his escape from that city, and after a variety of adventures, succeeded in reaching Mobile, with his wife, early in 1719. The four merchants who

\* In the many and voluminous Spanish documents in manuscript from which these accounts of the proceedings of St. Denis in Mexico have been drawn, it is asserted that he engaged, in his first expedition, to return and settle in Mexico; and that on his second appearance, he falsely represented the goods brought by himself and the traders from Mobile, as his own property, which he had no other means of bringing away from Louisiana, without exciting the suspicions of the government.



accompanied him, had long before returned to Louisiana, having obtained the liberation of their goods from seizure, and permission to dispose of them in Coahuila, through the intervention of the priests of the mission of San Juan Bautista.

Such were simply the circumstances of the two expeditions of St. Denis to Mexico, upon which more has been said, than they would seem to have merited, with the object of correcting the erroneous ideas, generally entertained, respecting the date of the first permanent settlement of the Spaniards, in the countries between the Red river and the Rio Bravo.\* That establishment was, as has been shown, entirely the result of the premature attempts of the French, to force a trade with the northern provinces of Mexico, which, by exciting the jealousy of the Spanish Government, induced the adoption of such expensive measures, for the enforcement of its prohibitive system on the northern frontiers

\* Humboldt, in his admirable Political Essay on New Spain, first published in 1811, (vol. I, chap. 8,) makes the following observation with regard to the claim of the United States, to the territories between the Red river and the Rio Bravo, of which Texas forms a part:

“Anssi les Mexicains alléguent, et avec raison, en leur faveur, que la population Espagnole de Texas est très ancienne, qu'elle est venue dès les premiers temps de la conquête, par Linares, Revilla et Camargo, de l'intérieur de la Nouvelle Espagne, et que M. de La Salle, en débarquant à l'ouest du Mississipi, dont il avait manqué l'embouchure, trouva déjà des Espagnols parmi les sauvages qu'il essaya de combattre.”

“The Mexicans also allege, and with reason, in their behalf, that the Spanish population of Texas is very ancient, that it came in ever since the earliest periods of the conquest, through Linares, Revilla and Camargo, from the interior of New Spain; and that M. de la Salle, on landing west of the Mississippi, of which he had missed the mouth, found Spaniards already among the Indians, whom he endeavored to oppose.”

Now the conquest of Mexico was completed by the Spaniards before 1524; and if the account of the settlement of Texas here presented be admitted as correct, the adoption of this allegation on the part of Mexico, by the distinguished author of the Essay on New Spain, must be regarded as a remarkable exception to the general accuracy of his statements and opinions. It may be observed in addition, that neither Camargo nor Revilla were founded before 1750, about which time, the earliest settlements were made on the lower part of the Rio Bravo. As to the Spaniards said to have been met by La Salle among the Indians, no mention is made of them by Joutel or Father Anastase, or Tonty or Charlevoix, or any other authority, with regard to the particulars of that unfortunate expedition.

This is not to be considered as prejudging any thing, with regard to the validity of the claim of the United States to the countries in question; but merely as a correction of an erroneous opinion.

of New Spain. The right of the Spaniards to occupy this territory cannot be doubted: the single position taken by the French on the Bay of St. Louis in 1685, was destroyed two years afterwards; and no attempt having been since made by that nation, to resume the possession, its title might have been fairly considered as extinct by prescription. It may be here added, that the Spanish settlements thus formed in 1717 were maintained without interruption, and indeed without direct question by the French, except during the short period of the war between the two nations in 1719; after which they were increased and strengthened, and they subsisted quietly under the dominion of Spain for more than a century.

In Florida, much alarm was created among the Spaniards, by the expulsion of the Yamassees from Carolina, and the subsequent establishment by the English, of a fort at the point where the Oconee and the Okmulgee rivers unite to form the Alatomaha. The fugitive Indians fixed their habitations nearly in the centre of the Peninsula; and they were followed by other tribes of the Muscoghee confederacy, who, driven from their old grounds between the Savannah and the Chattahoochee, by the approach of the white men, went to increase the numbers of the Istisemole or Runaways, commonly called Seminoles, in the vicinity of San Juanito or Suwannee. The English in Carolina were, in the meantime, in a prosperous condition, notwithstanding their constant disputes with the proprietors; and that province alone contained, probably, more persons of European race, than all the French and Spanish dominions in America north of the Rio Bravo, besides many negroes. A plan was proposed in 1717 by Sir Robert Montgomery a speculating Scotch baronet, for the settlement of the country between the Savannah and the Alatomaha, which was to be called the Margravate of Azilia; and a grant of the territory was obtained with that object, from the proprietors of Carolina, whose charter extended southward to the 29th parallel of latitude: but the scheme was so evidently intended only for the benefit of the projector, that nothing was done in execution of it. The Bahama islands, which had long been the resort of bucaniers and pirates, were effectively occupied as British colonies, to the security of their vessels, engaged in the trade between the West Indies and the ports on the continent.



In Virginia, practicable routes had been discovered through the Alleghany mountains; and the active Governor Spotswood, was endeavoring to organize a company in England, for the settlement of the fertile countries of the upper Ohio. In the Iroquois region, a struggle for supremacy was maintained between the British traders and political agents, and those of France; and a long correspondence was carried on, between the Governors of Canada and New York, as to the true sense of the stipulations of the Utrecht treaty respecting those countries, which each party interpreted in its own favor. A similar struggle was in progress in Nova Scotia, where the boundaries still remained unsettled; no commissaries having been appointed by either nation for that purpose, or for the determination of the southern limits of the Hudson's Bay territories, as provided by the same treaty. The French had indeed evacuated the greater part of the Acadian Peninsula, but without admitting the right of Great Britain; and they were engaged in the erection of a vast fortress, called Louisbourg, on the adjacent island of Cape Breton, on which millions of livres were annually expended, under the direction of engineers, trained in the school of Vauban. The English built no fortresses, except a few block-houses at exposed points; the frugal people of their colonies, dreading the expenses and other evils accompanying such establishments, more than the attacks which they were intended to avert.

## CHAPTER X.

1718 TO 1721.

LAW'S MISSISSIPPI SCHEME—LOUISIANA SURRENDERED BY CROZAT AND TRANSFERRED TO THE COMPANY OF THE WEST—NEW ORLEANS FOUNDED BY BIENVILLE—FARTHER ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE SPANIARDS IN TEXAS—EXPEDITION OF LA HARPE TO THE RED RIVER—WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN—HOSTILITIES ON THE MEXICAN GULF—CAPTURE OF PENSACOLA BY THE FRENCH—SUSPENSION OF THE WAR—EXPLOSION OF THE MISSISSIPPI SCHEME.

WHILST the events last related were in progress in America, great changes had occurred in Europe, which materially affected the condition and prospects of Louisiana. By one of those fortuitous combinations of circumstances, which, from time to time, give an impulse to the movements of nations, as well as of individuals, the attention of the whole civilized world was directed to the regions of the Mississippi; and the French colony in that quarter, became, in appearance at least, the object of the especial care of the mother country.

Upon the death of Louis XIV. France was left in a most impoverished condition. Its national debt exceeded two thousand millions of livres,\* on which the annual interest amounted to

\* The French livre was at that time one fifty-fourth part of the marc (3778 grains troy) of silver, of eleven-twelfths of pure metal; and its value in currency of the United States, was almost exactly sixteen cents and three-quarters. The value of the livre was, however, frequently changed during the eight following years, until, at length, in 1726, it was fixed at forty-nine livres and three-quarters to the marc of silver, making its value exactly seventeen cents and four mills, at which it remained until 1774.

The national debt of France in 1718, may therefore be considered as about three hundred and forty millions of dollars; the division of the other sums mentioned in this chapter by six, will give nearly their respective values, in the same currency.



eighty millions; and although taxation was carried to the utmost extent, yet such was the disorder, extravagance, and dishonesty of all concerned in the administration, that means could with difficulty be raised for the current expenses of the government. The state bills, or public securities, had fallen to one-third of their nominal value, and were daily sinking; and notwithstanding the various expedients suggested by ignorance or knavery for deferring the catastrophe, the kingdom was verging rapidly to bankruptcy.

The Regent Duke of Orleans was a man of talents, but indolent, profligate and luxurious; and he required immense sums, not only for the support of his state and the gratification of his desires, but also in order to create and maintain a party for the security of the succession to himself, in the probable event of the young king's death. Into his mind the idea of retrenchment never entered; he looked only to increase of the supply, and was ready to engage in any plan, which seemed to lead to that result. Though alchymy was then falling into disrepute, its professors could always find a patron in the Regent; and it is, therefore, not astonishing, that he should have been easily induced, to enter into a scheme, by which a printing press was to do all that could have been expected from the philosopher's stone.

This scheme—so generally known as *the Mississippi Scheme*—was projected by John Law a Scotchman, the son of a banker of Edinburg, and then about forty-five years of age, whose life since reaching manhood, had been spent in intrigues and gambling in various parts of Europe, and whose ability in financial matters, appears to have been much less questionable than his honesty, though upon that point, opinions are to this day divided. His object was simply to substitute paper for coin, as a circulating medium, throughout the kingdom; and as the paper was to be issued only by the government, which could issue to any extent, the state would never want means, so long as confidence in the value of the paper could be maintained—that is to say—so long as the faith in the capacity of the government to redeem its paper by real and substantial equivalents, should be sufficient to prevent any great demand for such redemption. Now Law meant to create confidence, yet it is scarcely possible that he could have expected to sustain it very long, while the expenses of the state

were immeasurably beyond its real income. Still, many of his proceedings seem to show that he was himself deceived thus far, by overweening persuasion of his own capacity to provide an expedient against any shock to which his system could be exposed.

Law had previously unfolded his plan to several European sovereigns, all of whom had declined to engage in it; one of them the Duke of Savoy, observing that he was not rich enough to be so magnificently ruined: in the Regent of France, however, he found such a patron as he could have desired, enthusiastic, averse to details, and unprincipled; and the scheme was soon set in operation. The first step was the establishment of a bank at Paris under the name of John Law and Company, in virtue of a Royal Edict of May 2d, 1716, fixing its capital at six millions of livres divided into twelve hundred shares, for which only one-fourth was required to be paid in cash, the remainder being receivable in state stocks, then worth not more than one-third of their nominal value. The bank was authorized to receive deposits and make payments for individuals, to issue notes, to lend money on security, and to conduct exchanges, for which purpose branches and agencies were established throughout the kingdom, and afterwards throughout Europe; though it was prohibited from engaging in mercantile transactions on its own account.

Under these assurances and restrictions, Law's bank begun its operations, which were conducted with so much punctuality and at such moderate rates of profit, as soon to secure to it the confidence of all men of business. The arbitrary conduct of the government for some time previous, in altering the standards of the coins and their actual and relative values, had produced so much uncertainty in specie as a representative of property, that the notes of the bank before the middle of 1717, rose to fifteen per cent. above par, and they were made, by Royal Decree, receivable and payable without discount in all transactions of the government. The way had been then prepared for the second grand measure.

Ere that time, Crozat had been so much injured in fortune, by the expenses of his colony in America, from which no returns whatsoever had been received, or could be expected within any reasonable period, that he was anxious to free himself from the



burthen; and Law, whose attention had been drawn to the Mississippi regions, by the report of the discovery of a silver mine in the Illinois, as already related, and had thenceforward determined to embrace those countries in his scheme, proposed that they should be granted to a company, formed under his direction for their management. The Regent readily gave his consent; Crozat surrendered all his privileges to the crown in August, 1717,\* and Letters Patent were immediately after issued, transferring all those privileges, with the addition of many others, to an association, thereby incorporated, under the title of the Company of the West.

Agreeably to these Letters Patent,† the entire commerce of Louisiana and the fur trade of Canada, were secured to the company for twenty-five years; during which period, it should have powers to grant lands, to construct forts, to raise troops, and to nominate the governors and other officers of the colony, who were however to receive their commissions from the sovereign. All lands on which permanent improvements should have been made, and all mines which should have been discovered and worked, within the same space of time, were to belong perpetually to the company, or its grantees; goods exported to those countries from France, were to be free from all duties whatsoever, and those imported from them into France, were subjected to only half the duties payable on the same goods from other countries. The inhabitants of the province were to be exempt from all taxes and duties whatsoever, so long as the charter of the company should subsist; and those professing the Catholic religion, whether natives of France or of other parts of Europe, were to be regarded as Frenchmen, and to enjoy all the privileges and immunities of such, without being required to obtain letters of naturalization; though they were, as before, prohibited from engaging in any species of commerce, except as agents for the company. The powers and privileges of the company in these respects, were, moreover, extended to the Illinois, which was separated from the Government of New France and united to that of Louisiana, by

\* Crozat was soon after ennobled, by the title of Marquis Du Chatel. He died in 1738, at the age of eighty-three.

† The Letters Patent or Charter of the company, containing fifty-six articles, may be found in the original, in the Collection entitled "*Edits, Ordonnances Royaux, &c. concernant la Compagnie des Indes.*"

a Royal Edict on the 27th of the same month of September;\* and this arrangement of jurisdictions, giving to New France all the territories of the upper Ohio, and of the St. Lawrence and its lakes and streams, with the coasts and islands adjacent to its bay, and to Louisiana all those drained by the Mississippi and the Mobile and their tributaries, subsisted until the commencement of the war, which extinguished the French dominion in North America.

For its constitution and government, the shares of the company were fixed at five hundred livres each; and the holder of fifty shares, whosoever he might be, was entitled to a vote in the meetings of the company. The number of shares was at first two hundred thousand, making a capital of one hundred millions of livres; but this number was afterwards considerably increased under various pretences. In payment for the shares, the state bills would be received at par, and each share would entitle the holder, to a dividend of all the clear profits derived by the company from its possessions; four per cent., or twenty livres on each share, being secured on the revenues from the tobacco monopoly and from other sources, by the hypothecation of forty thousand livres of their anticipated annual proceeds to the company, on the entrance of each million of livres paid in for stock. The affairs of the company were to be managed by a Board of

\* The following is a translation of the Edict for the annexation of the Illinois countries to Louisiana :

EXTRACT FROM THE REGISTRIES OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

“The King in his Council, having examined the Letters Patent, in form of Edict, issued in the month of August last, establishing a commercial company under the title of Company of the West, as also those of the 14th of September, 1712 granted to the Sieur Crozat, and considering it proper, for the good of the service, and for the advantage and utility of the Company of the West, to extend the government of Louisiana, and to add to it the country of the Illinois savages; having heard the reports thereon, His Majesty being in his Council, with the advice of the Duke of Orleans His uncle the Regent, has united and incorporated the said country of the savages, with the government of the province of Louisiana; and He wills and decrees, that the said Company of the West shall enjoy the territories comprised under the name of the said country, in the same manner as it is to enjoy those granted by the said Letters Patent, in the month of August last; and the commanders, officers, soldiers, inhabitants, and others who are or may be in the said country, shall acknowledge the Commandant General of Louisiana, and obey and submit to him, without question, in every way whatsoever, under the penalty assigned for disobedience. Done in the King's Council, in His Majesty's presence, at Paris, on the 27th September, 1717.

(Signed) PHELIPEAUX.”



Directors, holding their places for three years; the first board was to be appointed by the crown, but after 1720, the directors were to be chosen by the stockholders. Law was of course the first director appointed; the others Messrs. D'Artaguet, Duché, Moreau, Piou, Castaignes, and Mouchard, were all merchants, or holders of financial offices under the government.

These were apparently generous offers on the part of the French government. The holder of a state bill, of the nominal value of five hundred livres, but for which not more than a hundred and sixty could have been obtained, was to receive for it another bill, on which the annual interest of twenty livres was secured in the most effectual manner, besides a title to the two hundred-thousandth part of the profits derivable from the lands, mines, furs, taxes and trade of a territory, certainly larger than all Europe, and believed to be infinitely more fertile and richer in minerals. The first consideration was alone sufficient to induce the holders of state bills to exchange them for the shares of the company; and when a large portion of those shares had been thus taken up, the remainder were declared to be also sold. The confidence of the public was thus naturally increased, and the shares began to rise in price, carrying up with them, of course, the state bills, which were soon above par; while specie was at the same time, brought into farther discredit, by edicts altering the value of the coins, and prohibiting the payment of specie beyond a certain amount in any transaction.

The Company of the West entered into the possession of Louisiana in the beginning of 1718. The condition of the French settlements in that country near the Mexican Gulf, was then little better, than at the period when Crozat undertook their management. Their population had increased to about six hundred,\* principally, however, by additions to the military force: no land was cultivated, nor was any branch of industry carried on, except the trifling trade with the Indians and with the Spaniards of Pensacola; and the people were, from all accounts, as vicious and indolent, as at any previous period. Indeed the strongest mark of improvement indicated by the records of the colony, was an increase in the number of the cattle, which had reached four

\* The Report of the Directors of the India Company, made in 1721, gives four hundred as the number in 1718, but it was probably larger.

hundred. In the Illinois, the white population amounted to about three hundred, besides some half-breeds, and consisted almost entirely of traders from Canada, who had their homes with their Indian wives, in the villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, under the protection of small French garrisons. As they could receive no provisions from France, they cultivated the earth sufficiently to produce the wheat, Indian corn, and vegetables required for their support; and they even occasionally sent a few boats laden with those articles down the Mississippi to Mobile, in exchange for goods to be employed in their commerce with the Indians.

The Directors of the Company of the West, were, however, not at all discouraged by this unpromising condition of their territories, with respect to which, as on all other points of their scheme, they relied implicitly on the ignorance of the great mass of the people of Europe. The extent of Louisiana, according to the most moderate computation, was immense, but it might still be exaggerated with advantage: and for this object, the geographer Delisle, produced, agreeably to the instructions of the directors, a map, in which that province was made to include the whole division of America north of the Mexican Gulf between the Rio Bravo and New Mexico on the west, and the easternmost range of the Alleghany chain on the east; the British possessions being reduced to narrow strips on the Atlantic coast north of the Savannah, and Spanish Florida including only the Peninsula and the parts adjacent, on the ocean and gulf. On this map were traced roads, cities, towns, mines of precious metals, and all other marks of advancement in population and wealth; and copies of it, accompanied by descriptions equally at variance with truth, were published in the principal languages of Europe, and circulated through that continent.\* Such were the origin, nature and objects of nearly all the maps of Louisiana which appeared between 1717 and 1723, and which have been:

\* One of these maps which has been most frequently cited in proof of the extension of Louisiana to the Rio Bravo, is the "Map of Louisiana and the Mississippi territories, most humbly inscribed to William Law of Lawreston, [the brother of the projector of the Mississippi Scheme,] by John Senex," contained in the "New General Atlas," published at London in 1721. It is merely a copy, with a few trifling alterations and additions, of that of Delisle.



of late years, gravely adduced, as incontestable proofs of the true extent and limits of that portion of the French dominions.

The first act of the company was to recall Epinay from the Government of Louisiana, in place of whom Bienville was appointed Governor and Commandant General of the province, with his brother Chateaugué and his relation Boisbriant under him as Lieutenants for the King. The control of the entire administration, was committed to the Governor; but a council similar to that already existing, was to be established, composed of the Governor, the King's Lieutenants, the Royal Commissary, the Attorney General, the Secretary, and three Directors General for the Company, to which all important matters were to be submitted for consideration. The Illinois was to form a sub-province, of which one of the King's Lieutenants was to be the Commandant; and this charge was assigned to Boisbriant, Chateaugué acting immediately under his brother, in the lower country. The other members of the Council of Administration were Hubert the Commissary General, Cartier de Baune the Attorney General, Couture the Secretary, and Villardo, Legast, and Larchambaut, Directors for the Company.

Bienville thus obtained the object to which his wishes had been long directed; and his appointment was probably the best which could have been made under the circumstances. He was intractable and impatient of control or contradiction, and the manner in which his life had been spent, since his arrival at manhood, had rendered him unscrupulous as to the means to be employed for the attainment of an end: but he was well acquainted with Louisiana, and really desirous to promote its advancement, with which his own fame and fortune were connected; and that was as much as the Company of the West could have expected. He was, in fine, precisely such a man, as the Spanish Council of the Indies would have selected for the government of a frontier province.

The system adopted by the Company of the West for the administration of Louisiana, differed very little from that of Crozat, nearly all the erroneous views of which were preserved: these views were, however, universally entertained at the time; and as the object of the company was solely to raise the price of its stocks, any departure from established notions, would have

been highly impolitic. The commerce was to be conducted on the strictest principles of monopoly: no foreign vessel, nor French vessel except under license from the company, could enter any port in the territory; and the inhabitants, as before, could buy and sell, only from and to the company's agents, and at prices fixed by tariffs, for each factory or place of business. In order to provide a population for the country, large tracts of land, principally on the banks of the Mississippi, were granted to individuals or associations, on condition of their establishing in each, a certain number of persons within a given period. These large tracts were called *Concessions*, and the grantees were to form a baronial class in the province; small grants, called *Habitations*, were also made, the occupants of which—*Habitans*—were to represent the peasantry; the name of *Etablissement* was specially assigned to a group or collection of *habitations*.

The first concessions were in the vicinity of Mobile and Biloxy, and on the east or left bank of the Mississippi, at Baton Rouge, the Tunica cliffs, the Natches towns, the mouth of the Yazoo and other places intermediate, above the reach of the river during its annual spring floods; after which, points on the same side, not thus naturally secured from inundation, were occupied. On the right or west bank, no grant was made for some time, except that of four leagues square at the mouth of the Arkansas, which were assigned to Law, upon the condition that he should place eight thousand persons there as settlers, within three years.\* It should here be observed, that nearly the whole territory south of the Ohio and adjacent to the Mississippi on the west, is below the surface of the latter river at its greatest height, and is covered by its waters for some time in each year, to the distance of several miles. Large portions of the country on the eastern side, including all below Baton Rouge, are similarly situated; that place and the others first occupied by the French farther north being the extremities of ridges, thence extending from the east, and

\* The measures of land in Louisiana were those of Paris, viz.—the Pied or Foot equal to 12.7893 inches English—the Toise or Fathom of six pieds—and the Arpent of thirty toises or one hundred and eighty pieds square, equal to one English acre and one-fifth. The concessions on the banks of the Mississippi usually embraced a certain number of arpents on the river, (*de face au fleuve*) and a certain number behind the former, generally to the depth of forty, so as to include all the land fit for cultivation between the stream and the swamp.



separated by vallies, with streams flowing through them, which are in like manner raised above their banks, by the back water from the Mississippi in its floods. At the places thus liable to inundation, the highest ground is the bank of the river from which the surface runs in an inclined plane for a short distance, terminating usually in a swamp; and in order to secure the lands from the annual ravages of the stream, it is necessary to raise the bank above the greatest height of the waters, by an artificial dyke or rampart of earth, there called a *levée*, the construction and maintenance of which are of course attended with much labor and expense. For this reason the higher points were first selected for settlements; the low grounds immediately bordering the river being, however, extremely fertile, and especially adapted for the production of rice and other valuable articles, were also speedily engaged by capitalists, who expended large amounts in the transportation of settlers and the purchase of negroes, to be employed on them for those purposes.

The first arrival of emigrants under the new system, took place in August, 1718, when six hundred unfortunate persons, taken for the most part from hospitals or prisons in France, were landed on the burning sands of Dauphine island.\* Nearly all of them came as settlers, in parties directed by the owners of the tracts to which they were destined, or by agents employed to superintend them; the remainder being enlisted as soldiers. As the places to be occupied by the settlers, were all far in the interior, and neither provisions, nor means of transportation, nor even shelter had been provided, a large proportion of those people died immediately of fevers; and very few succeeded in reaching their concessions, where similar miseries awaited them. The soldiers were marched off to different garrisons, in which they suffered no less than the settlers, from sickness and hunger; and

\* Among the proprietors and agents who came to Louisiana with these settlers, were Messrs. Le Page Du Pratz and La Harpe, each of whom wrote a history of the colony, and M. Le Blond de la Tour, the engineer who drew the plan of New Orleans. Le Page Du Pratz, at first intended to establish himself near the new capital; but he afterwards, in conjunction with the Commissary Hubert, formed a settlement at Natchez, where he remained for many years, and was then appointed superintendent of the plantations of the company, which office he held until 1733.

many of both classes, soon deserted to Florida, or Carolina, or took up their abode among the Indians.

Bienville protested against this practice of sending to Louisiana, persons who could only be a burthen to it; and he succeeded in a few cases, in inducing the proprietors of the lands, to be more careful in their selections. Many of those proprietors were, however, in the secrets of the company, and largely interested in its stock, of which they were more anxious to keep up the price, than to benefit the colony on the Mississippi; and as for that object, numbers, not character of population, were required, any wretch, who would consent to be transported to Louisiana, was willingly received. Bands of such emigrants were occasionally paraded through the streets of Paris, dressed in clothes provided for the exhibition, and bearing in their hands, the implements of agriculture or mining; and the departure of each vessel which sailed for the Mexican Gulf, was duly chronicled in all the newspapers of western Europe. The females formed a very small proportion, and they were in character, generally, not better than the men; in consequence of which, it is not extraordinary, that the latter should have preferred concubinage with Indians or negroes, to marriage with their own country-women.

In order to secure Louisiana against attacks from the English or the Spaniards on its frontiers, as well as to keep the Indians in check, the old fortifications were strengthened and new ones were commenced at the mouths of the Mississippi, the Arkansas and the Yazoo, and at the point where the Alabama river is formed by the junction of the Coosa and the Talapoosa. At this last mentioned place, the fort established two years previous was extended, and it received the name of Fort Toulouse, in compliment to an illegitimate son of Louis XIV.; and a similar work on a large scale was commenced in the Illinois, on the east bank of the Mississippi, sixty-seven miles south of the entrance of the Missouri, which was called Fort Chartres, in honor of the eldest son of the Regent. The Illinois and Wabash countries were likewise explored by Dutisné, and the Missouri was traced from its mouth to the entrance of the Kansas, near which a small post, called Fort Orleans, was afterwards established, under the command of M. de Bourgmont.

Bienville had, as already said, long entertained the conviction,



that the colony could only prosper by agriculture, for which he considered negroes indispensable; and from the commencement of his administration he constantly urged the Directors of the Company, to take measures for a regular and sufficient supply of such laborers from the African coast. He, moreover, embraced the opportunity presented by the destruction of the harbor at Dauphine island, to recommend the immediate transfer of the seat of government, and of the public stores to the banks of the Mississippi; and in anticipation of the assent of the directors, he caused the streets and squares of a city, to be traced through the woods and swamps, bordering the great river between it and Lake Pontchartrain, to which he gave the name of LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS\*—NEW ORLEANS—in honor of the Regent Duke. The selection of this spot was vehemently opposed by the council of the colony. M. Hubert the Commissary, whilst admitting that the seat of government should be on the Mississippi, was in favor of its location at Natchez, where he had himself received a large concession; the others, for the most part, were of opinion, that commerce should be the principal object of the establishment, for which reason the centre of business should be on the shore of the Gulf, between Mobile Bay and the entrance of the lakes. The Directors of the Company preferred Manchac, the point at which the waters of the Mississippi, during its floods, discharge themselves into the Iberville, and through it into the lakes, situated one hundred and twenty-four miles higher up the river than New Orleans; but their desire to bring the embryo metropolis in aid of their scheme, induced them to acquiesce in the selection made by the Commandant. The name of New Orleans accordingly appeared in Delisle's maps in large letters; and plans of the city, accompanied by descriptions of its edifices, were circulated throughout Europe in 1718, ere a single house had

\*“Those who gave this name,” says Charlevoix, “supposed ORLEANS to be of the feminine gender: no matter; the usage has been established, and usage is superior to rules of grammar.” In addition to the authority of the Jesuit on this curious point, we have that of the great enemy of Jesuits, Voltaire, who in his immortal unmentionable poem says—

Tout Orleans, à ces grandes nouvelles,  
Rendit à Dieu graces solennelles.

It is much to be regretted, that the founder of the city, could not have given it his own name of Bienville, than which none could have been found more appropriate in every respect.

been built on the site. Biloxy however continued for some time to be the seat of the government, and the depository of the merchandise of the colony; and store houses were built there, with a fort for their protection, to which the name of Fort Louis was transferred, from the old establishment on the Mobile.

Another order sent by the directors to Bienville, in furtherance of their scheme, was obeyed by him with less alacrity. It was desirable to magnify the extent of Louisiana on the gulf as much as possible; and the governor was therefore instructed immediately to form establishments on the Bay of St. Louis or San Bernardo, where La Salle's colony had been planted, and on the Bay of St. Joseph near the mouth of the Apalachicola river, so as to give to the province nearly the whole northern shore of the gulf, leaving Pensacola an isolated point in the possession of Spain. Bienville in consequence despatched his brother M. de Chateaugué, early in 1718, with fifty men to take possession of St. Joseph's Bay; but while they were engaged in building a fort at the entrance, a Spanish vessel arrived, bearing a summons to the French to quit the place, as being within the territories of His Catholic Majesty. Chateaugué treated the summons with contempt: his men however being averse to the duty on which they were employed, more than a third of them deserted to St. Augustine or Pensacola, where they were well treated; and Bienville, willingly availing himself of these circumstances, withdrew the others from the bay, which was immediately occupied and fortified by the Spaniards.

The Viceroy of Mexico had a short time before this occurrence, ordered another fort to be erected farther eastward on the River of St. Mark, which had been abandoned ever since the destruction of the Spanish establishments in that country by the English in 1704; and this was done without loss of time, by Don José Primo de Ribera, who marched thither with a body of men across the country from St. Augustine, in the spring of 1718. The intermediary posts and routes for communication between those places, through the northern part of the Peninsula, were likewise re-established; and the Spaniards were thus enabled to acquire an influence over the Indians in that quarter, which long rendered abortive, all the attempts of the English to gain possession of the Apalachicola countries.



Equally abortive, as will be shown, were the attempts of the French, to establish themselves on the western coasts of the Mexican Gulf; on which, no settlement or post of any kind, was ever formed by that nation, beyond the outlets of the Mississippi after the failure of La Salle's attempt in 1687.

The Spanish governor of Texas, Don Martin de Alarcon, had, meanwhile, been actively engaged in the establishment of military posts and settlements in his province. Having collected a large number of soldiers, settlers and mechanics, agreeably to his instructions, he crossed the Rio Bravo early in 1718, and directed his march north-eastward to the Medina river, the southern boundary of Texas; beyond which, in the valley of San Antonio, discovered by Teran in 1691, he commenced the fort of San Antonio de Bejar, and the mission of San Antonio de Valero. When these works were sufficiently advanced, he continued his march with the remainder of his men to the Ceniz country, where he strengthened the missionary force, and erected churches, to protect which he placed a small garrison near each of them; and then passing the river of the Adayes, called by him Rio de San Francisco de las Sabinas, from the number of juniper trees in its vicinity, he began the construction of a fortress within a few leagues of Natchitoches, to which he gave the name—not very concise—of Presidio de San Miguel Arcangel de Linares de Adayes, in honor at once, of the Archangel and the Viceroy.

Information of these movements of the Spaniards were conveyed to Mobile, where they created some alarm; and measures were immediately taken by Bienville to counteract them, as well as to obtain farther knowledge of the Red river countries. The conduct of an expedition for these objects, was assigned to Bernard de la Harpe, an officer of the royal army, who arrived from France in the summer of 1718, with a number of settlers, and a patent for lands in any occupied part of Louisiana. He had resolved to form his establishment on the Red river; and he was, moreover, commissioned by Bienville, to found and command a military post in that quarter, with special authority to check all attempts of the Spaniards, to encroach upon the territories claimed by the sovereign of France. La Harpe being an active and sagacious person, immediately transferred his people from the coast to the Mississippi, and thence up the Red river, to Natchitoches;

and after a short stay at that post, he continued his journey much farther in the same direction, to the country of the Nassoni Indians, where he, in May, 1719, begun a settlement, in latitude, according to his observation, of 33 degrees 55 minutes.\*

On his way to this place, La Harpe had made inquiries respecting the Spanish establishments in the vicinity of the Red river; and learning that little community of feeling existed between the Governor of Texas and the missionaries, he despatched a letter privately, to Father Antonio Margil, the superior of the Franciscan missions among the Cenis, with the object of interesting him and his brethren, in the furtherance of the trade in that quarter, by the offer of two or three per cent. to them, on all goods which might be introduced from Louisiana into the Spanish provinces. He also at the same time addressed a letter to Alarcon, enclosing another from the Governor of Louisiana, in which he declared his desire to promote amicable feelings between the French and the Spaniards; and answers to both these communications were received by him, at his new establishment. The friar appeared well disposed to comply with the wishes of La Harpe, to whom he, however, recommended the utmost secrecy in their correspondence, on account of the inimical feelings of the Governor of Texas towards the missionaries; but Alarcon utterly denied the right of the French to the place thus occupied by them in the Nassoni country, and rudely summoned them to quit the territories of the Spanish province of Texas. La Harpe replied in the same tone, asserting that the country, called by Alarcon the Province of Texas, had been first possessed by the French, under La Salle in 1684, since which time, the possession had been frequently renewed; and that the rivers falling into the Mississippi, as well as the territories which they include, naturally belong to the King of France: ending by an assurance, that whenever the Spaniards should visit the French fort, they would find that it

\* The latitude here given by La Harpe is, probably, about a degree too high; the place at which he made his settlement, seems to have been the Long Prairie, in the south-west portion of the State of Arkansas, about seven hundred miles by the Red river from its mouth. A French population was certainly maintained there until 1780, when the people removed down the river to Campti, thirty miles above Natchitoches. La Harpe makes an error of the same extent, as to the latitude of Natchitoches.



could be maintained against them.\* There the correspondence ended; and Alarcon, who had become odious to the missionaries, was soon after recalled from the Government of Texas.

\* The following is a translation of these letters from La Harpe's Journal:—

From La Harpe to Alarcon, written in the beginning of May, 1719.

"SIR—I have, with great pleasure, taken charge of the letter, which I have the honor to send you, from M. de Bienville, the Commandant General of the Province of Louisiana. On his confiding to me this post of the Nassonis, he enjoined me to render every service, which might be in my power, to the Spanish nation; I can assure you sir, that I will execute his orders with pleasure, having nothing more at heart, than to prove to you, on every occasion, that no one has the honor to be, more completely than myself, sir,

Your obedient servant, LA HARPE."

From Alarcon to La Harpe, dated Trinity river, May 20, 1719.

"SIR—I am sensible of your kindness, and of that of M. de Bienville, by which I am honored. The orders which I have received from the king my master, are, that I should maintain a good understanding with the French of Louisiana, and my own desires lead me no less to render them every service in my power. I cannot, however, refrain from telling you, that your arrival among the Nassonis surprises me extremely. Your Governor must be ignorant, that the post which you occupy is within my Government; and that all the territory west of the Nassonis belongs to the Government of New Mexico. I therefore advise you to communicate this to M. de Bienville, or you will oblige me to force you to abandon the country, on which the French have no right to settle.

I have the honor to be, &c. ALARCON."

To this La Harpe replied from his post on Red river, on the 8th of June:

"SIR:—The orders which you have received from His Catholic Majesty, to maintain a good understanding with the French of Louisiana, and the inclination which you profess towards them, do not accord with your conduct. Permit me to tell you, that M. de Bienville is perfectly informed as to the limits of his Government; and is assured, that the post of the Nassonis is not within the dependencies of His Catholic Majesty. He moreover knows, that the province which you call Las Tekas, and of which you style yourself the Governor, forms a part of Louisiana. M. de La Salle took possession of it in 1684; and since that period, it has been renewed at various times. With regard to the territories west of the Nassonis, I cannot understand by what right you pretend, that they form part of New Mexico. Upon that subject, I have to represent to you, that Don Antoine du Miroir, who in 1683 discovered the provinces of the north, never penetrated into the countries east of New Mexico, and of the Rio Bravo; the French were the first to make alliances with the savage Indians there. It is moreover most natural to regard the rivers which flow into the Mississippi, as belonging to the King my master, as also in consequence, the lands included among them. If you will do me the favor to come into this quarter, I will show you that I occupy a post which I can defend. Yours, &c., LA HARPE."

The Don Antoine du Miroir mentioned by La Harpe, as the discoverer of the northern provinces in 1683, is no other than Don Antonio de Espejo, who penetrated those regions in 1583 (see page 159;) the Frenchman having translated the name of the Spaniard literally into his own language, and retarded the date of the expedition by a century.

La Harpe finding that he had nothing to fear from the Spaniards, after completing his little fort, left a few men in it, and set out to explore the country farther north-west. In this direction he proceeded several hundred miles, crossing the Washita, and a branch of the Arkansas, near which he visited a large encampment of Indians, of several tribes, previously unknown to the French. He was, however, unable to obtain any information on the points on which he was most anxious; the Indians being unacquainted with mines, or routes to the Spanish provinces or to the Pacific: and after escaping several dangers from savages, and suffering from illness, he returned to Mobile in the spring of 1720, but little pleased with his prospects on the Red river.

The success of the Company of the West had, in the meantime, surpassed the most sanguine expectations of its founders; and at the end of 1718, a dividend of twelve per cent. was declared on its shares, which was promptly paid to the amount of twelve millions of livres. In September of that year, it had been endowed with the administration of the tobacco monopoly, for which it was to pay four millions of livres annually to the crown; and nearly all the other branches of the public revenue were soon after, in like manner, conceded to it. The specie of the kingdom was, meanwhile, kept in a fluctuating state, by decrees unexpectedly issued for re-coinage, or for alterations in the nominal value of the existing pieces, all of which tended to increase confidence in the notes of the bank; and when the public had thus been prepared, another great measure was carried into execution.

On the 4th of December, the Regent, by a Royal Edict, declared Law's bank to be the Bank of France, as he had purchased the whole of its stock, and converted it into the stock of the Mississippi Company, which thus became the capital of the institution; and this mark of confidence in the stability and success of the Company, led to a rise in the value of its shares, which every one became anxious to buy. People sold their real property, and moveables, and converted the proceeds into Mississippi shares; and when these had reached a certain height, the government cautiously disposed of the number reserved for itself, by which means nearly five hundred millions in state bills were withdrawn, and the public debt to that amount was extinguished. These operations were made the excuse for the issue of large quantities



of bank notes; and a general increase in the price of labor and of property took place throughout France.

In the spring of 1719, the demand for Mississippi stock had become sufficient to authorize a new issue of shares; as an excuse for which, the Senegal Company holding the monopoly of the Guinea trade, and the China and East India Companies exclusively conducting the commerce of the French with Southern Asia, were successively united with the Company of the West; and the latter, in consequence, had its title changed to the India Company. On the occasion of each of these extensions of its means, additional shares in the Company were created; and they were sold with rapidity and as acts of favor to individuals, who could immediately afterwards dispose of them with profit for many times the original cost: until at length, in November, 1719, the amount of stock issued was equal, at its first price, to three hundred millions of livres, but was worth at the selling price, three thousand six hundred millions, or about six hundred millions of dollars. The state bills, or old national debt had all been redeemed, and the government was rich. Such was, thus far, the result of Law's scheme.

At that period, however, the French dominion in Louisiana was exposed to the utmost peril, by the sudden rupture of the peace between France and Spain. The appointment of the Duke of Orleans, as Regent of the former kingdom, was regarded with strong feelings of jealousy and resentment, by Philip V. of Spain, who had never ceased to entertain the hope of succeeding to the French crown, in the event of the death of his nephew Louis XV., notwithstanding his formal renunciation of that birth-right by the treaty of Utrecht. The Regent was well informed of the existence of these feelings, which he returned by hatred and contempt; and a game of plots and counterplots was commenced by these two unprincipled men against each other, and was for some time carried on in both kingdoms, as well as in all the surrounding countries. The pride of the King of Spain and of the whole nation had, moreover, been deeply wounded by the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht, which secured Gibraltar to Great Britain, and alienated from Spain its ancient and valuable possessions in Italy and Sicily; and the establishments of the French in Louisiana were, probably, additional causes of irritation. The

Catholic monarch, a man utterly without head or heart, was then ruled by his imperious queen, Elizabeth of Parma, and his wildly ambitious minister Cardinal Alberoni; and he was thus led, immediately after the death of Louis XIV., to attempt the recovery of the lost dominions by arms, for which purpose, large forces, military and naval, were prepared as secretly as possible, and under various pretences. But the shrewd Regent was acquainted with every movement, and penetrated every motive, of his rival; and he made use of his information, to awaken the jealousies of the sovereigns of England and Germany, and to secure their alliance in maintaining the existing state of things: so that when a Spanish fleet, bearing a large army, appeared on the coast of Sicily in the summer of 1718, it was met and completely destroyed by a British force under Admiral Byng.

This disaster served only to render the pretensions of Philip V. and his councillors more extravagant; and their next measure was the famous conspiracy, concocted by the Spanish ambassador Cellamar, in the capital of France, for seizing and confining the Duke of Orleans, and placing the King of Spain in his stead as Regent, the failure of which covered all concerned in it, with ridicule and disgrace. A treaty of alliance had, meanwhile, been concluded between France, England and Germany, to which the King of Spain was required to adhere; and upon his refusal, war was declared against him, by those powers, in January, 1719.

In this war the Spaniards were uniformly unsuccessful in Europe. At home, their northern provinces were overrun by the French, while the British fleets ravaged their coasts; and destroyed their naval arsenals. In Italy and Sicily, their armies were defeated by the Imperialists; and on the ocean, the ships and forces sent from Cadiz, in aid of the pretender to the crown of England, were all sunk or taken.

In America fortune was scarcely less unfavorable to the Spanish arms. The news of the war was brought to Mobile on the 19th of April, 1719, by M. de Serigny, the brother of Bienville, who had been sent out, to survey the coasts about the mouth of the Mississippi; and it was determined, that an attack should be made on Pensacola, as soon as possible. For this purpose, six hundred French, and an equal number of Indians were collected, of whom a portion were embarked in three vessels under Serigny, while



the others were to march over land. These preparations consumed much time; fortunately, however, for the French, the Spaniards remained in ignorance of the rupture of the peace; and no apprehensions were excited at Pensacola, by the appearance of Serigny's vessels off the entrance of the bay, until he had landed a party of his men on Siguenza Point, the western extremity of Santa Rosa island, and captured the small post established there. The town of Pensacola then consisted of a few huts on the margin of the bay, near the spot at present occupied by the navy yard, due north of Siguenza Point; the castle of San Carlos stood about one mile farther west, and nearer to the Gulf, where the abandoned fort of the Barrancas is now situated. Ere any attempt could be made to place the castle in a defensible condition, the French ships entered the bay, and took their positions in front of it; while Bienville at the same time, displayed his forces on the unoccupied heights in the rear. The vessels then begun a fire on the castle, which, however, seems to have produced no damage: upon its cessation, the Spanish Governor Matamoros, sent a flag of truce to Serigny, to inquire the cause of these hostile proceedings; and being thus, for the first time, made acquainted with the existence of the war, as he had no adequate means of defence, he proposed to surrender, on condition that he and all his officers and men should be sent to Havanna. The terms were accepted, and on the 14th of May, the French took possession of the castle, of which Chateaugué was placed in command; and in the middle of the following month, the prisoners, in number one hundred and sixty, were embarked in two French vessels bound for Europe, which were to leave them on the way, at Havanna, agreeably to the capitulation.

Meanwhile, the news of the war had reached Havanna, where the Captain General Don Gregorio Guazo being anxious to strike a blow at the English, assembled a number of vessels and troops, for the purpose of destroying the settlements of that nation in the Bahama Islands, and also, if possible, on the coast of Carolina. This armament left the port, in the beginning of July, under the command of Don Alfonso Carascosa, and soon after fell in with the two French vessels, which were on their way to Havanna with the prisoners taken at Pensacola. The Spanish commander, on learning the facts, seized both the vessels, and

returned with them to Havanna, where it was resolved, that the forces should be immediately directed to the recapture of Pensacola. The French were in consequence retained as prisoners in Cuba, and their vessels were added to the squadron, which departed on its new enterprise in a few days; while information of what had occurred, was transmitted to the Viceroy of Mexico, with an earnest request for reinforcements, in order to secure the execution of the important objects in view.

On the 5th of August, the Spanish squadron, having obtained information at St. Joseph's Bay, as to the state of the fort and garrison of Pensacola, arrived at the entrance of that harbor, where a hundred men were immediately landed on Siguenza Point, and several vessels were towed into the bay. The appearance of this force, was entirely unexpected by the French, who had taken no pains to secure their conquest. The garrison was small, and composed principally of vagabonds recently brought from Europe, the greater part of whom soon refused to obey; and the only vessels in the harbor were two small schooners, one of which was boarded and taken by the Spaniards, the other being deserted and burnt by her crew. In the course of the following night, the castle was completely invested by the assailants, and Chateaugué having no hopes of relief from Mobile, found himself obliged to surrender on the first summons. A number of his men immediately entered the service of the conquerors, while he with the remainder of the troops and the officers were sent as prisoners to Havanna.

In order to follow up this success, Carascosa, detached a portion of his squadron, with a number of soldiers, among whom were many of the French deserters, under Don Antonio Mendieta, against the French establishments on Mobile bay. They arrived on the 13th, before Dauphine island, and Mendieta immediately sent a summons to the Commandant Serigny, to surrender under pain of death, if he should resist, not only to himself and his whole garrison, but also to his brother Chateaugué and the remainder of the prisoners in Havanna. To this insolent and barbarous message, Serigny returned a haughty and contemptuous answer; and he prepared to defend the island as well as he could, with his force of two hundred Frenchmen and some Indians, to which he could expect no addition from Mobile.



The Spaniards, however, did not disturb him for several days, during which they held complete possession of the bay, the only French vessel of any size being at that time stranded near the shore of Dauphine island; nor did they effect any other damage than the capture of a few boats, and the plunder of a plantation near the west side of the bay, on which latter occasion, they lost a number of men, for the most part French deserters. At length, on the 19th, having received large additions to his forces, Mendieta endeavored to destroy the stranded vessel, and to carry one of the forts on the island: but he was in each case repulsed; and Serigny being in the meantime strengthened by the arrival of some Canadians and Indians from the interior, the Spaniards abandoned their enterprise on the 26th, and returned to Pensacola.

On the 1st of September, Serigny and his garrison at Dauphine island, were again alarmed by the appearance of several large ships under sail towards the bay: but to their surprise and joy, they soon descried the flags and private signals of their country on the masts, and before night, four French frigates of the largest class, with a store-ship, were anchored in the adjoining roads. One of the frigates with the store-ship had been sent from France by the company, and agreeably to orders carried by them from the government, they were joined at St. Domingo by the other ships under the command of the Marquis de Champmeslin.

The French having been thus restored to their superiority, it was immediately agreed between Champmeslin and Bienville, that no time should be lost before retaking Pensacola. The ships under the Marquis accordingly sailed for that place on the 14th; Bienville, as on the former occasion, marching thither from the Bay of Mobile with his soldiers, and a large body of Indians under St. Denis. The Spaniards had made considerable additions to their fortifications at Pensacola, especially by the erection of a battery on Siguenza point which if properly served, might have proved very efficient, in preventing the entry of the French ships into the bay; and they had several armed vessels lying in order near the castle. Champmeslin, however, soon silenced the battery, and entered the bay, on the morning of the 17th of September, whilst Bienville established himself, with his artillery, on the sand-hills overlooking the castle; and the fire was begun on both sides. After some time, the Spanish vessels were abandoned by their

crews, who fled to the land, and the Commandant Carascosa, considering his force inadequate to a longer defence, surrendered at discretion. He was treated with courtesy by Champmeslin; but Matamoros was severely rebuked and kept in confinement for his treachery, and his tyrannical conduct towards the officers and men of the vessels, which carried him to Havanna. Forty-seven of the French deserters were found among the prisoners, of whom twelve were immediately hanged, the others being condemned to forced labor for life. Of the Spaniards, three hundred were, without delay, sent to Cuba, and there exchanged for Chateaugué and his companions; the others were carried by Champmeslin to France, on his return in the following month.

On the Red river meanwhile, M. Blondel the Commandant of the fort at Natchitoches, so soon as he received news of the declaration of war, collected all his forces, and with the aid of the surrounding Indians, he expelled the Spaniards from their forts and missions north of the Trinity in June, 1719. Upon his death, which occurred in the autumn of the following year, 1720, M. Renaud was appointed to the command of the post, and St. Denis was at the same time despatched thither, with instructions to organize an expedition of French and Indians against the northern provinces of Mexico. The results of this expedition will be related hereafter.

So certain had the Spaniards in Cuba and Mexico been of the success of Carascosa's expedition, that several vessels from Havanna and Vera Cruz entered the harbor of Pensacola without suspicion, and were there seized by the French. One of these vessels brought information that a large Spanish squadron was about to be despatched from Havanna, for the capture of all the French settlements on the Gulf; and Bienville was thus kept on the alert until the arrival of several ships of war under M. de Saujon in February, 1720, relieved him from all apprehensions. Other ships of war came in succession to Louisiana, in the course of the summer, among which were the Toulouse and the Henri, commanded by M. de Vallette Laudun, bringing a large amount of supplies and ammunition from Toulon. In one of these vessels moreover, came the Jesuit Father Laval, commissioned to ascertain the geographical positions of the principal points on the coast, for which purpose he set up an observatory on Dauphine



Island; but his instruments were so defective, and he was so much occupied by his duties, as a priest, to the sick, that his results when published, were soon proved to be all extravagantly erroneous.\*

In the same year, 1720, a small body of Spaniards composed chiefly of cavalry, with several priests, arrived near the junction of the Kansas river with the Mississippi, where they were attacked by the Otoctata or Otto and the Pani Indians, and were almost all destroyed.† Such at least was the account given to M. de Boisbriant, the French Commandant of the Illinois, by some Indians,

\* The Journal and observations of Father Laval were published at Paris in 1728, in a quarto volume, entitled "*Voyage de la Louisiane*." He had however already in 1723, published the results, according to which, New Orleans was placed 103 degrees west of Paris—nearly eleven degrees beyond the longitude assigned to the same place, by Delisle in his map of America, in the preceding year. This brought forth a memoir by Delisle, in defence of his view, read before the Academy of Sciences of Paris, and published in its Collection in 1726, which diminished the confidence in the observations of the Jesuit. The question however remained open between the two philosophers until 1729, when it was decided in favor of Delisle, by observations of a total eclipse of the moon on the 8th of August, made simultaneously at Paris by Cassini, and at New Orleans by Baron, an astronomer sent thither for those objects; agreeably to which, New Orleans was 92 degrees 16 minutes west of Paris, equivalent to 89 degrees 56 minutes west of Greenwich—only 19 minutes east of its true position.

† Of this expedition of the Spaniards, La Harpe says in his Journal:

"1721, April 24—A letter was received from M. de Boisbriant, Commandant of the Illinois, who stated—that the Spaniards, in number three hundred, had set out from Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico, near the 36th degree of north latitude, with the design of occupying the territory of this colony, whilst their fleet should take possession of the coasts; that of these three hundred men, only seventy had persevered in the enterprise; and passing through various savage nations, under the guidance of some Padoucas, instead of taking a direction east one-quarter north-east, they had been led too far towards the north, so that they came on the banks of the Kansas, near the Missouri, where they were met by the Otoctata and Panimaha nations, and had been all killed, with the exception of a single priest, who escaped on horseback. M. de Boisbriant added that some French traders had obtained from those savages some pieces of silver, which had been melted, and appeared to have been reduced from ores discovered by the Spaniards on their way."

Charlevoix on his way through the Illinois in 1721, saw the robes of another Spanish priest, who had been killed; and he purchased from an Indian, a pistol which had belonged to him. He endeavored also to obtain the holy ointment, in the possession of the same Indian, who however would not part with it, as he believed it to be an effectual remedy against all diseases. The fact of the expedition, is confirmed by Du Pratz, Dumont, and all the other historians and travellers of that period, so that there seems to be no reason to doubt it.

who confirmed it, by the exhibition of articles of clothing, arms, books and sacred utensils, all evidently Spanish, and said to have been taken from the bodies of the slain. Of the truth of this account, there can be no reasonable grounds for doubt; the expedition appears to have been made from New Mexico, and its object was probably the expulsion of the French from the Illinois, at the same time when their settlements on the coast of the Gulf should have been destroyed by the squadron from Havanna.

No farther acts of hostility took place between the two nations in America. The war caused very little if any interruption of intercourse between France and Louisiana, and emigrants from Europe continued to arrive in the latter country, in great numbers, as well as negroes from the African coast. The emigrants were, as before, taken from the dregs of the population of Paris, and the sea-ports of France; of those embarked, a large proportion died on the passage, and the others were generally attacked with fevers on their arrival, or languished from want of food, for which the colony was still, in a great measure, dependent on the mother country. Nearly all of those emigrants—or engagés as they were termed—had been sent out by the holders of concessions, and those who survived, were transported to their respective places of destination on the Mississippi, by way of Lake Pontchartrain. Bienville endeavored to prevail on the commanders of some of the vessels, to ascend the Mississippi, which had been surveyed, though imperfectly with that view, and discharge their passengers and cargoes at the site of the new capital; but he was unable to effect this, in consequence of the violent opposition to his plans on the part of the other principal members of the Council, who were determined, from jealousy or self-interest, to prevent the establishment of the seat of control and commerce of the colony at the place selected by him, and to ruin him, if possible, in the opinion of the Regent and the directors of the company. Some of the vessels brought only women as passengers, sent for the most part from the hospitals, under the charge of nuns or sisters of charity, and all against their inclinations, except one who was honored in consequence, with the appellation of *l'ademoiselle de bonne Volonté*." They however obtained husbands immediately on landing, among the new colonists, who rushed to the houses appointed for the residence of the girls, in



such crowds, that it became necessary to place guards around them, and in some cases even to dispose of the desired objects by lottery, in order to prevent combats between the eager suitors.\*

Several of the vessels sent to Louisiana at this period, were lost in the Mexican Gulf, from want of knowledge of its shores and currents, of which no accurate ideas were to be obtained from the charts then in use. One of the company's ships, the *Marechal*

\*It would be improper to omit to notice the following curious story, which is in some degree connected with the colony of Louisiana during this period.

It must be premised, that the Czarowitz Alexis, eldest son of Peter the Great of Russia—(the same who is usually supposed, to have been put to death by his father in 1718)—married in 1711, the Princess Charlotte Christina Sophia, daughter to the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel; and that she, according to historical records, died from the brutal treatment of her husband in November, 1715.

Duclos however, in his curious memoirs of the reign of Louis XV. relates, that many years afterwards, the celebrated Marshal Saxe met a lady in the garden of the Thuilleries at Paris, whom he recognized as the princess supposed to have thus died in 1715; and who on being questioned by him, admitted herself to be that person. According to her statement, she had been, while pregnant, cruelly beaten by the Czarowitz; and having been then delivered of a dead child, she prevailed on the Countess of Konigsmarek, the mother of Marshal Saxe, who was her confidential attendant, to spread the report of her decease, and to aid her in quitting a country, where she could no longer remain in safety. The plan adopted for this purpose succeeded completely; a figure was buried in her place, and she reached Paris, from which she embarked for Louisiana in company with an old servant passing for her father. There she was recognized by a young officer named D'Aubant, who had seen her in Russia, and a mutual attachment having arisen between them, they were, after the death of the Czarowitz, united in marriage. Since that period she had remained in Louisiana in perfect happiness, until the ill health of her husband recently obliged them to return to France; and he had obtained a situation in the Isle of Bourbon, for which they were about to take their departure.

Marshal Saxe, it seems, was convinced of the truth of this narrative; and the lady having entreated him not to reveal it, he employed his influence to procure advantages for her and her husband in the Isle of Bourbon, where they remained until the death of D'Aubant in 1747. The lady being then aged and childless, returned to France and established herself at Vitry, where she was residing, under the name of Madame de Moldack, and had been seen by Duclos in 1768, only three years before the date of his account.

This strange story excited much attention in Europe at the time of its publication, and it is said to have drawn from the Russian Government a formal denial of the truth of the principal statement. Nothing has been found in confirmation or in disproof of it, in any document relating to Louisiana; though it is certain, that a M. and Madame D'Aubant did reside for some time at the Isle of Bourbon. The heroine is now generally supposed to have been an ingenious impostor, who made use of some resemblance to the deceased princess, to extract money or advancement for her husband, from Marshal Saxe.

d'Estrées, while on her way to Mobile in the summer of 1719, with a hundred and fifty galley slaves, ran aground on the west coast of the Gulf near the 29th degree of latitude—probably on Galveston island—and was, with great difficulty prevented from falling to pieces. She was in the end got off, and reached St. Domingo in safety; but five officers who were on board, having been induced, from the accounts or signs of some Indians, to believe that there was a settlement of their countrymen at a short distance in the interior, quitted the vessel with a small stock of provisions, and set off under the guidance of the savages, in search of the place. Of these persons, nothing was heard until 1721, when one of them, M. de Belle-isle, was brought to Natchitoches, in a most wretched condition, by a party of Cenis, who had rescued him from captivity among the natives near the mouth of the Trinity; the others had all perished, from disease or hunger in the neighborhood of the coast.\*

On the arrival in Europe of the news of this accident to the Marechal d'Estrées, orders were immediately sent to the Governor of Louisiana, to found a fort and trading factory on the west coast of the Gulf; and Bienville, as a semblance of compliance, despatched Lieutenant Beranger, in August, 1720, with a small schooner and a few men, in search of a proper position for such establishments. This officer, however, contented himself with a cursory examination of an inlet situated, according to his observations, in latitude of 27 degrees 45 minutes, and communicating with a bay, which he did not enter, but which he supposed to be that of St. Louis or San Bernardo. On the shore of this inlet, which was most probably the same now called Copano or Corpus Christi, near the mouth of the river Nueces, Beranger left a sergeant and three men—for what object it is not easy to imagine—and then returned to Biloxi, to report the results of his expedition to the Governor. No farther measures were, however, taken at that time in fulfilment of the orders of the directory, nor was any thing learned of the men left on the west coast of the Gulf,

\* M. de Belle-isle lived to an advanced age in Louisiana, and his adventures on this occasion, may be found related in every account of that country, written during the middle of the last century. These accounts contain nothing of importance; and indeed they differ from each other in all points, becoming more marvellous as the narrator advanced in life.



who were supposed, according to La Harpe, "to have been eaten by savages."

The war in Europe had been meanwhile arrested by a truce between the King of Spain, and the Allies in January, 1720; which being followed by the disgrace and expulsion of Cardinal Alberoni, the originator of all the difficulties, Philip V. acceded to the conditions of the alliance. The Regent of France then exerted himself to restore the good understanding between his court and that of Spain, which he succeeded in effecting, as the improved health of the young Louis XV. daily diminished the probability of any contest for the throne of France; and negotiations were begun at Madrid, for a general peace by concessions on all sides. The parties, nevertheless, maintained their hostile attitudes; and Pensacola continued in the possession of the French for more than two years longer.

Although Great Britain and France were united in this war against Spain, their relations thus apparently amicable, rested on an insecure basis; and were daily endangered by the mutual jealousy and distrust of the parties, especially with regard to movements in America. The treaty of Utrecht had, as already shewn, left several grave questions relating to that part of the world, to be settled by Commissaries; including those of the extent and limits of the territory of the Six Nations, and of Acadie or Nova Scotia, which had been assigned to Great Britain, as also of the line of separation between the Hudson's Bay countries belonging to the same nation, and the French possessions farther south. These stipulations were made in 1713, and were to have been executed according to their terms, within a year; but in consequence of the desire or necessity on the part of both nations, to remain at peace, after the deaths of Queen Anne and Louis XIV., no measures were taken for the purpose until 1719. At that time much uneasiness was excited in England and English America, by the proceedings of the Mississippi Company in Louisiana, and by the persistence of the French, in holding large portions of Nova Scotia and of the country south of Lake Ontario, in which they were making fortifications and other establishments contrary to the treaty: and the French were no less alarmed, by the active advances of the people of New England, in the occupation of the countries east of the Kennebeck. In these last named countries,

both parties were indeed exerting themselves to the utmost; and when, in the beginning of 1719, it became probable that the English would prevail, the Court of France signified to the other party its desire, to have the questions of right which had been reserved by the treaty of Utrecht, settled in the manner provided by that agreement.\*

The Board of Trade and Plantations of Great Britain, to which this proposition was submitted, was divided in opinion as to the course to be pursued: some of its members considering, that the opportunity should be seized, to establish clearly and definitively, the whole line of separation between the dominions of the two nations in America; while others regarded it as more politic, to leave those questions in their actual state of uncertainty, but at the same time to advance the frontier posts and colonies as far and as rapidly as possible. The charters and all other evidences of possession were studied; and persons supposed to be well acquainted with those subjects were examined, including Dr. Coxe the claimant of Carolana, who was strenuous in his opinion, that

\* The words of this article of the Treaty of Utrecht are as follows:

“X.—That the said most Christian King shall restore to the kingdom and Queen of Great Britain, to be possessed in full right for ever, the Bay and Straits of Hudson, together with all lands, seas, sea coasts, rivers and places situate in the said Bay and Straits, and which belong thereunto, no tracts of land or sea being excepted which are at present possessed by the subjects of France. All which, as well as any buildings there made, in the condition they now are, and likewise all fortresses there erected, either before or since the French seized the same, shall within six months from the ratification of the present Treaty, or sooner if possible, be well and truly delivered to the British subjects, having commission from the Queen of Great Britain, to demand and receive the same, entire and undemolished, together with all the cannon and cannon ball which are therein, as also with a quantity of powder, if it be there found, in proportion to the cannon ball, and with the other provision of war usually belonging to cannon. It is however provided, that it may be entirely free for the Company of Quebec, and all other the subjects of the most Christian King whatsoever, to go by land or by sea, whithersoever they please out of the lands of the said bay, together with all their goods, merchandises, arms and effects of what nature or condition soever, except such things as are above reserved in this article. But it is agreed on both sides, to determine within a year, by commissaries to be forthwith named by each party, the limits which are to be fixed between the said Bay of Hudson and the places appertaining to the French; which limits both the British and French subjects shall be wholly forbid to pass over, or thereby to go to each other by sea or by land. The same commissaries shall also have orders to describe and settle in like manner, the boundaries between the other British and French colonies in those parts.”



the Government should insist on the Mississippi as the western boundary of the British possessions. The Board however, became convinced, that nothing conclusive could be drawn from any of these authorities, except with regard to Acadie and the Hudson's Bay territories, on which the charter of James I. to Alexander, and of Charles II. to the Hudson's Bay Company, were considered as incontestable proofs of right. The appointment of Commissaries was recommended; but they were to be instructed to confine themselves to the limits of the two countries last mentioned, and to insist on the acknowledgment of the title of Great Britain to those divisions of America, in their fullest extent, as well as to the exclusive fishery on the banks and coasts of Newfoundland: though in order to prevent their silence on other points from being interpreted as an admission of the French pretensions, they were to complain of encroachments in the regions of the Lakes and the Mississippi, whilst declaring that they could not enter into the discussion of those boundaries, until reports had been received from the Governors of the provinces interested.\*

The proposition of the French Government having been accepted, Commissaries were appointed by each party: those of Great Britain were Colonel Martin Bladen and Mr. Daniel Pulteney, both members of Parliament and of the Board of Trade and Plantations, under the instructions of which they were to act; the French Commissaries were the Maréchal d'Estrees and the Abbé Dubois, (soon after made Cardinal,) both members of the Regent's Council. They met at Paris in the winter of 1719-20; but difficulties presented themselves at the outset, in consequence of the demand made by the French Government, for the withdrawal of the people of New England, who had established themselves in Nova Scotia, until the negotiations should have been concluded: the Court of Great Britain replied by a similar demand, for the evacuation of the same country by the French; and neither being willing to yield, all attempts at a settlement of boundaries in that quarter, were abandoned. With regard to the Hudson's Bay

\* This account of the deliberations of the Board of Trade and Plantations, is derived from manuscript copies of the minutes of that body on the subject, made by George Chalmers, the author of the "Political Annals of the American Colonies," and now in the possession of Peter Force, Esq. of Washington.

territories, it is most probable, if not absolutely certain, that the discussions of the Commissaries were equally ineffectual; although several lines, differing entirely in course, were afterwards represented on English maps, each purporting to be the boundary determined on this occasion.

These differences between England and France were not sufficient to counterbalance the desire on the parts of both Governments, to re-establish peace and maintain it on a firm foundation; and it was agreed, that a general Congress of representatives of the great powers of Europe should be convened as soon as possible, for the arrangement of all their disputes, with which object, exertions were made to obtain from each nation its engagement to submit to what might be thus determined. Such assurances were given by all the powers except Spain, in the course of the year 1720, and Cambray in French Flanders, was appointed as the place of meeting of the Congress. The Courts of France and Spain were in perfect accord on all points previously disputed between them; but the differences between the latter nation and Great Britain were not to be so easily reconciled: the destruction of the Spanish fleet by Byng in 1718, had severely mortified the pride of the people, and Philip V. persisted in requiring the restoration of Gibraltar and Minorca to his dominion. With regard to Gibraltar, the British Government was at first determined to yield nothing; but George I. notwithstanding the opposition which had been openly made by his Parliament, to the surrender of that fortress on any terms, at length offered to exchange it for Florida, or the Spanish portion of Hispaniola.\* To this,

\* With regard to this exchange of Gibraltar for Florida or the Spanish portion of Hispaniola, proposed by the British court to that of Spain, some curious particulars will be found in a despatch, written by Mr. Stanhope, the British Envoy at Madrid, to his Government, on the 18th of January, 1721, which will be found at length in Coxe's *Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings of Spain*, chapter 31. The Envoy, in detailing the obstacles to such an arrangement, mentions particularly the objections made to it by Don Andres de Pes, the President of the Council of the Indies, with whom he was on terms of intimacy; and who though well disposed to favor the English in commerce, and to maintain a good understanding between the two powers, was immovable in his resistance on this point. "During all the time that I have known him," says Mr. Stanhope, "he has seemed to have nothing more zealously at heart, than to drive the French from their settlements on the Mississippi; upon this general principle, that the suffering of any foreigners to establish themselves in any part of the Spanish West Indies, would sooner or later occasion the loss of the whole to Spain. He is not only convinced



however, Philip V. positively refused to consent; being influenced chiefly by Don Andres de Pes the President of the Council of the Indies, and probably also by the Court of France, though the Abbé Dubois, the Regent's minister of Foreign Affairs, was in the pay of Great Britain: and the re-establishment of peace was delayed for sometime after the two governments had agreed on the other principal matters in dispute.

The good understanding between Spain and France was confirmed by a treaty signed at Madrid on the 27th of March, 1721, by which the two powers bound themselves in perpetual and strict alliance, consigning to eternal oblivion all offences and injuries committed by either against the other during the late war, and guaranteeing mutually all their dominions wheresoever situated, as recognized by existing treaties, or by those which might be concluded in a congress of the European States to be held without delay at Cambray. The King of Spain was at the same time induced by the representations of the Regent of France, to admit as sufficient grounds for his assent to a similar arrangement with England, a promise on the part of the latter, for the restoration of Gibraltar at some future period; and after some difficulties, as to the language to be employed in such an assurance,\* a letter written by George I. himself, on the 1st of June, expressing, in terms most equivocal, his readiness to satisfy the demand of Spain

that it is impossible ever to persuade the Spaniards to approve of such a proposal, but would endeavor to prove to me, that we do not know what we ask, in demanding either of those places. He assures me of his own knowledge, that they would be a charge and no ways profitable, being barren, and scarce productive enough to subsist the inhabitants; and that we should soon be as tired of them, as we were of Tangier, and for the same reasons, as entailing a continual war upon the nation, with the Indians and Spaniards settled there. *That therefore we could propose no other advantages by them, but the hopes of penetrating by their means towards the mines, or of carrying on a clandestine trade; either of which is a reason strong enough to hinder the Spaniards from ever coming into such a project.*"

The proposition, it may be added, was itself entirely at variance with the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, by which Spain was bound not to alienate any part of her American possessions; and if accepted, it must have produced difficulties, if not war, between Great Britain and France.

\* This curious letter appears in the original French, in the Journal of the House of Commons, for March 21, 1728. The particulars of the negotiation are given, with certain retentions, by Lord Mahon, in the part of his History of England relative to the affairs of 1721; yet strangely enough, he does not allude in his work to the treaties of Madrid, although, a Stanhope was the representative of England on the occasion of their signature.

respecting the restitution of Gibraltar, so soon as the consent of his Parliament could be obtained, was accepted by Philip V., who thereupon signed a treaty with England, resembling that concluded by him with France. A third treaty was also signed on the same day, the 13th of June, 1721, between the three nations, binding them all to the maintenance of the stipulations contained in the others, and constituting a triple alliance, and a guarantee of all their possessions in every part of the world, as then admitted by treaties, or as might be settled at Cambray. In order to strengthen the alliance between Spain and France, the young king of the latter country, then eleven years old, was betrothed to the eldest daughter of Philip V. aged four years; and the heir of the Spanish throne was in like manner affianced to the daughter of the Regent Duke. Neither of the marriages thus arranged was effected; yet the union between the two crowns, though occasionally threatened with dissolution, continued unbroken for more than seventy years.

Whilst these discussions were in progress, the French exerted themselves to strengthen their positions in the disputed countries, by increasing their fortified posts, and their missionary stations among the Indians. In Nova Scotia, great influence was exercised over the dominant savage nation of the Abenakis, by the Jesuit Father Rasle, who was the especial object of the animosity of the New England people; in the Iroquois regions, M. Joncaire a Frenchman, who had long resided among the Senekas, reconstructed and occupied the old fort at the entrance of the Niagara river into Lake Ontario; in the country of the Wabash and Miami, other posts were established, by the Commandant of Fort Ouayatenons (afterwards called Vincennes,) in order to ensure the communications between Canada and the Mississippi; while the Governor of Louisiana was unwearied in his efforts, to cause the destruction of all the English traders, who should venture within the limits claimed for his province. The Governors of the English possessions, though highly exasperated against the French, and unscrupulous as to the means to be employed for arresting them, were much less active; leaving to the people of the respective colonies, the task of repelling encroachments, and of pushing forward their settlements, at their own risk and cost.



The Mississippi scheme had ere that period passed through all its phases. It was at the full in the latter part of 1719, when the shares of the India Company were sold at ten, twelve, and eighteen times their original cost; and the notes of the Bank of France, though constantly increasing in number, nevertheless commanded a considerable advance in specie upon their nominal value. The enthusiasm of the public had been then raised to madness by the various expedients employed to enhance the value of the stock of the company, such as accounts of the discovery of mines of precious metals or stones in the Mississippi regions, or of new articles of necessity or luxury procured from them,\* or of new routes to the Pacific, or new channels of trade with the Spanish provinces. The Rue de Quincampoix in Paris, where Law's house and offices were first situated, was crowded day and night, by applicants of both sexes, and of all ages, classes and conditions, for the certificates of stock in the India Company, which would entitle them to a share of its profits, or which might be sold, soon after, at a large advance. On the abandonment of that narrow street for the spacious Place Vendôme, the throng increased in proportion to the means of accommodation; and when the large Hotel de Soissons became the scene of business, its gardens were for some time filled with tents, hired at enormous prices to the eager expectants. Princes and nobles struggled and intrigued for the favor of a short interview with the great dispenser of wealth; and those whose resources were previously unequal to their support, in the most

\* Among the various means employed at this time to derive revenue from Louisiana, was the attempt to introduce the leaves of the Cassina, or *Prinus Glaber* of Linnæus, into Europe, as a substitute for tea. These leaves, the produce of a small tree, bearing red berries, called Apalachine by the French, and Yappon by the English, were much used in decoction by the Indians on the whole coast of America, south of the Chesapeake, as a tonic and febrifuge; and they are universally employed in the same way, at the present time, in the lower parts of North Carolina. The leaves are gathered in the summer and dried, or rather parched over the fire, after which they are boiled, and the decoction, bitter and somewhat aromatic, is taken hot in the same quantity and manner as tea. A particular description of the plant and its use, with a colored engraving of it, may be found in "Catesby's Natural History of Carolina," vol. 2, page 57. It is also described by Charlevoix, in the account of the plants of Louisiana, attached to his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*. "It began," says the learned and *spirituel* Jesuit, in his letters, "to acquire great reputation at Paris, at the time of my departure (1721:) but that was a bad time for reputations and fortunes of all kinds; they passed away as rapidly as they were created."

moderate way of life, having converted their property into India stock, considered themselves as persons of fortune, and launched forth into extravagant expenses. In vain did men of eminence in financial affairs endeavor to enlighten the multitude, on the unsubstantial nature of the project in which they were engaged; vain were the pasquinades and caricatures,\* showered forth daily, by those who had themselves nothing to venture in the speculation; vain was the protest of the Parliament of Paris, that this inordinate issue of paper money could only lead the nation to bankruptcy. The Regent had means in abundance for his own expenses, and he could not, or would not, see that the swindling system by which they were obtained, must soon be unmasked. Nearly all the notes of the bank had indeed gone into circulation, through the royal treasury, which made its payments, amounting to hundreds of millions of livres annually, in that way only; the India Company being chiefly used as a means of drawing in those notes, in order to prevent a glut of them in the country.

In January, 1720, Law, after he had embraced the Roman Catholic faith, was made Comptroller General of the Finances; and the bank was placed under the direction of the India Company, whose privileges in Louisiana were rendered perpetual. Confidence had however begun to decline: the bank when required to pay large amounts in specie, was unable to do so; alarm was created among the holders of notes, and notwithstanding the innumerable edicts to which the fecundity of Law's invention daily gave birth, in order to keep up the price of the shares of the India Company, they fell rapidly. By these edicts, payments in specie, or the possession of specie, beyond a certain small amount, by any individual, were punishable by confiscation and fine; and the same penalties were afterwards extended to the possession of gold and silver, in any form. Such measures could produce no other effect than to increase the general mistrust, which was changed into consternation, by the edict of May 21,

\* The greater part of these pasquinades and caricatures, were published in Holland, and thence circulated throughout Europe. A volume of them was issued in 1720, at Amsterdam, entitled "*Der groote tafereel der dwarsheid*"—The Great Picture of Perversity—the engravings in which, executed in a style of broad and not very delicate humor, may have afforded some hints to Hogarth, whose works strongly resemble them. The pictures of the scenes in the Rue Quincampoix during the period of the excitement, are particularly curious.



1720, declaring that the value of the bank notes and India shares, should be reduced gradually until the end of the year, when they would be received at only one-half of their nominal amount. The clamors of the people and the remonstrances of the Parliament of Paris, caused the immediate revocation of this act; but the downfall of the paper system was not arrested. In order to calm the popular agitation, specie was restored to currency, and Law resigned the Comptrollership of the Finances; yet he still retained his influence over the Regent, who believing that the storm would pass away, continued to employ the expedients suggested by him, until it became indispensable to suppress the circulation of paper money entirely. This was done by edicts in October, 1720, and Law was soon after obliged to quit France in disguise, in order to escape the vengeance of those whom he had ruined.\*

The faith of the French Government was however pledged for the redemption of the notes of the bank, at least for those which could be shown to have been given for a due consideration. A commission was accordingly instituted in January, 1721, to which the holders of all notes were required to present them within two months; the India Company being at the same time placed under the direction of four other commissioners, who were to conduct its affairs, until a definitive resolution could be taken with regard to them.† On examination it appeared, that the amount of the bank notes thrown into circulation was two thousand seven hundred millions, of which, more than one-third had

\*Law retreated to the Netherlands, carrying with him only one large diamond, thence to Denmark, and thence to England, where he remained in poverty and obscurity four years. He then returned to the Continent, and died in Venice in 1729, having during this last period of his life, supported himself entirely by gambling. Long was he remembered in France as M. Lass; the sufferers by his scheme, usually accompanying the mention of his name by—"Helas!" His brother William, who was a partner in the bank, remained in France and took the name of Lauriston from his estate in Scotland; he was the great-grandfather of the late French Marshal Lauriston.

† The Commissioners for the Bank, were four brothers named Paris, of whom the eldest had been an inn-keeper's assistant; those for the regulation of the affairs of the India Company, were Messrs. Dodun, Ferrand, Machault and Fagon.

The financial talents of the brothers Paris, and especially of the eldest, Paris Duverney, appear to have been indeed very great, but their honesty has been doubted; indeed, the whole commission was most probably intended, like certain military courts of inquiry and other committees of investigation, in our own times, rather to screen those in power and their favorites or partisans from obloquy, than to forward the dispensation of justice to the aggrieved.

been issued without legal authority, or in defiance of express laws, no doubt for the profligate expenditures of the Regent, or for the gratification of his favorites, though the blame was made to rest wholly on Law. Of those presented to the commissioners, a large proportion were condemned and destroyed as having been unfairly obtained; the Regent and the India Company gave up others, which were in like manner cancelled, and when the investigation had been completed, the state was found to be charged with more than sixteen hundred millions of livres, on account of the bank, for the acquittal of which, certificates of credit, were delivered to the holders, bearing an interest of two and a half per cent., secured on various branches of the public revenue; the shares of the Bank with which the India Company was to continue charged, amounted in number to fifty-five thousand four hundred and eighty-one. The kingdom had been relieved from about one-fourth of its debt, which as already said, amounted to two thousand millions of livres when the scheme was commenced, although its expenses had far exceeded its income ever since that period. The India Company was confirmed in the perpetual possession of Louisiana and of all its other territories and privileges in America, Africa and Asia; and it was allowed to retain the administration of the tobacco, and of some other branches of the royal revenues, and to convert its shares into annuities, by agreement with the holders.\*

Such was the termination of the famous Mississippi scheme, by which vast amounts of property in France were made to change their possessors, and the whole population were converted into gamblers. The confidence of Law in the stability of his system seems to be proved by the fact, that he invested all his own gains

\*“A valuation was made of all the fortunes of the citizens, an undertaking no less extraordinary than the system, and one of the greatest and most difficult operations of finance and justice, ever effected in any nation. It was begun about the end of 1721. It was devised, regulated and conducted by four brothers, who had never before taken any part in public affairs, but who by their genius and their labors, well deserved to be trusted with the fortunes of the State. They established as many bureaus, officers and judges as were necessary, and made arrangements by which order was brought forth from chaos. Five hundred and eleven thousand citizens, mostly fathers of families, brought their fortunes in paper to this tribunal. All these innumerable debts were liquidated at about sixteen hundred and thirty-one millions of livres, [more than two hundred and seventy millions of dollars,] with which the State was charged; and thus ended this prodigious game of hazard, at which a foreigner had induced a whole nation to play.”—*Voltaire's "Siecle de Louis XV.," chapter 2.*



by it in real estate in France, which was, as he must have foreseen, confiscated on his disgrace; and the Regent died under the firm conviction, that nothing but the imprudence of the Parliament of Paris and of some of his ministers, prevented the entire success of the plan. From France, the madness of speculation passed to the adjacent countries. England was convulsed in a similar manner, by the South Sea Scheme, which promised to pay the national debt, and to enrich the whole people, by the profits of the trade with Spanish America agreeably to the Asiento treaty concluded between the two nations in 1713, and to others proposed, but never completed. The sober Hollanders were carried away in like manner, to the ruin of many of their richest citizens; and even in Spain, Alberoni was at the moment of his fall, meditating the establishment of a Philippine Company, which was to make Manilla the depository of the East India and China trade.

With regard to the effects of the Mississippi Scheme on France, opinions have been, and are to the present day divided; it being considered by some, that the general financial revolution gave an impetus to enterprise and industry throughout the kingdom, and that it was less injurious than would have been the bankruptcy of the state, which must otherwise have occurred, about the time of the explosion of the bubble;\* while others contend, that even those advantages, if certain, were insufficient to counterbalance the evils resulting from the individual ruin, and the general demoralization of the people. To America, the consequences of Law's project were important, as it assured the continuance of the French colony in Louisiana, which country would otherwise have been infallibly abandoned, upon the failure of Crozat's project in 1717, and would most probably have been then occupied by the English, notwithstanding any efforts of the Spaniards to prevent it.

\* Smollett, in his *History of England*, wrote thus in 1758:—"In the scheme of Law there was something substantial: an exclusive trade to Louisiana promised some advantage, though the design was defeated by the frantic eagerness of the people. Law himself became the dupe of the Regent, who transferred the burden of fifteen hundred millions of the king's debts to the shoulders of the subjects; while the projector was sacrificed, as the scape-goat of political iniquity. The South Sea schema provided no commercial advantages of any consequence. It was buoyed up by nothing but the folly and rapaciousness of individuals, &c."

Burke expresses similar opinions, in his *View of the European colonies in America*; at the present day, no distinction is made between the two projects, either as to their honesty, or their feasibility, or their results.

## PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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### A.

#### DISCOVERY OF THE BAYS OF PENSACOLA AND MOBILE BY THE SPANIARDS.

##### 1.

*Report of a voyage made in 1558, along the northern coast of the Mexican Gulf, by Guido de las Bazaes, agreeably to the orders of Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of Mexico, in search of a port for the establishment of a Spanish colony in Florida.\**

SAN JUAN DE ULUA, February 1st, 1559.

About four or five months since, the Viceroy in the name of his Majesty, ordered Guido de las Bazaes, to go with seamen and other persons, and examine the coasts of Florida and the ports thereon, for the security of those who were to be sent to colonize that country and Cape Santa Helena. To this effect, he received a commission and instructions, agreeably to which, he sailed from the fort of San Juan de Ulua in New Spain, on the 3rd of September of the last year 1558, in order to explore the said coasts, and seek a safe harbor, for disembarcation. He had a large barque, and two smaller vessels manned by sixty soldiers and seamen. On the 5th of September he reached the Panuco river, and leaving it on the 14th, he again made the land on that coast in latitude of  $27\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. Sailing along the coast, he discovered a bay in  $28\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of latitude, to which he gave the name of San Francisco, and he took possession of it, in the name of the King.

Quitting that place, he steered towards the Alacranes, in order to make the coast of Florida, where it stretches from north-west to

\* The two letters here presented respecting the discovery of the Bays of Mobile and Pensacola, are translated from the French versions, in the "Recueil de Voyages en Amérique," of Ternaux Compans. They contain the earliest notice on record of the Bay of Mobile; Pensacola Bay was already known to the Spaniards as the Bay of Achusi.



south-east, but being prevented by head winds, he made the land in  $29\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, on the coast, running east south-east, where he found an island about four leagues from the mainland; and he sailed between this and other islands, and the continent. After exploring this whole coast, he found that it was bordered by shoals and that the country was entirely unfit for colonization, being submerged in many places; he however took possession of it, in the name of his Majesty and of the Viceroy, and called the place the Bay of Shoals. Thence he continued, ten leagues towards the east, and found a bay, which he named Philippine Bay, the largest and most convenient place in that quarter, and well adapted for his Majesty's purposes. The entrance is in  $29\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of latitude; it is entered by passing the point of an island, seven leagues long, steering east south east; on the other side of the bay, is a point of the mainland, the distance between the two capes being about half a league.

In all the discoveries made east or west, no other port was found; so good and commodious as this Philippine Bay. Its most remarkable characteristics are these. From the entrance, to the point reached in it, the distance is twelve leagues, and it may be three or four leagues more in depth; in all about fifteen leagues by four in width. The bottom is good, being muddy at the depth of about five fathoms,\* at low tide; the depth at the entrance is three and a half fathoms, and nearly one fathom more, at high tide. The bay is very healthy; the climate resembling that of Spain, as to its temperature and the quantity of rain; the ground is higher on the east, than on the west. The bay and contiguous waters abound in fish and shell-fish. The pine trees are in great quantities, well suited for ship building, especially for masts and spars; there are also live oaks, white oaks, nut trees, cypresses, laurels, and a small tree bearing a fruit like the chestnut.† All these trees, are found on the edge of the water, and thence extend into the interior, and are good for ship building; besides which, are many palmettos and vines. Some small rivulets of fresh water, fall into the bay; and at its extremity, is a wide opening which seems to be the mouth of a great river. Whilst they lay in this bay, they obtained water from the side towards the north. The woods are rather clear than

\*The Spanish braza or fathom, is equal to a fraction more than five and a half English feet. The main channel at the entrance of the Bay of Mobile, is not now, more than fifteen feet in depth; but great changes in the depth of the water and the configuration of those coasts, are frequently produced by storms. The entrance of Mobile Bay is in latitude of 30 degrees 13 minutes, that is about forty-three miles north of the position assigned to it by Bazares.

†No doubt the *Eastaneus Pumila*, or Chinquepin.

thick, so that horsemen might fight in them; and under the trees grows grass for horses and cattle. Beyond the bay on the east, are high hills of reddish clay, of which bricks could be made, and near them, is stone for building. On the west, the clay is red and yellow, suitable for pottery and other purposes. There are also a number of birds of different kinds, such as eagles, ducks, geese, partridges, pigeons and a great deal of game. Large canoes were seen used by the Indians in fishing; and places were found, enclosed for fishing in. The huts of the natives contained Indian corn, beans and squashes.

The commandant of the expedition took possession of this bay, in the name of his Majesty, and called it the Philippine Bay. It is distant about two hundred and seventy leagues from the port of San Juan de Ulua. After leaving it, he endeavored twice to explore the coast which stretches farther eastward; he traced it more than twenty leagues, in which he found it running first to the east, and then to the south-eastward; and being prevented by head winds, from going farther, he twice returned to the Philippine Bay. He also took possession of this coast, in the name of the Viceroy, and called it the Gulf of Velasco.

The weather being rough and dangerous for vessels, and the pilots and seamen considering that it was no longer safe to navigate along that distant coast, the commander thought it best to return to New Spain, and give accounts of his discoveries, so that the fleet which was to make the expedition to Florida and Santa Helena, might depart as soon as possible on its voyage. He therefore quitted the coast of Florida, on the 3d of December, and entered the port of San Juan de Ulua, on the 14th, where he made the present report, on oath, as containing all that he had to say; and after it had been read over to him, he approved it, and signed it with his name."

GUIDO DE LAS BAZARES.

2.

EXPEDITION OF ARELLANO TO FLORIDA.

*Despatch from the Viceroy of Mexico, to King Philip II. of Spain, respecting the expedition of Don Tristan de Luna y Arellano, for the settlement of Florida.*

MEXICO, September 24th, 1559.

SIRE — In a former letter, I stated to your Majesty, that the fleet which had been ordered for the colonization of the coasts and the interior of Florida, had sailed; and that I was momentarily expect-



ing the arrival of vessels, bringing me news of the results of the voyage, and where the vessels had anchored.

On the 9th of this month, a galleon sent by the governor Don Tristan de Arellano, arrived in fourteen days from the port of Ychusi, \* where the landing was effected, and which received the name of the Philippine Bay of Santa Maria, in consequence of its having been entered on the day of our Lady of August.† The port and the country are such as your Majesty may see, by the subjoined narrative extracted from that sent to me by the governor, and brought by two pilots in the galleon. As at the moment of their arrival, two ships were about to sail for Spain, I have thought proper to send you this report, reserving to myself to despatch one, more circumstantial, in order to inform your Majesty, particularly, of the result of this expedition. I think that the governor will also send it to you by the vessels which he has brought from Spain, and which are about to depart. Juan Rodriguez, the chief pilot, who observed the latitudes of the coasts and the ports, will go in one of them; the pilots who came here say, that the port is in a little more than 30 degrees. The Spaniards and the Indians entered it without danger. The governor writes to me, that he has met no resistance, that he saw only a few Indians on the shore, that he had learned that at the distance of ten or twelve leagues in the interior from the port, were very fertile and well peopled countries. He requests me to send him horses, and provisions enough for his support, until he has formed his colony at the port, and fortified it, as he did not wish to seize them from the Indians; adding, that in order to prevent alarm among them, he would not penetrate into the interior. Of two hundred and forty horses carried away by him, he has thrown one hundred into the sea; the remaining one hundred and forty have been landed in good order, and capable of such services, as may be required, to place him out of reach of danger, and to insure the tranquillity of the country, for twelve or fifteen leagues around. In February or March, I shall send him one hundred and fifty horses, and in November of this year, some vessels of middle size, will carry him provisions.

The fleet intended for the colonization of Florida and Cape Santa Helena, sailed from the port of San Juan de Ulua, on the 11th of June. The vessels had favorable weather for seventeen days, at the end of which, they were within twenty leagues of the river of Espiritu-Santo [the Mississippi] in about  $27\frac{1}{4}$  degrees of latitude. From

\* Written Ychusi, Achusi, and Ochuse, in the old Spanish accounts.

† The 15th of August, the day of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin, according to the Roman Catholic calendar.

that place, they sailed six leagues to the south-east, south south-west, and south, until they reached the latitude of the Alacranes, in 27 degrees, south-west of the river.\* Thence they made another stretch to the north-east to examine the coasts of Florida; and eight days afterwards, on the eve of the Visitation of Saint Elizabeth, [July 1st] they descried the coast of Florida, at the distance of eight leagues west from the Bay of Miruelo,† in latitude of  $25\frac{1}{2}$  degrees.

The fleet then anchored and took in fresh water, wood and grass; the bad weather was very annoying, and on the 17th of July, they sailed for the port of Ychusi. A ship going ahead examined the coast; the pilot who was aboard of her, not recognizing the port of Ychusi, passed it, and anchored in the Philippine Bay, discovered by Guido de las Bazaes. The governor sent Don Tristan de Arellano,‡ in search of the port of Ychusi, which he knew to be the best and safest, on the whole coast. A ship sailing along the coast, towards the east, from which the fleet came, found the port of Ychusi, which is twenty leagues from the Philippine Bay, and about thirty-five leagues from the Bay of Miruelo; so that it lies nearly midway between the two bays, in latitude of 30 degrees 20 minutes. The ship having brought news of this, it was agreed to carry the fleet thither, but as it was considered better for the horses, that they should go by land, they were disembarked in the Philippine Bay; and some companies of infantry, went by land to Ychusi, with about one hundred and forty horses, all that remained of two hundred and forty, the others having died at sea.

Guido had been to this Philippine Bay; the fleet ran some danger in entering it, in consequence of the little depth of water, on the bar, which renders the entrance of large vessels difficult, and of the strong current at the place, as well as from bad weather. The army quitted the Philippine Bay for the port of Ychusi, on the day of our Lady of August (15th) for which reason it was called Santa Maria Felipina. It is one of the best ports as yet discovered in the Indies; the depth at the shallowest place, is not less than eleven cubits and within, it is from seven to eight fathoms. The Spaniards are there still. The bar is half a league wide; the entrance may be easily recognized by a red ravine [barranca] on the eastern side. Vessels may anchor in four or five fathoms, at the

\* The only place in the Mexican Gulf, now known by this name, is a shoal with some islets rising above it, near the west coast of Yucatan, about the 22d degree of latitude. The Alacranes mentioned by Bazaes, as in the 27th degree of latitude south-west of the Mississippi, cannot now be identified.

† Probably the same now called St. Andrew's Bay.

‡ Probably a son of the governor. The same person commanded the vessel which brought the news to Mexico.



distance of a bow shot from the shore, and the harbor is so safe that no wind could occasion the least injury to them. Some cabins were observed, apparently belonging to Indian fishermen; the soil appears to be very fertile, producing many walnut trees, vines and other fruits; the woods are thick and in them is much game and birds; the fish are excellent and of all kinds, and a field of Indian corn was seen.

On the 25th of the month of August, the governor sent Don Tristan de Arellano in a galleon, which had accompanied him, to bear the news of what had occurred. This vessel entered the port of San Juan de Ulua on the 9th of September; and the provisions required by the governor, in addition to those carried with him in the fleet, will be immediately sent to him by this vessel. Other vessels are expected here soon, on their way to Spain; they will however remain here until the country has been explored, and a place has been chosen for the first colony and fortress, and other particulars have been learned about the country, so that every thing may be known. As soon as these vessels arrive, I shall send a report to your Majesty, according to the accounts received from the governor, the priests and the royal officers. I shall take care to protect them in the name of your Majesty, and to furnish them with all that they may need; so that they may not vex the natives, and may be thus supported until they shall have formed their colony and gathered in their harvest. They will then penetrate into the interior, which is very fertile, and put into execution the project of propagating our holy religion, so as to please the Lord our God and your Majesty.

May God our Lord preserve your Majesty's sacred Catholic Royal person, and grant to you dominions still more extensive than those already possessed.

LUIS DE VELASCO.

[The Viceroy, or his secretary who wrote this despatch, seems to have but partially understood the report of the occurrences of the expedition. In the beginning, he says that the forces under Arellano, had landed at the port of Achusi, which had received the name of Bay of Santa Maria Filipina in consequence of its having been entered on the day of our Lady of August; and in the latter part, he applies the same name, for the same reason, to the other bay, discovered by Bazares, to which alone, the name of Filipina, or the Philippine, was in reality given.]

## B.

## DESTRUCTION OF THE FRENCH COLONY IN FLORIDA. — CAPTURE OF FORT CAROLINE.

*Extract from Laudouiniere's narrative describing the capture of Fort Caroline, by the Spaniards, and his own escape.\**

[After relating the arrival of the Spaniards in the river of May, their retirement to the river of Dolphins where they established themselves at St. Augustine, and the departure of Jean Ribault carrying all the large vessels and the effective men, Laudouiniere proceeds to show what took place at Fort Caroline, of which he was left in command, on the 8th of September, 1565.]

We then began to prepare for defence, and to restore what had been thrown down, especially on the side towards the river, where I planted sixty trunks of trees in the ground, in order to replace the palisade, and covered them with planks taken from the vessel which I was building. We were however unable to do much work, on account of the storms, which were so hard and incessant, as to prevent us from finishing our enclosure. Finding ourselves in this extremity, I made a review of our men, as they were left by Captain Jean Ribault, in order to see who among them, were fit to bear arms; but there were only nine or ten, and of these not more than two or three, I believe had ever drawn a sword from its sheath, in their lives. Let those who have said, that I had many men with me and should have been able to defend myself, listen, and if they have understanding, see what sort of men these were. Of nine of them, four were youths who served Captain Ribault, and took care of his dogs, and another was his cook. Among those outside of the fort, and who belonged to Captain Ribault's company, there was a carpenter at least sixty years old, a brewer, an old cross-bow-man, two shoemakers, and four or five men with wives, one player on the spinet, the two servants of M. de Lys, the servants of M. de Beauhaire and M. de la Grange, and about eighty-five or six camp followers, men, women and children. Such were my forces — numerous, courageous and effective for defence, as they showed themselves to be. Very different would it have been, if Captain Ribault had not borrowed from me nearly all my men. Of my own men, who were left to me, there were about sixteen or seventeen, who could bear arms, and they were all poor and ema-

\* Translated from the "Histoire Notable de la Floride," written by Laudouiniere and arranged and published after his death by Basanier at Paris in 1585.



ciated; the others were sick, or suffering from wounds received in the fight, which my lieutenant had with Outina.

Having made this review, we arranged our guards, dividing them into two parties, so that the soldiers could have every other night free: and we then examined, to ascertain who might be most efficient, and of these we selected M. de St. Cler and M. de la Vigne, to whom we delivered candles and lanterns, to make the rounds; on account of the badness of the weather, I gave them also an hour-glass, in order that the sentinels might take equal turns of duty. We however did not omit, either from bad weather or from my sickness, to visit the different guard posts. On the night of the 19th of September, La Vigne was on guard with his division, and performed all that duty, though it was raining incessantly; when day broke, and he saw the rain fall still heavier, he took pity on the sentinels who were exposed to it, and not dreaming that the Spaniards would come in such weather, he withdrew them, and went himself to his lodgings. However, some one who had business outside of the fort, and my trumpeter who had gone on the rampart, perceived a body of Spaniards coming down a little hill, and immediately gave the alarm; which as soon as I heard, I went out armed with sword and buckler, to the middle of the yard, where I began to call the soldiers around me. Some of the boldest of them went toward the breach on the south side, or to the place where the artillery ammunition was kept, and were there overcome and slain. Through the same breach, two standards were introduced and planted, and two others on the opposite side, where was another breach; and all those who lodged in that quarter, were in like manner defeated and slain. Whilst I was on my way to assist the persons defending the breach on the south-west, I met a large body of Spaniards, who had forced our men to retreat and came in with them; they drove me to the square, where on my arrival, I saw among them, the Frenchman François Jean, one of the seamen who had stolen away my barques, and had conducted the Spaniards to the place; and as soon as he saw me, he cried to them—"there is the captain." This body was led on by a captain, who I suppose, was Don Pedro Menendez. They pushed at me with their pikes, which I received on my buckler; but seeing that I could make no resistance to such numbers, and that the place was already taken, and the flags planted on the ramparts, while I had only one man, named Barthelemy, with me, I went to the court of my lodgings, where I was pursued and should have been caught, but for a flag which was stretched across it: for whilst the Spaniards were amusing themselves with cutting the cords of the flag, I made my escape through the breach on the west, near the lieu-

tenant's house, and ran to the woods. There I found many of my men who had escaped, and among them were three or four badly wounded; and I said to them—"My boys, since it is God's will that this evil should come upon us, we must endeavor to make our way through the marshes, to the vessels at the mouth of the river." Some of them however would go to a village in the woods; the others followed me through the reeds in the water, until being disabled by my sickness from going any farther, I sent the men who were with me and could swim well, to the vessels, to give information of what had happened, and to summon them to come to my assistance. They were unable in all that day, to reach the vessels; and I was obliged to remain, the whole night, in the water up to my shoulders, with one of my men who would not abandon me.

On the following day, being scarcely able to breathe, I began with my companion, a soldier named Jean de Chemin, to say my prayers, as I found myself so weak, that I expected to die every moment; and in fact had he not held me up, I could not possibly have been saved. After we had said our prayers, I heard a voice, and I judged it to come from one of the men sent to the vessels, which had arrived opposite to them, calling for a boat; for the people in those vessels—having learned what had occurred from Jean de Hais, a master carpenter who came to them in a boat—had sailed along the shore, to see whether they could save any one, as it was certainly their duty to do; and they came just to the place, where the two men sent by me were standing and calling to them. As soon as these men were taken up, and the others learned where I was, they came and found me in a piteous condition. Five or six of them took me in their arms, and carried me to the boat, for I could not possibly have walked a step: on entering it, some of the seamen stripped off their clothes to cover me, and wished to carry me immediately to their vessels and give me some brandy; but I would not consent to this, until I had first gone along the shore through the reeds in the boat, in search of other unfortunate persons, of whom we thus found eight or ten, and among them the last, was the nephew of the treasurer Le Beau.

After we had all reached the vessels, I consoled them as well as I could, and sent back the boat, in search of others. On its return, the seamen told me that Captain Jacques Ribault [son of the governor] who was in his vessel about two musket-shots distant, had parleyed with the Spaniards; and that François Jean [the traitor] had gone on board of his vessel, and remained there some time; at which they were much astonished, as this man had been the cause of the whole misfortune. After I had got aboard of the vessel called *Le Levrier*, Captain Jacques Ribault and Captain



Valvot came to see me, and we concluded that we should return to France; and finding the vessel without captain, pilot, mate or second mate, I advised that persons should be chosen from among the seamen, to fill these offices, and that they should be chosen by the votes of the seamen. I also took sixteen of the crew of a small vessel, which having no ballast, could not have been saved and was accordingly sunk; and having thus increased my own force, I appointed the second mate of the small vessel to be my mate. Having no pilot, I begged Captain Jacques Ribault to give me one of four of his men whom I named to act in that capacity; and he promised to do so, but he never did, notwithstanding all my remonstrances when we were about to sail, and that it was for the service of the king. I was obliged to abandon the vessel, which I had bought from the English captain, from want of rigging which had all been taken away by Captain Jean Ribault; and I could only save the guns which were iron, giving nine of them to Jacques Ribault, and keeping five in my own vessel.

## B.—No. 2.

### MASSACRE OF THE FRENCH AT MATANZAS INLET.

*Narrative of the Massacre of the French Protestants under Jean Ribault, after their shipwreck on the coast of Florida, written by Doctor Solis de las Meras, the brother-in-law of the Adelantado Pedro Menendez, who witnessed the occurrences.*

[Barcia in his Chronological History of Florida, presents this narrative as "copied from the original manuscript, without alteration or omission." It contains the only direct evidence of the horrible circumstances to which it relates; and this is presented with a detail, and an absence from all compunction on the part of the writer, which are together calculated to inspire the utmost faith in his statements.]

The Adelantado employed himself in fortifying St. Augustine as well as possible, in order to resist the French, in case they should come to that place; and whilst he was thus engaged, some Indians informed him, by signs, that at the distance of four leagues off, were many christians, who were unable to cross an arm of the sea, though it was very narrow, as it ran up into the land, and they were obliged to cross it in order to reach St. Augustine. The Adelantado thereupon took forty soldiers, and setting off in the evening of the same day, he after midnight, reached that arm of the sea where he rested until morning: then leaving his soldiers concealed, he as-

cended a tree from which he saw a large number of persons, on the other side, with flags flying; and in order to prevent them from crossing the inlet, he went near enough to be able to count them, so that they might suppose him to be accompanied by a strong force. As soon as those persons saw him, one of them swam across the inlet; he was a Frenchman and he said, that they were all French, who had escaped after the wreck of their vessels in a storm. The Adelantado then asked him, what Frenchmen they were? to which he answered, that they were two hundred in number, officers and men, under Jean Ribault, the Viceroy and Captain General of that country for the King of France. He was then asked, whether they were Catholics? and he said, that they were all of the reformed religion; which the Adelantado knew, as they had told him so, when they first saw his vessels, and the same had been declared by the women and children, whose lives were spared, when the fort was taken. He had moreover found in the fort six boxes, filled with books respecting the doctrines of the new sect, all bound and gilt, which he caused to be burnt; and he also learned that they said no mass, and that the Lutheran opinions were preached to them every evening. The Adelantado upon this asked the man, what he wanted? and he said, that their captain had sent him to see who the people were on this side of the inlet. On being asked, if he wished to return, he said yes, but he wished to know who were the persons around him. This he said distinctly [in Spanish probably] for he was a Gascon from St. Jean de Luz. The Adelantado then told him to say to his captain, that he was himself the Viceroy and Captain General of all that country, for King Philip; that he was named Pedro Menendez, and was there with soldiers, to see who the persons were beyond the inlet, having heard of them the day before. The Frenchman then went away, but he soon returned, and asked an assurance of safe conduct for his captain and four other gentlemen, to come over and confer; and to that end, he begged the loan of the boat, in which the Adelantado had gone thither. In answer, he was told to assure his captain, that he might come, in safety, on the word of the Adelantado; and the boat being sent over for him, he came with the others.

The Adelantado received them courteously, with about ten of his own men, ordering the others to remain at a short distance, scattered about on the sand hills, so that the French might suppose their number to be greater. One of the Frenchmen then said, that he was the captain of those men, that four galleons and other small vessels belonging to the King of France, had been lost in the storm, within the distance of twenty leagues, and they were the crew of one of them; and he asked for a boat to cross that arm of



the sea, and another four leagues beyond, namely that of St. Augustine, on the way to their fort, distant twenty leagues from that place. This was the fort which the Admiral had taken from them. He asked them, whether they were Catholics or Lutherans. They said, they were all of the new religion; whereupon the Adelantado said to them — “Gentlemen, your fort has been taken, and every one in it put to death, except the women and children under fifteen years old; and in order that you may be assured of this, the soldiers here with me, have about them, many articles which were in the fort, and here are also two of the French, whom I spared as being Catholics. Sit down and refresh yourselves, and I will send the two Frenchmen to you, as well as the things taken in the fort, in order that you may be satisfied.” The Adelantado then gave them food, and sent the two Frenchmen to them, with many articles from the fort, after which he retired to dine among his own people. At the end of an hour, he went back to the French, and asked them, whether they were convinced of the truth of what he had told them? To which they answered affirmatively, and entreated him to favor them with vessels and seamen to carry them to France. The Adelantado replied that he would do so willingly, if they were Catholics, or he had vessels for them; but that he had no vessels to spare, as he had sent one to the San Mateo to take the French women and children; and carry them to Santo Domingo, and bring back provisions, and the other was required to carry accounts to his Majesty, of all that had occurred there. The French captain then asked, that they should all have assurance of their lives, and be allowed to remain together, until vessels should come to take them to France, as the Kings of Spain and France were brothers and friends. The Adelantado observed, that this was true, and that he should give all favor to Catholics and friends, as he should thereby be serving both sovereigns: but as they were of the new sect, he held them as enemies, and would war upon them to blood and fire; and would treat with the utmost cruelty, all such as he should find in those lands and seas, of which he was Viceroy and Captain General for his King, and would plant the Holy Gospel in that land, so that the Indians might be enlightened, and brought to the knowledge of the Holy Catholic faith of Jesus Christ our Lord, as prescribed by the Church of Rome; and whether they should choose to surrender their flags and arms, and submit to his mercy, for him to do as he pleased with them, or to act in any other way, they should make no truce or convention with him. The French Captain, finding, after all that he could say, that the Adelantado would not change this determination, went back in the boat to his people, saying that he would inform them of what had

passed, and agree on what was to be done, and would bring back the answer within two hours; to which the Adelantado said, that they might act as they pleased, and he would wait for them.

At the end of the two hours, the same French Captain returned, with the same persons as before, and told the Adelantado, that there were among his people many noblemen, who would give him fifty thousand ducats, if he would spare the lives of them all. The Adelantado answered, that though he was only a poor soldier, he could not be guilty of such an act of meanness which might bring on him the charge of corruption, and that if he should be liberal and merciful, it would be without any considerations of self-interest. The French Captain however still insisted; upon which the Adelantado declared, that if heaven and earth should come together, he would not alter his resolution. The French Captain thereupon returned to his people, telling the Adelantado that he would immediately obtain their answer; and in half an hour, he came back, bringing in the boat the flags, with about seventy arquebuses, twenty pistols, a number of swords, bucklers, and some helmets and breast plates, which he delivered to the Adelantado, declaring that the Frenchmen all surrendered themselves to his mercy. The Adelantado upon this, ordered twenty of his soldiers to go in the boat, and bring over the Frenchmen ten at a time, as the river was narrow, and might be easily crossed: and he ordered Diego de Valdes the Admiral of the fleet, to receive the flags and arms, and to see to the transportation of the French, and that they should not be ill-treated by the soldiers; after which he retired to the distance of two bow-shots, from the shore, behind some sand hills, where those coming over in the boat, could not see him. He then said to the French Captain and the eight other men of that nation who were with him—"Gentlemen, I have but few men, and they are not as yet well tried, and as you are many in number, it would be easy for you to put us to death, in return for our killing your people, when we took your fort; and therefore we must tie your hands behind you, and you must thus march about four leagues, to my headquarters." The French Captain answered, that he might do so, and their hands were accordingly tied behind them, with match-cords; but this was not seen by the ten who were coming over in the boats, it being thus arranged, to prevent the French on the other side, from learning what was going on and thus becoming alarmed.

In this manner, two hundred and eight Frenchmen were brought over, and as they arrived the Adelantado asked them, whether any among them were Catholics, and might wish to confess? Eight of them admitted themselves to be so, and were sent to



the boat, to be carried to St. Augustine: the others declared that they were members of the New Religion, that they considered themselves good Christians, and that this was their light, and they would follow no other. The Adelantado then ordered them to be marched off, meat and drink having been given to each party, as they came over, before they were tied, which was done in each case, before the arrival of the next party; and he sent a portion of them ahead under a guard, instructing the captain in command, as soon as he should reach a line which he would find drawn on the sand about a bow-shot off, on the way to the fort, to put all his prisoners to death. The same instructions were given to the commanders of the guard, conducting the remainder: and thus they were all killed, and the Adelantado then returned by night to St. Augustine, which he reached at break of day, the sun being already set when the Frenchmen were put to death.

On the day after the return of the Adelantado to St. Augustine, the same Indians, came and brought news, that many more Christians were assembled beyond the river, at the place where the others had been. The Adelantado at once saw, that these must be Jean Ribault the General of the Lutherans, on sea and land, whom they styled Viceroy of the King of France, in that country; he therefore went immediately with a hundred and fifty soldiers, and reached the place where he had before stopped, by midnight. At daybreak, he went to the shore, with his men drawn out in line, and as the light increased, he saw at the distance of two bow-shots, beyond the river, a number of people, who were preparing a raft in order to cross to the place, where he was. As soon as the French saw the Adelantado, they flew to their arms, and displayed a royal standard, and two flags, and with drums beating and fifes playing, they offered battle to the Spaniards. The Adelantado then ordered his men to sit down, and eat their breakfasts, and to give no signs of hostility, and he walked with the Admiral and two Captains up and down on the beach, taking no notice of the display on the other side; upon which the French halted, and stopping their drums and fifes, sounded a trumpet, and hoisted a white flag in token of peace. The Adelantado replied by a trumpet, and taking a white handkerchief from his pocket, he waved it, in like manner, as a signal of peace. A Frenchman then got on the raft, and cried aloud to us to come over; to which the answer was given by order of the Adelantado, that as they had a raft, they might come over to the place where he stood, if they wanted any thing from him. The man on the raft replied, that it was difficult to cross there, as the current ran strongly; and he requested that a canoe belonging to some Indians who were present, should be sent over to them. The

Adelantado then invited him to swim over, under his assurance of safety ; and a French seaman accordingly swam over, but the Adelantado would not allow him to speak to him, and bade him to take the canoe, and go and tell his captain, that as he had called out, if he desired any thing, he should send to declare it. The seaman came back with a gentleman, who announced himself as the Sergeant Major of Jean Ribault, Viceroy and Captain General of that country for the King of France, who had sent him to say—that his squadron had been wrecked by a storm, on the sea, and that he had with him about three hundred and fifty Frenchmen, with whom he wished to go to a fort of their's, about twenty leagues off; and he requested the loan of boats to cross that river, as well as another about four leagues farther, asking at the same time, whether they were Spaniards, and who was their commander. The Adelantado answered, that they were Spaniards, and that their commander was himself with whom they were speaking, and his name was Pedro Menendez ; and that they should tell their General, that the fort twenty leagues off, had been taken by him, and the Frenchmen in it had been killed, as well as many others, who had escaped from the wrecked vessels, on account of their misconduct ; and he led them to the place where the latter had been put to death, and showed them the bodies, so that they might see, there was no use of crossing the water to go to their fort. The Sergeant Major, with great appearance of self-command, and showing no signs of affliction, answered that he would be glad if the Adelantado would send one of his gentlemen, to state the facts to his General, and to treat of a safe conduct, as his people were tired, and that the Adelantado would himself go over in his boat, and visit the General. To this the Adelantado replied — “ My friend go, and God be with you, and give the answer which you have received ; and if your General then wishes to talk with me, I give him my word, that he may come and return in safety, with four or six of his companions or counsellors, in order to determine what should be done.” With this answer, the French gentleman departed, and in half an hour he returned, and accepted the assurance offered by the Adelantado, and asked for the boat ; but this the Adelantado refused, saying that they might come over in the canoe, which was safe, as the passage was narrow ; and with this answer the gentleman went back.

Soon afterwards Jean Ribault the French commander came over, with eight other gentlemen, who were very well received by the Adelantado, and well treated by many other persons in authority ; and a barrel of preserves was given to them, and every thing else to eat and drink, which they desired. Jean Ribault then said, with



much humility, and many thanks for this kindness, that as they were sad and depressed, from the news which they had received of the deaths of their companions, they wished to eat and drink before proceeding farther; and this they accordingly did. Afterwards, Jean Ribault observed, that his friends who had been killed there, as he saw, might have been deceived, but he would not be so; whereupon the Adelantado ordered the things taken in the fort, which were there, to be produced, as they were in such quantities, that no doubt could remain. Before this the French would not believe it, as one of their men, a barber who had been among the number ordered to be killed on the previous occasion, had escaped and swimming over the passage, declared, that the Adelantado had deceived them, by falsely saying that the fort had been taken; but now they were certain of it; the Adelantado however told them, that for greater assurance, they might speak apart with the Frenchmen there present, who had been in the fort. This they did and Jean Ribault then came to the Adelantado, and admitted that it was all true, but that what had happened to the French, might happen to him; and that as their Kings were friends, he ought to act a friend's part towards them, by giving them vessels and provisions to go to France. The Adelantado replied, as he did to those to whom he had previously done justice; and though they debated the matter long, Jean Ribault could obtain nothing more from the Adelantado. Jean Ribault at length declared, that he wished to go back to his people, and communicate what he had learned, as there were among them, many noble persons; and that he would then return, and bring the answer as to what should be done.

Three hours afterwards, Jean Ribault returned in the canoe, and stated that among his people, there were various opinions; some being willing to yield to the mercy of the Adelantado, while others would not do so. The Adelantado answered, that he cared not whether all or a few or none of them came over; they might do as they pleased. Jean Ribault then said, that the half of them were willing to submit to his mercy, and would pay more than a hundred thousand ducats, as ransom; and the other half could pay more, as there were among them, persons of great wealth, and large revenues, who came to settle in that country; but the Adelantado replied, "Although it grieves me to lose so large a ransom, which would be of great use to me in effecting this conquest and settlement, yet this land is placed under my charge, in the King's name, to plant the Holy Gospel in it." Jean Ribault here found that he had ventured too far upon what he thought would avail him; supposing from the avarice which was attributed by report, to the

Adelantado, that he would have spared them all, since his so doing would have been worth more than two hundred thousand ducats : he therefore said that he would go back again to his people, as it was late, and would return on the following day, and bring their final determination. The Adelantado agreed to await his answer, and at sun set he went back to his men.

On the following day, Jean Ribault returned in the canoe, and delivered to the Adelantado, two royal standards, one of the King of France, the other of the Admiral, and the company flags, with a sword, a dagger, a cuirass handsomely gilt, a buckler, a pistol, and a seal given to him by the Admiral of France, to seal the papers, which he might issue ; and he told the Adelantado that about one hundred and fifty of the three hundred and fifty persons there, would deliver themselves up to his mercy, the others having retreated during the night. The boat was then sent over for those who would come, and for their arms ; and the Adelantado directed Captain Diego Flores the Admiral of the fleet, to have them brought over by tens, as the others had been ; and he caused Jean Ribault and those who came, immediately on their landing, to be carried over the sand hills, where their hands were tied behind them, and they told, as before, that this was done, because they could not be left loose, as they were to march four leagues that night. When they had been all tied the Adelantado asked — “ Whether they were Catholics, or Lutherans, and whether any of them wished to confess ? ” to which Jean Ribault answered, that he and all his men were of the new religion ; and he began to repeat the Psalm “ Domine, Memento Mei.” When this was done, he said that “ They came from earth, and to earth they should return, and whether now or twenty years later, would make no difference, so the Adelantado might do as he pleased with them ; ” whereupon the Adelantado ordered them all to be killed, in the same order, at the same line. as the others had been, excepting only the fifers, drummers, trumpeters, and four others, who declared themselves Catholics, making in all sixteen persons. The others were all put to death. The Adelantado then went back on that night to St. Augustine, where some charged him with cruelty ; others however said, that he had acted as a good Captain should have done, and that even if they had all been Catholics, it would have been unjust not to have killed them, as the provisions on hand, were in quantity so small, that all must have died of famine, unless the French, who were the more numerous party, should have killed the Spaniards.

Twenty days after these last were killed, some Indians came to the Adelantado, and told him by signs, that at eight days’ journey farther south, at Cape Cañaveral, near the Bahama Channel, many



other white men, like those who had been killed, were engaged in building a fort, and a vessel. The Adelantado immediately suspected who they were, and that they were engaged in fortifying themselves, and in building vessels, from the remains of those which had been wrecked, in order to send to France for succors; and he despatched ten soldiers to Fort San Mateo, to carry the news, and to order one hundred and fifty men to be sent, in addition to the thirty-five, whom he brought with him from that place to St. Augustine. These men were immediately sent by the commandant under Captains Juan Velez de Medrano, and Andres Lopez Patiño, and there reached St. Augustine on the 23d of October.

On the 26th, after mass, the Adelantado set out with three hundred men, and marching along the coast, accompanied by three boats on the sea, with arms and provisions; and they all went together, so that where the men encamped at night, there were also the boats drawn up on the clear beach. The Adelantado carried in the boats, provisions for the three hundred men for forty days, making the rations for one day serve for two; and he promised to do all in his power for their advantage; but he told them that they might undergo great risks and labors; though he hoped that God would, in his goodness and mercy, aid in every way, the success of their holy and virtuous enterprise. In this manner he took leave of the people at the fort, many of whom wept as he was much beloved, feared, and respected by all.

In this journey, the Adelantado went on foot to the admiration of all, no horse being taken with the party; and on the third day the rear guard of fifty soldiers, with many others who were wearied and could not walk, did not come up. Two soldiers, among the youngest of the party, each between twenty-five and thirty years old, who had been the first to enter the fort, on the San Mateo, when it was taken from the French, on seeing the Adelantado walking, made extraordinary efforts to keep up with him; at length however, one said to the other, "I am so tired that I must sit down;" they accordingly, without the knowledge of the Adelantado, sat down, and in a quarter of an hour one of them yielded up his soul to God. The other then endeavored to follow the Adelantado, but he straggled away in the night, and nothing more was heard of him. The men all marched along the sea-shore from midnight until sunrise, and then halting, they spread themselves over the plain in search of palm-cabbages, and other vegetables, to eat; after thus stopping for two hours, they marched until eleven o'clock, or noon, and then rested again until two, when they resumed the march, and continued it until sunset. There was no day in which they did not march forward eight leagues, to

the atonishment of all, as the way lay over sands most difficult to walk in, and they had so little food.

By these forced marches the Adelantado, on the morning of All Saints day, [November first,] reached the fort which the French were building: the soldiers, as has been said, marching along the shore, guided by Indians, and the three boats accompanying them on the water, under the command of Captain Diego de Maya. The French at the fort, as soon as they saw our men, all fled to the woods, whereupon the Adelantado sent a trumpeter to them to assure them that if they would return their lives should be spared, and they should be treated like Spaniards. About one hundred and fifty of them thereupon came to the Adelantado; but their captain, with about twenty others, sent word to him that they would rather be eaten by Indians than surrender themselves to the Spaniards. The Adelantado received these people, and treated them very well; he then set fire to the fort, which was made of logs, and levelled it, and burnt the vessel which they were building, and burned the artillery, because he could not bring it away in the boats.

"These," says Barcia, "are the very words of Doctor Solis de las Meras, in the narrative which he drew up of all the expeditions of the Adelantado, and of the conquest of Florida, written at the time, without any abbreviation or alteration whatsoever. His authority is, of itself, sufficient to overthrow the calumnies and malevolent assertions of the enemies of the Adelantado and of the Spanish nation, if the approbation of the King and the Pope should not be already sufficient."

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### C.

#### DISCOVERY OF THE CHESAPEAKE BAY BY THE SPANIARDS.

The Bay of Chesapeake is usually supposed to have been first seen and entered by the English, under Gosnold, Smith, and Newport, who founded the earliest European settlement on its waters in 1607. The only allusion to it, in any English account of anterior date, appears in the narrative, by Ralph Lane, of the proceedings of the colonists sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1585, to occupy the country then first named Virginia, bordering upon the two bays now known as Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds. Lane there relates that an exploring party of English had penetrated from their settlement on Roanoke Island,



between the two sounds, one hundred and thirty miles northward, to the country of the Chesepians, or of Chesepiock; and he had, at the same time, been told by an Indian king, that, "going three days' journey in a canoe up his river of Chawanoke, (the Chowan,) and then descending to the land, you are within four days' journey, to pass over land, northeast to a certain king's country, whose province lieth upon the sea, but his place of greatest strength is an island, situate, as he described unto me, in a bay: the water about the island very deep." The country of the Chesepiocks here mentioned, we afterwards learned from Smith's History of Virginia, page 65, to have been on Elizabeth's river, near the southernmost shore of Chesapeake Bay, as, indeed, its position and distance with reference to Roanoke island plainly indicate. The bay described by the King of Chawanoke could have been no other than the Chesapeake. Lane laments that he had not been able to explore it by way of the river, as well as by vessels sent along the coast to its entrance, particularly as he was assured that it yielded "great store of pearls," and that it received a large river called Moratuc, running from the west.

This is all that appears on record concerning the bay, in any English account earlier than 1607. An abstract of Lane's narrative is given in the sixth part of the celebrated Latin collection of De Bry, published at Frankfort in 1596, accompanied by a map on which a bay is represented, extending to some distance westward from the Atlantic, under the thirty-seventh degree of latitude, with a river called Moratuc entering its upper extremity. The accounts of Raleigh's colonies had been carefully studied by Gosnold, Smith, and the other projectors of their expedition; and it is therefore possible that they may have intended, on leaving England, to make the bay mentioned by Lane their place of disembarcation. Smith calls it their "desired port," yet he, at the same time, states that they were driven into it, through the providence of God, by an "extreme storm," after Ratcliffe, one of their captains, had proposed to abandon the enterprise and return to England, because they had "three days passed their reckoning, and found no land;" which seems rather to show that they were bound for Wokokon inlet, the entrance to Roanoke island.

The discovery of Chesapeake Bay is accordingly attributed, in all our histories as yet published, to the English, at one or other of the periods mentioned; though when and by whom that name was given is no where directly stated. Stith, in his History of Virginia, states, as the result of his inquiries on the subject, that "Chesapeake signified, in the Indian language, the *Mother of Waters*, implying that it was the parent and grand reservoir of all the great rivers within it. But this," he properly observes in continuation, "was a dark and uncertain guess, especially considering the unstableness and vast mutability of the In-

dian tongues, and that nobody at present can pretend to understand their language at this time. The best authority that I have met for this derivation is what a gentleman of credit once assured me, that in a very old Spanish map which he had seen, our bay was laid down under the name of Madre des Acguas, [Madre de Aguas,] or some expression to the like purpose." More probably the name of the Chesepiock, or Chesapeake Indians, inhabiting the country between Cape Henry and Hampton Roads, who were the first people met by the English in 1607, may have been transferred to the bay, as those of Pamunkey, Potomac, and Susquehannock were subsequently assigned to the rivers on which the nations so called respectively dwelt.

Stith, however, had been rightly informed in part, at least, with regard to the early acquaintance of the Spaniards with this bay; for in maps anterior to the expeditions of the English, a bay joining the Atlantic, in the latitude of its entrance, was laid down under the name of Bay of Santa Maria. It would indeed have been strange that this great basin should have thus long remained unknown to the people of that nation who had, as early as 1526, not only explored the whole coast, from the Mexican Gulf northward to and beyond the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, but had even attempted to form a settlement upon it near that parallel; considering, moreover, that their vessels, on their way from Mexico and the West Indies to Europe, sailed in the vicinity of the main land nearly as far as Cape Hatteras, before striking across the Atlantic, and must have been often driven much farther in the same direction. But without dwelling farther on these probabilities, incontrovertible evidence will be offered that the Chesapeake was known to the Spaniards as the Bay of Santa Maria, and that an expedition had been made by them for its occupation at least twenty years before any attempt of the English to establish themselves on the American continent.

This evidence is thus distinctly presented by Barcia in his *Ensayo Chronologico para la Historia de la Florida*, so frequently cited in these pages. After relating the particulars of the destruction of the Huguenots, and the occupation of Florida by the Spaniards under the Adelantado Menendez, he proceeds to show the efforts of that commander to explore the coasts and interior of the continent; in the course of which he states, that Menendez, while in the river of San Mateo or St. John, in the summer of 1566, "despatched a captain with thirty soldiers, and two monks of the order of St. Dominick, to the Bay of Santa Maria, which is in thirty-seven degrees of latitude, together with an Indian, brother to the Cacique of Axacan (whom the Dominican Fathers had brought from that country to Mexico, and the viceroy Don Louis de Velasco, had caused to be baptized under his own name,) an acute and very intelligent person, supposed to be a good



Christian, in order to make a settlement there, and to endeavor to convert the people to Christianity."

This province of Axacan, is described as extending northward from Santa Helena, at the mouth of the Combahee river, in South Carolina, where the Spaniards had already formed an establishment, maintained by them for more than a century afterwards; and it appears to have included the whole lower parts of South and North Carolina. It may be observed, that Axacan, as pronounced by a Spaniard, is scarcely distinguishable from Wocokon, the name of the place at the entrance of Albemarle Sound, where the English colonists sent by Raleigh landed in 1585; possibly it may have been used by the natives as a general term for *the land* or *the country*. The Bay of Santa Maria, on which Menendez thus endeavored to found a settlement, corresponds in latitude, precisely with the entrance of the Bay of Chesapeake; which is traversed by the thirty-seventh parallel, midway between its two capes.

The result of the expedition is thus related by Barcia:—"The Captain who went with the Indian Louis de Velasco, to the Bay of Santa Maria, was overcome by his crew, acting under the influence of the two monks who, accustomed to the delights of Peru and Spain, were not inclined to enter upon a life of labors, privation and dangers: and the soldiers, needing but little persuasion, to induce them to turn back, made false depositions, to the effect, that they had been prevented by storms, from reaching the Bay of Santa Maria. So they sailed direct for Seville, abusing the King and Adelantado for attempting to settle in that country, of which they spread the worst accounts, though none of them had seen it."

The Bay of Santa Maria, was thus so well known to the Spaniards in 1566, that an expedition was made from Florida for the occupation of the country adjacent to it. The attempt does not appear to have been repeated. Barcia however mentions it again as follows:

"In 1573, Pedro Menendez Marquez, Governor of Florida for his uncle the Adelantado, reduced many Indian nations to obedience, and took possession of their provinces for the king, in presence of Rodrigo de Carrion, the notary of the government of Santa Helena. Being, moreover, himself a good seaman, (he had been Admiral of the Fleet according to the History of the military orders by Francisco Cano,) he by order of the Adelantado examined the coasts, from the Cape of Martyrs [Cape Sable the southern extremity of Florida] and the peninsula of Tequesta from which the coast begins to run from south to north, at the outlet of the Bahama channel, along the land in the whole length to and beyond the Bay and Port of Santa Maria which is 3 leagues wide, and is entered towards the north-northwest. In this bay, are many rivers and harbors on both sides, in which vessels may lie at anchor; within its entrance on the south, the depth is from

9 to 13 fathoms, and on the north from 5 to 7; at 2 leagues from it in the sea, the depth is the same on the north and south, but there is more sand within. In the channel, there are from 9 to 13 fathoms; in the bay 15 and 16 fathoms; though some places are found in which no bottom is reached with the lead."

Barcia then proceeds to give an account of the Governor's voyage along the coast, from the Cape of Martyrs to the Bay of Santa Maria, as derived from his journal or notes, sent to the Council of the Indies, which was the only record of the exploration, as they had no person capable of drawing a map, and the memoir or official report had been lost. In this account, after relating the particulars observed on the way from the Cape of Martyrs to Santa Helena, Barcia continues thus:

"On this whole coast, from the Cape of Martyrs to the Bay of Santa Maria, when the tide ebbs, the current is southward; and when it rises, it runs to the north; and vessels with good cables and anchors have nothing to fear, because the sea breeze falls in the night, and blows towards land in the day, from the Port of Santa Helena, to the Bay of Santa Maria. The Governor steered east, one quarter northeast; the route being east northeast; and after sailing 112 leagues, in water from 16 to 20 fathoms deep, he passed over the edge of a shoal, stretching directly northward, six leagues from land, the point of which is in  $34\frac{1}{4}$  degrees, with a passage two fathoms deep, of little width between it and the land. Continuing towards the east, one quarter northeast, 22 leagues, he found another shoal, with a good passage on the land-side, in 35 degrees, which runs 6 leagues with the sea at the distance of 30 leagues from the Bay of Santa Maria. The coast is thereabouts very clear, so that you may sail near the land, and anchor at a short distance from it; three or four rivers there enter the sea, one of them very good, and three islets of sand, like turtle shells or shields, about 6 leagues from the Bay of Santa Maria, all three of them being within the space of a league. And he [the Governor] thus went, as I have said, beyond the Port and Bay of Santa Maria."

This is all that is said by Barcia, of the Bay of Santa Maria; nor has anything farther respecting it, been found in any work relating to the same period. Those who are accustomed to the examination of old narratives of voyages—accompanying the descriptions presented by Barcia, with what is now known of the coast from the 32d to the 38th degree of latitude—will admit the correspondence to be remarkable; and the authenticity of the descriptions, will scarcely be doubted; for if Barcia had intended to claim any rights or merits for his countrymen, which he does not, he certainly would have been more particular in his details. Thus, the shoal mentioned in the paragraph last quoted, in latitude of  $34\frac{1}{4}$  degrees, is evidently the same, which runs out from Cape Lookout in North Carolina; and the other shoal 22 leagues far-



ther northeast, and 30 leagues from the Bay of Santa Maria, may be identified with that which renders the passage around Cape Hatteras so much dreaded by our mariners. Cape Hatteras is 34 leagues from Cape Henry the southern point of the entrance to Chesapeake Bay; and midway between that point and Cape Charles on the north, the 37th parallel of latitude passes. Finally, the depth of the channel in the entrance to the Chesapeake, varies from 6 to 13 fathoms on the south side, being much shallower on the north.

It seems needless to argue further the identity of the Chesapeake Bay with the Bay of Santa Maria, which is laid down by that name in Spanish maps, of date anterior to the settlement of Virginia. At what time it was discovered, we do not learn. Gomara in the 12th chapter of his *Historia General de las Indias*, published in 1554, describes the whole coast of the New World, so far as then known; but he passes over the space between the Cabo de Arenas, near the 39th degree of latitude—probably Cape May—and a river situated one hundred leagues farther south.

## D.

### CERTIFIED STATEMENT OF THE ACT OF TAKING POSSESSION OF LOUISIANA, AT THE MOUTH OF MISSISSIPPI, BY M. DE LA SALLE, ON THE 9TH OF APRIL, 1682.\*

Jacques de la Metairie, Notary of Fort Frontenac in New France, charged and commissioned to exercise the same functions during the expedition to Louisiana, in North America, under M. de La Salle, Governor of Fort Frontenac, for the King, and commanding in the said discovery, by commission from His Majesty, given at St. Germain en Laye on the 12th of May, 1678—to all who may see these presents:

Be it known, that having been required by M. de La Salle, to deliver to him, a certified statement signed by us, and the witnesses therein named, of his having taken possession of the country of Louisiana, near the three outlets of the river Colbert into the Gulf of Mexico, on the 9th of April, 1682, in the name of the very high, very powerful, invincible and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace

\* Since the preceding pages have been put to press, the author has obtained a copy of the original of this document, from which the present translation has been carefully made. It will be found to differ only in a few small points from that of Mr. Sparks appended to his interesting life of La Salle; and it is here inserted, principally, for the sake of the few short notes on more important points, which accompany it.

of God, King of France and Navarre, the fourteenth of that name, and in the name of his heirs and the successors to his throne:—We the notary aforesaid, have delivered the said certified statement [*proces verbal*] to the said M. de La Salle, the tenor of which is as follows:

On the 27th of December, 1681, M. de La Salle set out on foot to join M. de Tonty, who had preceded him with his people and baggage, and gone forty leagues into the country of the Niamis. The ice on the Chikagou river in the country of the Mascoutins however arrested his progress; when the ice became stronger, he went on, carrying his baggage, canoes and one of the men who had been wounded, on sledges, the whole length of this river, and on the Illinois, to the distance of seventy leagues. At length, the French being all together on the 25th of January, 1682, we reached Pimiteoui [Peoria;] and thence, the river being only partially frozen, we continued our journey to the River Colbert [Mississippi] about sixty leagues from Pimiteoui, and ninety from the great village of the Illinois.

We reached the banks of the river Colbert on the 6th of February, and remained there until the 13th, waiting for the Indians who had been delayed by the ice. On the 13th, the whole party being assembled, we resumed our voyage, being twenty-two French, carrying arms, and the Reverend Father Zenobe Mambre, a Recollet Missionary, followed by eighteen savages from New England, and several Algonquin [Chippewā,] Ojibpoises [Ojibwās or Chippewās,] and Huron women.

On the 14th, we arrived at the village of the Maroas [Cahokia,] consisting of a hundred cabins, entirely uninhabited. Proceeding about a hundred leagues down the River Colbert, we went ashore to hunt on the 26th of February. There a Frenchman was lost in the woods: and M. de La Salle, hearing that a large body of savages had been seen in the neighborhood, and thinking that they might have seized the man, marched through the woods for two days, in search of them; but in vain, as they had been frightened by the noise of the guns, and had all fled.

Returning to the camp, M. de La Salle sent Frenchmen and Indians in all directions in search, with orders if they should fall in with savages, to take them alive, so as to obtain intelligence respecting the Frenchman. Gabriel Barbié, with two Indians, met five Chickasās, of whom they took two. They were treated with all kindness [by M. de La Salle,] who explained to them, that he was anxious about a Frenchman, who had been lost; and that they were only detained with the object of rescuing this man, if he should be in their hands, and making an advantageous peace with them, as the French did good to all; upon which they assured him, that they had not seen the person, of whom we were in search, but that they would be well pleased to have peace made. Presents were then given to them, and as they said



that one of their villages was not more than half a day's journey distant, M. de La Salle set out for the place on the following day; but after travelling all night, and finding the accounts of the savages in contradiction with each other, he determined to go no farther, as he was without provisions. Upon pressing the savages to tell the truth, they at length confessed, that their village was four days' journey farther distant; and seeing that M. de La Salle was angry at having been thus deceived, they proposed that one of them should remain with him, while the other should carry the news to the village, from which the chiefs would come and join them at four days' journey below that place. M. de La Salle accordingly returned to the camp, with one of these Chickasās; and the Frenchman of whom we were in search having been in the meantime recovered, he continued his voyage, and passed the river of the Chepontias [the St. Francis] and the village of the Metsigameas. The thickness of the fog prevented him from finding the passage, which led to the place appointed for meeting the Chickasās.

On the 12th of March, we arrived at the Kapaha village of Akansā, where we made peace and took possession. On the 15th we passed another of their towns on the bank of the river, and two others farther off in the woods, and reached that of the Imahās, the largest town of this nation, where peace was confirmed, and the chief acknowledged the town to belong to His Majesty. Two Akansās entered with M. de La Salle, to conduct him to their allies the Taensās, about fifty leagues farther down, dwelling in eight villages on the borders of a small lake. On the 19th we passed the towns of the Tourikas, the Yazoos, and the Koueras; but as they were not on the bank of the river, and were enemies of the Akansās and Taensas, we did not stop.

On the 19th\* we arrived at the towns of the Taensās, who received us well, and supplied us with a large quantity of provisions. Here, also peace was made, as well as with the Koroas, whose chief came to us from their principal village, two leagues from that of the Natches.

The two chiefs accompanied M. de La Salle to the banks of the river; where the Koroa chief embarked with him, and conducted him to his town, where the peace was confirmed with that nation, which has five other towns of its own, and is in alliance with nearly forty more. On the 31st† we passed the towns of the Houmas without

\*The right bank of the Mississippi opposite the mouth of the Big Black river, on the shore of a small lake, now called Lake St. Joseph, in Taensas county, Louisiana, where several large mounds still mark the site of the former towns.

† It is probable that some portion of the statement, has been omitted in the copy preserved in France; as in the interval, between the two dates in this paragraph, the French visited the towns of the Natches, and discovered the mouth of the Red river, which circumstances, the writer of the statement would scarcely have failed to mention.

knowing it, in consequence of the thickness of the fog and their distance from the river.

On the 3d of April, at ten in the morning, we saw thirteen or fourteen canoes; and M. de La Salle went ashore, with several men. Foot prints were observed, and a little lower down some savages were found fishing, who fled precipitately as soon as they discovered us. Others of our party then went ashore, on the borders of a marsh, formed by the inundation of the river. M. de La Salle sent two Frenchmen, and afterwards two Indians to observe, who on their return stated that there was a town not far off, but in order to reach it, a marsh covered with canes, must be crossed; and that they had been saluted with a shower of arrows from the people of the town, who not daring to attack them in the marsh, had fled, though neither the French nor their Indians had fired, in obedience to the orders not to do so, unless in case of great danger. We soon after heard a drum beat in the village, and shouts and howling, such as those barbarians usually make, on beginning an attack; we waited three or four hours, and then as we neither saw nor heard any one, and we could not encamp on the marsh, we returned to our boats. An hour afterwards, we came to the village of Maheouala, which had been recently destroyed, and contained dead bodies, and marks of blood; and two leagues farther down, we encamped.

Our voyage was thus continued until the 6th of April, when we reached the three channels, by which the Colbert discharges its waters into the sea; and we encamped on the westernmost, about three leagues from its mouth. On the 7th, M. de La Salle went down to examine the channel and the coasts of the neighboring sea, while M. de Tonty went through the middle channel. These two outlets having been found fine, wide, and deep, they returned on the 8th, and discovered a dry place, above the inundation, nearly in the 27th degree of the elevation of the north pole, where a column and a cross were prepared, and on the column were painted the arms of France, with the inscription

“LOUIS THE GREAT,  
KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE, APRIL 9, 1682.”

The whole party being then under arms, the *Te Deum*, the *Exaudi*, and the *Domine salvum fac Regem*, were sung; after which M. de La Salle erected the column, amid salutes of musketry, and shouts of “Long live the King,” and then standing near it, he pronounced with a loud voice—

“By authority of the very high, powerful, invincible and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, the fourteenth of that name, on this ninth day of April, 1682, I, in virtue of the commission from His Majesty, which I now hold in my hand ready to be exhibited to whomsoever it may concern, have



taken and do hereby take possession, in the name of His Majesty, and of His successors to the throne, of this country of Louisiana, of the seas, harbors, ports, bays and places adjacent, and of all the nations, people, cities, boroughs, villages, mines, fisheries, rivers and streams, comprehended within the whole extent of Louisiana, from the mouth of the great river St. Louis on the east, otherwise called Ohio,\* Oliginsipou† or Chukagua, and with the consent of the Chouaganous, Chickasās and other nations residing therein, with whom we have made alliance, as also along the river Colbert or Mississippi, and the rivers thereinto emptying from its source, beyond the country of the Sioux or Naudoessieux, with the consent of that nation, and of the Motantees, Illinois, Metsigameas, Natches and Koroas, the principal nations therein residing with whom we have also made alliance ourselves, or through others acting in our behalf, as far as the place of its discharge into the Sea, or Gulf of Mexico, near the 27th degree of the elevation of the north pole, and thence to the mouth of the River of Palms. Upon the assurance which we have received from all those nations, that we are the first Europeans, who have descended or ascended the River Colbert, I protest against all who may hereafter undertake to obtain possession of the countries, nations, and territories above specified, to the prejudice of the right acquired by His Majesty, with the consent of the said nations. Of all which, so far as needful, may be taken as witnesses, those who now hear me; and I demand a certified statement of the same from the notary here present, to be used whenever necessary and just."

To all which every one responded by shouts of Long live the King, and discharges of musketry. Moreover M. de La Salle had buried at the foot of the tree, to which the cross was attached, a leaden plate having engraved on one side, the arms of France, with this inscription:

LVDOVICVS MAGNVS REGNAT.

NONO APRILIS CIOICLXXXII.

ROBERTVS CAVALIER, CVM DOMINO DE TONTY,  
LEGATO, R. P. ZENOBIO MEMBRE RECOLLECTO, ET  
VIGINTI GALLIS, PRIMVS, HOC FLVMEN INDE  
AB ILLINEORUM PAGO, ENAVIGAVIT EJVSQVE OSTIVM  
FECIT PERVIVM,

NONO APRILIS, ANNI CIOICLXXXII.‡

\* The countries above the mouth of the Ohio, being considered as belonging to New France.

† This is the earliest mention of the name Allegheny, which has been found among the records of Europe. See note on page 191.

‡ Louis the Great reigns. April 9, 1682. Robert Cavelier, with M. de Tonty his lieutenant, the Reverend Father Zenobe Mambré a Recollet, and twenty Frenchmen, first sailed down this river, from the village of the Illinois to this place, and passed through its mouth, on the ninth of April, 1682.

After which M. de La Salle declared, that as His Majesty being the eldest son of the Church, would not acquire any countries for his crown, in which his principal care should not be directed to the establishment of the Christian religion, it was proper to plant the marks of that religion here; and this was immediately done, by erecting a cross, before which the Vexilla and the Domine salvum fac Regem, were chaunted; whereupon the ceremony was ended by shouts of Long live the King.

Of which, and of all here above stated, the said M. de La Salle having demanded from us a certified statement, we delivered it to him, signed by us, and by the undersigned witnesses, on this 9th of April, 1682.

De La Salle; F. Zenobe, Recollet missionary; Henri de Tonty; Francois de Boisrondet; Jean Bourdon; D'Autray; Jacques Cauchois; Pierre Yon; Gilles Meneret; Jean Michel, Surgeon; Jean Mas; Jean Du Lignon; Nicolas de la Salle.

LA METAIRIE, Notary.

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E.

EXPEDITION OF ALONZO DE LEON TO THE BAY OF ST. LOUIS  
IN 1689.

*Journal of the Expedition made by General Alonzo de Leon, for the discovery of the Bay of Espiritu Santo, and the French Settlement, in the year 1689.\**

On Wednesday, the 23d of March, 1689, it was determined, that the soldiers and people collected at Coahuila, should take their departure; and they accordingly marched one league down the river.

Thursday 24th—The General set out, and finding the troops about to march down the river, he went on the other side to its junction with the Nadadores. Marched this day 6 leagues northward, through a flat and uninhabitable country.

Friday 25th—Continued down the Nadadores on the south side, passing between two mountains, called the Baluartes. We stopped on the banks of that river, near a large poplar, the only tree seen by

\*The Journal of Alonzo de Leon has never before been published in any language. The present translation has been made by the author of this history, from a manuscript copy of the original. A large portion of it is unimportant; the author however, after some hesitation, concluded that it should be given without any omission or alteration.



us in a long distance. Marched 7 leagues northeastward, through a level country with good pasture.

Saturday 26th—Marched down the river as before, to its junction with the Rio de Sabinas, at one league from which we halted. The road is level with good pasture in its vicinity. Distance this day 6 leagues towards the east.

Sunday 27th—Continued down the river, and crossing to its northern side, we marched along its bank, and met the soldiers arriving from the kingdom of New Leon, to join us at the place appointed. We united with salutes of musketry, on both sides, and made an enumeration of the soldiers, muleteers, and others, as will be seen by the list. We marched 3 leagues eastward.

Monday 28th—Proceeded 6 leagues towards the northeast, crossing some plains, in which was no water. The march was painful, though the ground was level. Halted at a pond of rain water.

Tuesday 29th—took a direction northeast, quarter north, and went 5 leagues through a country generally level, but with some small low hills.

Wednesday 30th—Went 4 leagues towards the north. Before day the French prisoner sent an Indian, in whom he could confide, on before, to give notice of our approach to his tribe; before reaching which, more than 60 Indians came to meet us, some with arms and others without them, and conducted us to their dwelling place. Here they had prepared a tent of buffalo skins for the Frenchman, whom they treated with great respect; in front of it, a stake was erected, about four *varas* high, on which were 16 skulls of Indians, their enemies whom they had killed. Five nations were there collected, according to the account of the Frenchman, namely Hapes, Jumeses, Xialis, Mexcales and another. We counted 85 tents. Some cords, shells, beads, rosaries, knives, and arms were distributed among them, to their great delight; and five head of cattle were killed, of which they all ate. They were in all 490 persons. We halted at a rivulet about dark.

Thursday 31st—We were obliged to remain at this place, from the sickness of our horses, caused by the previous want of water.

Friday 1st—Marched 5 leagues down the river, crossing some low hills. There was no want of water. Our course lay for the most part northward. We halted and encamped on the river [Rio Bravo] opposite the fording place. The river was found fordable. We carried with us an Indian, who assured us that he knew the whole country, and would lead us where some men like ourselves were settled, in six or seven houses, at the distance of about six days' journey, from the said Rio Bravo. This Indian is a savage, but we learned his meaning tolerably well, through the interpretation of another Indian.

Saturday 2d—We crossed the river, and went northward one league,

in order to turn some gullies and hills; then marched northeastward, about 5 leagues, to some ponds which we called Los Cuervos because we saw more than 3000 crows on them at sun set. The ground was level and free from hills.

Sunday 3d—Went 3 leagues eastward, over level country, and 2 more over small hills, covered with mezquite bushes. Passed some beds of streams, without water, and having at length found a rivulet, we stopped there, having gone in all 5 long leagues to-day. We gave the name of Arroyo de Ramos to the rivulet, in honor of the day, which is Palm Sunday (Domingo de Ramos.) Here we observed the altitude of the sun, with an astrolabe, which is very defective, and found it to be 26 degrees 31 minutes; the tables on which the calculation was made, were however constructed before the Gregorian correction, made in 1582, when the equinox was on the 10th of March; and following the ephemeris of Andrea Argoli, the Roman, who places the equinox this year, on the 20th of March, we find from these tables, that the 3d of April, corresponds with the 24th of March of this year, the first after the Bissextile. These tables, the author says, were taken from the Art of Navigation, by Maestro Medina. We are obliged to state these reasons, because if there be any error, it arises from our want of modern tables.

Monday 4th—Marched for the greater part of this day towards the northeast, and for a short time to the north, in all 8 leagues. The first part of the march was through a level country, after which we found a small grove of mezquite shrubs and on quitting it we entered another, 3 leagues in breadth. We then reached a river, which though then having little water, we saw in the rainy season must overflow its banks, to the breadth of half a league. We named it the Nueces, from the abundance of nut trees near it;\* its bed is very rocky, containing a number of flint stones, some of them very fine.

Tuesday 5th—We crossed the river, after going about half a league along its bank, and entered a defile, beyond which was a forest, so thick, that we were obliged to dismount, and cut a road a league in length, through the prickly pears and mezquite bushes. Our course was eastward. We then entered a mezquite forest, through which we were obliged to make our way dismounted; and we at length reached a river, which we named Rio Sarco—Blue river—from the bluish tint of its waters. The distance travelled to-day was 7 leagues in a very indirect course.

Wednesday 6th—We went about 3 leagues northeastward, and 2 eastward, through a country generally level with fine pasturage, interspersed with pleasant valleys, and some groves of oak. We then

\* The pecan-nut, or *carya oliviformis*.



reached a river, named by us Rio Hondo—Deep river—because the banks rise on each side more than six or seven fathoms; near it on both sides, are some small hills, for the most part covered with wood. The water was excellent, and the horses drank it with avidity. In the bed of the river, we found some large white stones, on some of which crosses and other figures were cut, by the hand of man, with great perfection and apparently long ago.

Holy Thursday 7th—We travelled down the Rio Hondo, without crossing it about 4 leagues, sometimes eastward and at others south-eastward, and we halted on its left bank. The water is of the same quality as above; and the country generally level, with occasional groves of mezquite. Although since the 30th of March when we left the habitation of the five nations of Indians, we had seen many traces of the natives, they all appeared to be of old date, and we met not a single person.

Good Friday 8th—We crossed the Rio Hondo, and followed it down in a direction east, one quarter northeast. We found on the way two defiles near together, which appeared to be, in the rainy season, covered with water to the depth of more than a fathom; we then reached a stream, in order to cross which, with the loaded mules, it was necessary to go a little out of our course; and then the passage was effected with difficulty, on account of the mud, in which some of the mules were stuck. We then came to a clear country, after which was a forest of large mezquite trees, with some pools of water; and there we halted, having marched 8 long leagues eastward.

Saturday 9th—We took our course towards the north, through some forests, which obliged us to deviate to the north, one quarter northeast, and more eastward. The ground was very good for travelling. We crossed the bed of a rivulet, without water, and a league farther, we found another with water, which was very good, and good pasture near it. Many small fish were taken in this rivulet, which we named Arroyo del Vino, as we this day opened a barrel of wine, and divided it among the men. We marched this day 5 leagues. We found under the trees quantities of large nuts, resembling those of Spain, but more difficult to open; also many wild grapes, which the Indians assured us, were at the proper season, large and excellent. At this place, our horses ran off about midnight, notwithstanding 15 soldiers were on guard, and we were unable to find all of them; as on the following day, the whole number counted was only 102 horses.

Easter Sunday, 10th—Soldiers were sent in various directions, in search of the horses which were not brought in, until the hour of prayer. We therefore went no farther on this day; and on observing the elevation of the pole we found it to be 27 degrees 55 minutes.

Easter Monday, 11th—Marched towards the east, crossing two rivu-

lets of good water, and then a forest of oaks and nut trees, for more than 5 leagues. We then reached a river which though wide had very little water in it, and could be forded without difficulty. We named it the Medina; its banks are nine or ten fathoms high. Our course this day, was for half the distance east, and the other half northeast, through forests of oak and nut trees.

Tuesday 12th—We crossed the river by a very good ford, and followed it down in an eastern direction, five leagues over low hills without wood, passing some gullies of red or yellow clay. We then entered a forest of mezquites, and found water in a stream, the first portion of which being dry, we supposed that our guide had misled us. The country hereabouts is very good for pasture; and as we found the carcass of a lion near the stream we named it Arroyo del Leon.\*

Thursday 14th—We marched towards the east, one quarter northeast, in search of a large river, which our guide told us that we should find; and we reached it, at night, after going 6 leagues. Three quarters of the way lay over hills, and the remainder through a rough country, crossed by many gullies, which obliged us often to dismount, in order to get over them. The country was the most pleasant, which we had seen; the river is not large, and was forded with ease, and its banks are covered with trees. On the way, we killed six buffaloes, the first seen in a distance of more than 100 leagues. We gave to this river the name of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, in honor of our protectress and mediatrix, whose representation we carried painted on our standard.

Friday 15th—In the morning it was raining, but we set out, and forded the river at a place about a league from our encampment; and as the rain increased, we stopped at a rivulet near by, going only 2 leagues on this day. A council of war was then held, in consequence of our guide's having said that we were near the settlement of the French; and it was determined that the Governor should set out on the following day, with 70 men, to reconnoitre, leaving the remainder of the forces encamped at a place a little farther on, where they were to keep on their guard.

Saturday 16th—Agreeably to the resolution taken yesterday, the Governor set out with 60 soldiers well provided, after a mass had been said to Our Lady of Guadalupe, with all solemnity: the remainder of the party set out at the same time. After marching 3 leagues, an Indian was seen on a hill in front; and being taken and brought to the Governor, he declared that his village was near, and that four Frenchmen were in it. We hastened on, having sent back orders, that the others should stop where they were. Before we reached the vil-

\*The same now called the San Antonio; the latter name was applied by the Spaniards only to the small branch on which the town of Bexar is situated.



lage, the whole of its inhabitants had fled, and we saw them running into a wood, carrying with them eight or ten dogs, laden with buffalo skins. We sent the Indian whom we had encountered, to invite them to return, and he succeeded in bringing back several; but we were assured that the Frenchmen were not there, and had gone four days before, towards the Texas. At this village we met two Indians, who told us, that at the distance of two days journey farther, we should find those of whom we were in search. We treated these Indians kindly, and gave them presents, such as tobacco, knives and other articles, in order to induce them to guide us, as they did, directing our course towards the north, until sunset, when we reached a village of more than 250 souls. Here we obtained farther information respecting the Frenchmen through the aid of the French prisoner, as our interpreter; we learnt that these men had gone towards the Texas four days before, and that others of the same nation who settled on the little Sea—as they called the Bay—had all died by the hands of the Indians on the coast; that those people had six houses in which they lived; and that their destruction took place three moons ago, before which, the greater part of them had died of small pox. On this day, the camp moved eastward 3 leagues, and stopped at the place assigned by the Governor, who with the sixty went on towards the north.

Sunday 17th—We stopped to sleep at the Indian village, and then continued our march towards the north. After going 5 leagues, we reached some Indian villages, with which our French prisoner was acquainted; and we there learned the direction taken by the four Frenchmen with some accuracy: they had gone on horseback four days before towards the Texas. We here entered into a consultation as to what should be done, as the camp was now some distance behind, and the country was unknown; and it was resolved that a letter should be written to the said Frenchmen, which an Indian was to deliver to them; and a letter was accordingly written in French by Ensign Francisco Martinez, stating in substance, that having had reason to believe that the Indians on that coast had killed some Christians, and they had escaped, they might come to us, as we should wait for them 3 or 4 days at this place, where their settlement had been. This letter was signed by the Governor; and our Chaplain Friar Damian Masaret, of the order of Our Father St. Francis, added to it some lines in Latin, supposing that one of them might be a priest, exhorting them to come to us; and having enclosed in it some paper for an answer, it was carried away by an Indian, who assured us that it should be delivered to them. About the time of prayer, an Indian came to us from the north, who on being examined through the French prisoner as to the distance from this place to the Texas country, answered that it was not many days' journey off, and that the four Frenchmen had passed his village 3 days since.

Monday 18th—Considering the danger to which the camp might be exposed (though it had been left well garrisoned,) we set out towards it. On the way the Governor received a letter to the effect, that the cattle had ran off on the preceding night, and more than 100 horses had escaped, of which some had been retaken, but 36 were still wanting. We continued our journey to the camp, where on arriving, we learned furthermore, that a soldier had been lost, while looking for the horses, and several parties of soldiers were gone in various directions in quest of him; he did not reappear this day.

Tuesday 19th—As neither the soldier nor the horses reappeared, two parties of soldiers were sent out in different directions; the Governor himself moreover went out in person, and though every effort was made, they were not found on this day; so that we remained encamped here, in order to continue the search. Meanwhile Indians came to us from various villages, whom we regaled with tobacco and other things, and charged them to join in the search for the soldier and the horses missing, promising to reward them for it.

Wednesday 20th—The camp remained stationary, as neither the soldier nor the horses appeared, though the same measures were repeated of sending out parties in search of them. After the last party had gone, the missing man came in, guided by nine Indians; he had slept on the night before, in an Indian cabin, where he feared that they intended to kill him, and he accordingly quitted it; he was much congratulated on his good luck, in escaping from the hands of those barbarians. On this day finding that our astrolabe had been injured, we repaired it as well as we could, and took an observation of the sun from which we calculated our position to be in latitude of 28 degrees and 41 minutes.

Thursday 21st—We set out with the whole camp marching towards the east, and sometimes turning one quarter towards northeast, and northeast, one quarter north, through wide plains, often without seeing any trees in a great distance. We thus went 8 leagues, to a stream of good water, on the banks of which our guide told us, that the French settlement stood not far off. The whole country was agreeable, and we met many buffaloes.

Friday 22d—Although it was raining when day broke, as the site of the French settlement was near, we marched with the whole camp, and at the distance of three leagues down the stream we found the place. After pitching our camp, a musket shot off from the spot, we went to it and there found all the houses robbed, boxes broken open, bottles and other articles thrown about and more than two hundred books apparently in the French language, torn in pieces with their leaves rotten, strewed over the yard. Every thing showed that the aggressors had sacked the place completely; this being proved not only by the



state in which we found it, but also from our having seen in the villages passed on our way hither, many books in the French language, in good condition, and other trifles of little value, which were purchased and brought away by us as memorials.

The Indians committed this destruction not only on the furniture, and other articles of that kind, but also on the arms; as we found more than a hundred musket-stocks, without locks or barrels, which latter must have been carried away, as we supposed from finding only one barrel. At some distance from the houses, were three dead bodies, which had been dragged thither; one of them seemed to be that of a woman, from a part of the dress adhering to the corpse. They were taken up, and buried with a mass, in presence of the party.

The principal building in the establishment, was made of wood taken from a ship, and was in form of a fort, with a roof of boards, and another inclined to carry off the rain. Near and adjoining it, was another house, less strongly built, which seemed to have served as a chapel, for saying mass. The other five houses were made of piles, lined within, and covered as well as the roof, with buffalo hides, but were all utterly useless for defence. Near the fort and houses, were found eight pieces of iron artillery of middle size, carrying balls of from four to six pounds, three very old swivels without chambers, and some iron bars and bolts, all weighing, about a hundred arrobas. The cannon were some of them lying on the ground, the others on their carriages, which were however broken. Some barrels were found with the heads knocked in; and every thing had been so completely sacked, that nothing of any use could be obtained.

We searched carefully for other dead bodies, but none were discovered; from which we concluded, that they had been thrown into the water and eaten by the alligators.

The settlement was made in a good position, well adapted for defence in any event. Over the principal door of the fort, was inscribed the date of its establishment 1684, with other particulars, which were noted down, in the description of the place, specially drawn up:

On this day, we marched 3 leagues towards the east; which added to the preceding distances, make 136 leagues from Coahuila to this place.

#### EXPLORATION OF THE BAY AND PORT OF ESPIRITU SANTO.

Saturday 23d of April, 1689—We set out with 30 men, to examine the bay towards the south, following the small streams down from the settlement, and carrying with us as a guide, the French prisoner, who said that he had gone over the whole of it in a boat. With this assurance, we followed him, but he did not continue down the stream, as he told us that there was no passage in that direction; so we went 5

leagues towards the southwest, and having crossed the heads of two streams, we turned to the east, and marched 3 leagues farther, until we reached the shore of the bay, where we slept as it was then night.

Sunday 24th—We set out early, and marched along the shore of the bay, in which the tide was then low. Near it are many lagoons of salt water which in some places were so muddy as to prevent us from passing on horseback, and we were obliged to walk on foot and lead the horses. One arm of the bay, which seemed to us the largest, ran towards the north; the other and smaller towards the south, and the smallest of the three, towards the French settlement above mentioned. We marched 8 leagues along the shore until it pleased God that we descried the mouth, at the distance of two leagues, which was as near as we could go to it with our horses; and in token of joy, we fired a salute, the French prisoner assuring us, that it was the same entrance and port, by which he entered, when he came to these countries, with Monsieur Felipe de Sal.\*

This entrance, so far as we could see and learn, is 2 short leagues in width; in it is a low island or bank of sand, which is nearer to the land, on the side towards Vera Cruz than on the side towards Florida, and through the narrower entrance, the vessels come in, according to the account of the French prisoner. Into this bay, on the south enters the river named by us in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe, which we could not reach from the impossibility of crossing to its mouth; though we were certain that it must end there, from the accounts of the Frenchman, and from its direction, as observed when we crossed it. The arm of the bay running to the north, is so long, that we could not see the land beyond it in that direction. On the shore of the bay, which we followed for about 8 leagues, we saw a large mast of a ship, a top gallant mast, a capstan and some planks, barrel staves, and other pieces of wood, all apparently belonging to some vessel, which had been wrecked in the bay or on the coast, near its entrance. Having examined the entrance of the bay, we returned by the same route, and slept on the banks of a small rivulet, at the foot of a hill, near an Indian village, recently deserted, in which we found a French book, a broken bottle, and other things showing that the people had taken part in the destruction of the French. The water of this stream, was rather brackish; we found in it four canoes.

Monday 25th—We came to the camp, where we found an answer to the letter, written to the Frenchmen, who had gone towards the Texas. It was read by the royal standard-bearer, and said in substance—that they would in two days come where we were; as they were tired of wandering among barbarians; it was written in ochre,

\* Francisco de La Salle?



and bore only one signature, that of Jean Larcheveque of Bayonne. In our exploration of the bay, in going and returning we went about 52 leagues.

#### EXPLORATION OF THE RIVER OF SAN MARCOS.

Tuesday, April 26th—It was determined that we should go with the whole camp in the direction from which we came, as the brackish water of this stream did not agree with the horses; and we accordingly went 3 leagues up the stream, and encamped again at the same place which we had before occupied. We then set out, twenty in number, towards the south, and at the distance of 3 leagues, we reached a large river, which as the French prisoner told us, enters into the bay. We followed it down along the bank, until we met with some lagoons, which impeded our progress; it is very large, larger we believe than the Rio Grande, and we concluded that it might be navigated by a small vessel. We therefore determined to trace it to its entrance into the bay, whatever difficulties we might encounter, as the distance seemed to be about three quarters of a league, and there did not appear to be more, from that point to the entrance of the stream, on which the French made their settlement, about a league and a half from the bay. We marched this day about 15 leagues. We observed the altitude of the sun, on the shore of the bay, and found it to be 26 degrees 3 minutes, making allowances for error, on account of the defective state of the astrolabe. We gave to the river the name of San Marcos, as we discovered it on the day after that of St. Mark.\*

#### RETURN TO COAHUILA.

Wednesday, April 27th—We set out with the whole party, and stopped at some ponds, near a hill on the wayside.

Thursday 28th—We continued our journey. At the same time, the Governor with 30 men took his course northward, in search of the Frenchmen, from whom he had received the letter. The camp was pitched on the River of Our Lady of Guadalupe.

On Friday 29th and Saturday 30th the camp remained at the same place.

Sunday, May 1st—About prayer time, the Governor arrived with his men, accompanied by two Frenchmen, marked and painted like Indians, whom he had met about 25 leagues beyond the place, from which the camp had been removed. One of these men was Jean, the writer of the letter, the other was named Jacques Grollet, a native of Rochelle: they gave the following account of the destruction of their country-

\* It is now called the Colorado; it enters the bay in the latitude of 28 degrees 46 minutes. The River Brazos was at first called Colorado by the Spaniards.

men. It was begun by the small pox, which carried off more than a hundred persons; the remainder having always lived in good understanding with the Indians of the country, apprehended nothing from them, until a little more than a month previous, when five Indians came to the settlement, under pretence of selling some articles, and were lodged in the outermost house; they were there joined by others, coming with the same apparent object, and the French suspecting nothing, allowed them to pass freely through the whole place. The number of the Indians thus gradually increased; and at length, a large body of savages, suddenly rushed from the banks of the stream, where they had secreted themselves, and attacking the French, put them all to death, including two friars and a priest, with knives and clubs, after which they sacked the buildings. The Frenchmen who related the circumstances, were themselves absent at the time, having gone to the Texas country; on receiving the news of what had happened, four of them went together to the place, where they found their companions dead, and they buried fourteen of them, and set fire to about a hundred barrels of gunpowder, in order to prevent the Indians from carrying it away. They said that the place was well provided with fire arms, swords and daggers, and contained three chalices and other ornamented articles, with many books beautifully bound.

The said Frenchmen were marked on the face like Indians, and wrapped in skins of deer and buffalo. They were found in the village of the chief of the Texas, who took great care of them, and supported them. He came with them to the camp, and was well treated; and though only a wild Indian, he seemed to be a man of much capacity, and had an oratory with images in it. The Governor made presents of knives, beads and other small articles to him and the Indians who came with him; so that they went away well contented, and promised to come and bring other Indians with them to the province of Coahuila.

The Governor examined the Frenchmen separately, and took their declarations, in order to send them to the viceroy. We then continued our journey as far as the River Nueces, from which the Governor set off in advance, on Tuesday the 10th of May, with some men, in order to communicate the particulars of the expedition to his excellency as soon as possible. We reached the fort of Coahuila on the 13th of the same month of May, at night, when this journal was finished, and signed, in attestation of the facts, by the Governor.



were immolated, against their own will, or apparent will, except an old woman, who was killed for speaking disrespectfully of the late chief, and an infant strangled by its parents, who thereby saved their own lives, and were raised to a higher rank. Thirteen women and three men, however, offered themselves voluntarily, and were put to death by their nearest relations: among them were the two wives of the Great Sun, his principal warrior, his physician and his pipe-bearer, and the wife of the latter, who though not required to die, insisted on accompanying her beloved husband—"Thou hast never before rejected me,"—cried this affectionate savage,—“let me go with thee now; we have always walked together, and eaten together, and we will do so still; I go not with thy chief, but with thee.” One of the intended victims, a warrior who endeavored to escape and was re-taken, on evincing signs of weakness, was declared unworthy of the honor of joining his master; but two women, his near relations, immediately appeared as substitutes for the recreant, in order to remove the disgrace from their family.<sup>1</sup> In like manner, the mother of a woman who had been a favorite of the chief, but was then at New Orleans as a hostage in the hands of the French, took the place of her daughter, and was strangled with the others in front of the great temple. Strong must have been the convictions of religion, and the sense of honor, which could induce such self devotion.

Farther north, the Chickasās from time to time resumed their piratical cruises on the Mississippi, and attacked the French, engaged in the river trade, especially in the vicinity of the cliffs, to which the name of that daring nation of savages, began to be assigned. The Governor, however, did not seem to apprehend any immediate danger to the colony from the Indians; and he contented himself with the usual means of securing the fidelity of the Choctās, by presents and by purchasing the scalps of Chickasās and English, until he was roused to the necessity of active measures, by a catastrophe which occurred on the Missouri in 1728.

This was the destruction of Fort Orleans, at the confluence of the Missouri with the Kansas, and the massacre of the whole garrison by the Osages; respecting which, the following rather curious circumstances should be related. M. de Bourgmont, the founder of this fort, had as a mistress, a young Illinois woman, whom he carried with him to France in 1725, in com-

pamy with some other Indians of that nation, under the immediate charge of a sergeant named Dubois. The savages excited much attention at Paris; they danced on the theatres, they received presents from the nobility, and several of them, including the Commandant's mistress, were solemnly baptised in the cathedral of Notre Dame. At this time, however, Bourgmont married a lady of rank, and was transferred to a higher position in Europe; and his mistress being then a useless appendage to his state, she was married to Dubois the sergeant, who was made a lieutenant, and appointed to the command of Fort Orleans. On their return to that place, Madame Dubois became disgusted with her lonely position on the Missouri, and sighing for the liberty of her early life, she signified her determination to go back to her friends in the Illinois. Her husband consented, and she took her departure;\* soon after which, the capture of the fort and the massacre of the garrison were effected, by the neighboring Indians, though in what manner, the French were never able to learn.

Immediately on receiving the news of this disaster, Perier wrote to France, urging the Government to send three hundred additional soldiers to Louisiana without delay, and to afford him the means of increasing the strength of the posts and supplying them properly with arms, ammunition and provisions: no attention however was paid to his call, which was regarded as pro-

\* This woman afterwards married a French officer named Marin, and lived in the Illinois to an advanced age. One of the Indian chiefs who accompanied her, on being asked by Bossu many years afterwards, what he most admired at Paris, without hesitation declared his preference for the markets where meat was always to be had, and the puppet shows where little men danced: he mistook the Paris beaux with their curled wigs, rouged faces, and superabundance of jewelry, for hermaphrodites. Another chief appeared to be so completely carried away by his feelings, on describing the palaces of the Tuilleries and Versailles, and especially the Hospital of the Invalides—which he called the wigwam of the old warriors—that he was, as usual, universally believed by his countrymen, to have been bewitched, and he could never regain his consideration among them.

Voltaire saw these Indians at Fontainebleau, and he asked the woman, whether she had ever eaten human flesh? “to which she answered yes,” writes Voltaire in his *Essai sur les Mœurs*, “in a manner, as quiet and indifferent, as if the question had been about any ordinary occurrence.” It is however probable, either that the Indian mistook the meaning of the question, or that the philosopher was deceived as to her answer; there being no reason to believe that cannibalism was then practised by the savages of the Mississippi countries, though it must necessarily often occur, among people who depend exclusively on hunting for support.



ceeding from interested views on his part, similar to those attributed to Bienville. Parsimony had moreover succeeded to waste, in the administration of the affairs of the India Company; and the cautious Cardinal Fleury appears to have considered the colony in Louisiana only as a burthen, which was to be borne in order to prevent the English from obtaining possession of the Mississippi. The remonstrances of Perier were thus suffered to remain unheeded for more than a year longer, before the expiration of which period, the colony had received a fatal blow from a quarter, whence it was least anticipated.\*

The most flourishing of all the French settlements in Louisiana were those at Natchez, the principal of which were, the concession of St. Catherine, belonging to the Messrs. Kolly Swiss bankers of Paris, that of La Terre Blanche, on the site of a former Indian village of the same name, recently established by the *Maréchal de Belle Isle*, and another large plantation formed by M. La Loire des Ursins; besides several farms, all lying within the space of four or five miles square, bordering upon the Mississippi. Not far from the river, stood Fort Rosalie, a small work of earth and logs, garrisoned usually by thirty men, who with the people attached to the plantations, made the whole number of the French at the place not less than five hundred; and there were in addition, about two hundred negroes. The Indians had been reduced, by emigration, to less than fifteen hundred; and of their six villages only three remained, namely, that of the Meal where the Great Sun resided, and those of the Tioux, and the Apple, which latter

\*Particular accounts of the catastrophe at Natchez, are given by Le Page Du Pratz, who had resided at that place some time before, and by Dumont, who was then a lieutenant of the garrison of Fort Rosalie, though absent at New Orleans when the events occurred. As to the main facts they agree in general; though they differ on some minor points, which are in consequence either omitted, or touched but lightly in the following narrative. Dumont, as usual, tells his story plainly, as he received it; his chief authority being his wife, who was one of the captives retained by the Indians, after the massacre of the Frenchmen: Le Page Du Pratz, on the other hand, exhibits his customary desire to produce effect, by embroidering his narrative with striking circumstances; recording the discussions of the Natches chiefs, as to the course to be pursued towards the French, as well as the confidential communications between the Great Sun and his mother with all the exactness which could have been expected from him, if he had been present on the occasions, and had been perfectly acquainted with the language employed. Some additional particulars are given in a letter from Father Le Petit, a Jesuit missionary, which may be found among the *Lettres Edifiantes*.

had been rebuilt since its destruction by the French in 1723. The Great Sun was a young man of negative disposition, and was supposed to be governed entirely by his mother the Stung Arm, a woman of strong character, and devotedly attached to the French; the principal direction of the affairs of the nation was, however, held by the Sun of the Apple, who was the great War Chief, a brother of the Old Hair, whose head had been demanded by Bienville, on the occasion of the last disturbances.\*

The command of the French garrison at Natchez, and the general superintendence of the settlement, had been committed usually to discreet persons, who took pains to conciliate the Indians; but in 1728, the command was conferred on M. Chopard, a man of brutal manners and rapacious disposition, who immediately disgusted the officers, the settlers, and the Indians, by his rudeness and tyranny on every occasion. Chopard however succeeded in satisfying the Governor, from whom he likewise obtained leave to form a plantation at Natchez; and having with this object purchased several negroes, he brought them up to that place in the summer of 1729, and began to explore the environs, in search of a proper site for his establishment. He at length selected a spot, which was no other than that occupied by the Indian village of the Meal and its great temple, on the bayou of St. Catherine, midway between the concessions of St. Catherine and La Terre Blanche;† and having abruptly declared his intentions to the Great Sun, he ordered that chief to remove with his people

\* The father of the Great Sun was said to have been a Frenchman; and his younger brother, the Little Sun, bore the name of St. Come, in token of the affection of the Stung Arm for the gallant and unfortunate Jesuit, who first undertook the task of converting the Natches to Christianity.

† Stoddart, in his History of Louisiana, says—"This village was situated about twelve miles below the present city of Natchez, and nearly three miles to the eastward of the Mississippi, on the site of which is the seat of Col. Anthony Hutchings." This is however undoubtedly erroneous. Fort Rosalie stood near the edge of the cliff, at the south-west angle of the present city of Natchez; and we know, that the Indian village, which Chopard wished to occupy for his plantation, was on St. Catherine's creek, within a league and a quarter, or less than four miles, of Fort Rosalie, from the repeated accounts of its position by Le Page Du Pratz and Dumont, and especially from the map in the Memoires of the latter author, (vol. 2, page 94,) in which the village is placed east by north of the fort. Possibly it may have been near the present village of Seltzerville, where a vast mound of earth seems to mark the spot as sacred to some deity, or as the depository of the remains of honored individuals.



to some other place. The astounded Indian answered, that his ancestors had dwelt there from time immemorial, that their bones rested in the temple, and that it would be most unjust thus to expel him, without any remuneration for the sacrifice. These representations nevertheless served only to irritate Chopard; and the Great Sun was in the end obliged to promise a large present of fowls, dried meat, and other articles, in return for a delay of two months, granted to him for the purpose of gathering in his crops, and providing another habitation for himself and his people.

This new act of oppression, as yet unexampled at Natchez, produced the utmost indignation and dismay among the Indians, who plainly saw that they should soon be all driven from their country, unless they could deliver themselves from their persecutors by their own efforts; and it was soon resolved, in a council of their most influential chiefs, that the latter course should be tried. Deputies were accordingly despatched to all the clans of their own nation in exile, as well as to the Yazoos, the Chickasās, and even to the Choctās, inviting them to join the league for the extirpation of the intruding strangers; and the answers returned were such, as to lead to the formation of a plan in concert for that object. Each of the French settlements was to be attacked, on the same day, by the Indians residing nearest to it; and in order to ensure precision as to the time of commencing the onslaught, bundles of sticks, each containing the same number of pieces, were delivered to the representatives of the confederate tribes, with directions to each tribe, to remove one stick from its bundle daily, and to strike so soon as none should be left.

The Sun of the Apple appears to have been the principal director of the scheme of blood and vengeance, with which the Great Sun was but partially entrusted, from fear of the influence of his mother the Stung Arm, and her well known affection for the strangers. This woman nevertheless penetrated the secret, and gave hints of what was meditated to more than one of the intended victims: but the warning was not sufficiently distinct, or it came too late to be of use; for on the 28th of November, when the last stick but one was drawn from the bundle preserved in the great temple at Natchez, the French were still reposing in entire unconsciousness of the danger hanging over them. On the morning of that day, indeed, the interpreter of the garrison

and four other persons, who had gone together to Chopard to communicate some circumstances calculated to put him on his guard against the Indians, were abused by the irritable Commandant, and sent to expiate their intrusiveness in prison.

On the following day, the 29th of November, 1729, the last stick of the fatal bundle was solemnly burnt in the sacred fire of the temple, and the Indians prepared for the attack on the French. The Commandant was, on the same morning, informed of the arrival of a galley at the landing place on the river, bringing the articles required for the commencement of his plantation; and as the two months, at the end of which he was to be put in possession of the tract, had nearly expired, he went over to that place, with the judge and the storekeeper, and passed some hours in consultation with them as to his plans. On returning to his house, which was immediately contiguous to the fort, he went to his chamber to take some repose; but he was soon aroused by the drums and shouts of the Indians, who came in procession, headed by the Sun of the Apple, to bear the present promised, in consideration of the time allowed for their removal from their village. The corn, meat and fowls were displayed, the calumet was smoked, and songs and dances were begun in honor of the Commandant, who was so much pleased, that he ordered the interpreter and the other men arrested on the preceding day, to be set at liberty.

So entire was the security of the French at that period, that the Indians were freely admitted into their houses and even into the fort, at all times; and no settler refused to lend his gun and ammunition to a savage of his acquaintance, from any feeling of mistrust or apprehension. Accordingly no surprise was created by the dispersion of the Natches through the village and the buildings of the fort, after the ceremony; and their requests for the loan of guns and pistols to hunt a wolf which had lately appeared in the vicinity, were universally met by compliance. A party of natives thus provided with arms, proceeded to the river where the galley lay, and after lounging about on board and on shore, each took his place by a Frenchman, in expectation of the preconcerted signal. A gun was at length fired on the cliff, and every Frenchman in the galley, except one who leaped into the river, was immediately put to death: from the shore, the signal was transmitted by repetition to the habitations of the French, in



each of which, the same tragedy was enacted; and at the end of half an hour from the first blow, not a dozen white men remained alive at the settlement. Chopard, the wretched cause of the calamity, fled on the first sign of hostility to his garden, from which he endeavored to gain the fort; but the garrison had already been butchered, and the Commandant was dragged before the Great Sun, who disdaining to soil his own hands with blood so vile, ordered him to be despatched by one of the meanest of his subjects.

M. La Loire des Ursins, the owner of a plantation near Fort Rosalie, had been a short time previous informed of the intention of the savages, and having made some hasty preparations for the defence of his place, he rode to the fort, to give the alarm; but he was met on the way by the War Chief, bearing the head of the Commandant, and he immediately fell, pierced by many balls. At his plantation alone was any resistance made; eight men and a woman there courageously maintained themselves against the savages, until only two men were left alive, who escaped in the darkness of the night, and succeeded in reaching New Orleans. M. de Kolly and his son, who had come over from Paris to visit their estates, were both sacrificed. Father Poisson, a Jesuit, whose letters\* present such interesting descriptions of the Mississippi regions, was despatched by the tomahawk of a chief, as he was returning from the administration of the sacrament, to a dying countryman; and M. du Coder, the Commandant of the fort of the Yazooos, then on a visit to Natchez, met his death while endeavoring to defend the priest. The women and children were nearly all spared, as also the negroes, who were probably concerned in the plot; and a tailor and a carpenter were saved by the special command of the Great Sun, who was anxious to avail himself of their professional skill. Of the others who avoided death at the first onset, only four or five reached the French settlements; those who were discovered by the Indians, perished after long tortures in the flames before the great temple.

Immediately after the massacre, the Natches plundered the fort and galley, both of which were then burnt; and supposing that the French had been, in like manner, destroyed at all the other places, they gave themselves up to riot and debauchery. On that

\* Published in the *Lettres Edifiantes*.

night, however, arrived some Indians from the Yazoo, who gave information, that the notice for the murder of the French had not reached that place, or had been misunderstood; but it was soon agreed, that the same course should be pursued there, and the Yazoos returned to carry the plan into execution. On their way, they met some French descending the river, whom they charged to deliver their assurances of respect to the Governor at New Orleans; nevertheless, on the 12th of December, all the settlers on the Yazoo, with the whole garrison of Fort St. Pierre, except four women and five children, were put to death, in the same manner as at Natchez. The first who fell was the Jesuit Father Souel; the number of the other victims was seventeen. The Jesuit Dutrouleau, who stopped at the mouth of the river a few days afterwards, on his way from the Arkansäs, was fired on and severely wounded; but he succeeded in escaping and reached New Orleans. Other boats on their way down from the Illinois, were in like manner attacked as they passed Natchez, and those on board were nearly all killed.

Such were the circumstances of the celebrated massacre of the French by the natives, on the Mississippi in 1729, in which about two hundred and eighty men\* were sacrificed, while nearly an equal number of women and children, fell as captives into the hands of the savages. The number of the slain, was less than that of the English during the similar outbreak of the Indians on James River, in Virginia, rather more than a century previous: the English colony, however, soon recovered from the blow; to the French, their disaster was fatal, and all their subsequent efforts proved insufficient, as will be shewn, to restore their supremacy on the Mississippi. This disaster was occasioned by tyranny and cupidity on the part of the settlers, combined with

\*Perier in his despatch to the Government of March 18, 1730, makes the number killed about two hundred and fifty; Dumont, who was an officer of the garrison at Natchez, and had left the place only two days before the massacre, places it at seven hundred; Le Page Du Pratz, who was in Louisiana at the time, says nearly nine hundred, and Bossu, who did not arrive in that country until 1751, raises the amount to two thousand.

The most extensive massacre of persons of European race, by Indians, in any part of America north of Mexico, took place in Virginia, in 1721, when three hundred and forty-seven of the English settlers, nearly all on the banks of James River, were put to death by the natives.



their carelessness and contempt of the natives who were thus excited and encouraged to attempt the destruction of the strangers, so different from themselves in color, feature, customs, and objects, and with whom they had, and could have, nothing in common. That the Indians were stimulated to the act by the English traders, either directly, or through the influence of the Chickasās, is probable: it has always been asserted by the French, and is distinctly affirmed by the best English authority on the subject; and the general conduct of the two nations towards each other in this respect, fully sustains the belief.

Even before the massacre took place, rumors had been current in the lower country, of intended hostilities on the part of the Indians, which had created much uneasiness at New Orleans and Mobile; and on the 1st of December, a large body of Choctās, headed by their chiefs, painted and armed for war, appeared on Lake Pontchartrain, and requested permission to enter the capital in order, as they pretended, to smoke the calumet and hold a talk with the Governor. Perier however refused to admit more than a small number of chiefs; in consequence of which, they all moved off with apparent dissatisfaction. Several Frenchmen were about the same time murdered on the Mobile by unknown hands; and

\* "Some of the old Natches warriors who formerly lived on the Mississippi, two hundred miles west of the Choctās, told me, the French demanded from every one of their warriors a drest buck skin, without any value, that is, they taxed them: but that the warriors' hearts grew very cross, and they loved the deer skins. According to the French accounts of the Mississippi Indians, this seems to have been in 1729. As those Indians were of a peaceable and kindly disposition, numerous and warlike, and always kept a friendly intercourse with the Chickasās, who never had any good will to the French, these soon understood their heart burnings, and by the advice of the old English traders, carried them white pipes and tobacco, in their own name and that of South Carolina, persuading them with earnestness and policy to cut off the French, as they were resolved to enslave them in their own beloved land. The Chickasās succeeded in their embassy: but as the Indians are slow in their councils, on things of great importance, though equally close and intent, it was the following year before they could put their grand scheme into execution. Some of their head men indeed opposed the plan; yet they never discovered it: but when these went a hunting in the woods, the embers burst into a raging flame. They attacked the French, who were flourishing away in the greatest security, and as was affirmed, they entirely cut off the garrison and neighboring settlements, consisting of fifteen hundred men, women and children; the misconduct of a few indiscreet persons occasioned so great a number of innocent lives to be thus cut off."—Adair's History of the American Indians, page 353.

M. Diron d'Artaguet, who commanded that district, was warned to be on his guard. There is in fact, no reason to doubt, that the Choctās had entered fully into the scheme for the destruction of the French, which the superior strength of the principal places in the lower country, and the military discipline maintained there, had prevented them from attempting to execute. It is also certain, that soon after the massacre at Natchez, Choctā deputies came to that place and received a portion of the spoils, with which they went away, apparently much dissatisfied.\*

The first account of the events at Natchez was brought to New Orleans, four days after their occurrence, by Ricard a storekeeper, who had escaped from the galley when the attack commenced; and other persons soon after arrived, bringing farther news, until the particulars of the destruction of the French at that place, as well as at the mouth of the Yazoo, had been clearly ascertained. Perier on the first alarm, sent an officer to France, to urge the immediate despatch of succors; and he then raised as many men as he could, who were sent up the river under Colonel de Loubois in two vessels recently arrived from France. M. le Sueur a daring Canadian, at the same time went among the Choctās in order to secure their aid if possible, or at least to learn their intentions; and he performed his dangerous task so well, that he was soon on the march towards Natchez with six hundred Indians, commanded by the Alibamon Mingo and the Red Shoe, all breathing the most deadly hatred to the foes of the French.

Loubois slowly ascending the Mississippi with his two vessels, reached the Tunica town nearly opposite the mouth of the Red river, in the latter part of December; and there he remained throughout the month of January, 1730, endeavoring to obtain the restoration of the captives held by the Natches. The cunning savages on this occasion amused the French, in various ways, until they had, with the aid of the negroes constructed two rude

\* Dumont states, on the authority of his wife, who was one of the prisoners detained by the Natches, that the massacre took place two days earlier than had been proposed, in consequence of the removal of two sticks from the bundle, kept in the temple, by a child of the Sun of the Apple, who amused himself by burning them, as he had seen his father do, in the sacred fire; and that the 1st of December, on which the Choctās appeared in force near New Orleans, was the day originally appointed. Another account says that the sticks were intentionally removed by the Stung Arm.



forts; and then considering themselves strong enough, they threw off the mask, and put to death some officers and men whom Loubois had sent to bear them proposals. The French, however, still remained inactive; and the Natches becoming careless in consequence, returned to their debauchery, in which they were indulging on the 27th of January, when the Choctās under their chiefs and Le Sueur, reached the vicinity of their position. Led on by the hope of plunder, the Choctās immediately fell upon their enemies, of whom they killed a hundred, including the War Chief, and took several prisoners, besides rescuing fifty-four French women and children and nearly a hundred negroes. They might have indeed destroyed the whole of the Natches, who were entirely unprepared, but for the exertions of a number of negroes who had joined the latter, and by their resistance, afforded time for the Indians to retire with their other prisoners into the forts.\*

The news of this success of the Choctās aroused Loubois from his inactivity; and having been reinforced by a large party from New Orleans, under young D'Artaguet the nephew of the Commandant of Mobile, he marched to Natchez, where he arrived on the 12th of February, with about six hundred men. After a week spent in approaches, the forts of the Indians were attacked on the 20th, but without success. These miserable fortifications of wood and earth unprovided with artillery, were then cannonaded for several days with no effect; for the French being panic struck, it was impossible to bring them to the assault when a breach had been made, and the Natches made frequent sorties at night, in which they destroyed the works of the besiegers. The Choctās having by this time consumed nearly all their provisions, declared their determination to return home; and notwithstanding all the efforts of Le Sueur, and the promises made to them by Loubois, they would have done so, had not the Natches proposed a parley. Negotiations were again carried on, through the agency of one of the captive French women; and it was finally agreed, that the besieged should be allowed to quit the place without molestation, on

\* Minute accounts of the expeditions of the French against the Natches are presented in the despatches of Perier and the Commissioner Baron to the Government, which are copied at length by Gayarré in his "*Histoire de la Louisiane*," chapter 11. The statements are however not always clear or consistent, especially on the points most disgraceful to the French.

condition of their surrendering the prisoners. Accordingly on the 27th of the month, the women and children with nearly all the negroes were liberated; and on the following night, the Natches abandoned their forts, carrying off the remainder of the negroes, without any attempt being made to arrest their passage, although Loubois declared his intention to do so. Perier in his despatch to the Government represents this transaction, as the result of the magnanimity of the French Commandant, in return for the liberation of the prisoners; but there is abundant evidence, that Loubois had lost all confidence in his men, among whom only a few negroes and the Germans under Arensberg from the Côte Allemande, appear to have displayed any courage in the affair. The Choc-tās claimed the whole credit of the result, to which indeed they were justly entitled; and they treated their allies most cavalierly in consequence. They demanded the lion's share of the property recovered from the Natches, and farther presents of goods in return for the captives rescued, to secure the delivery of which, they did not scruple to exact hostages. They also insisted on carrying off several negroes, who professed a desire to remain with them; and they were allowed to put to death, with all the refinements of savage torture, some others who had taken part with the Natches.\*

Loubois destroyed the Indian forts, and rebuilt Fort Rosalie on a better plan, and having placed a garrison there, he returned to New Orleans. The women, who during their captivity had suffered every evil and indignity, and had seen their infants torn from their breasts and offered up as sacrifices, were treated with the utmost kindness, especially by the Ursuline nuns then recently established in the capital. The surviving owners of the estates at Natchez, and the heirs of those who had been killed, were allowed to choose lands near Point Coupée, where some plantations were formed by them; but none were found disposed to renew the settlements at the place where the great catastrophe had oc-

\* Dumont relates a romantic story of a negro at New Orleans, who cut off his own right hand, in order to free himself from the revolting duties of a public executioner, to which he was appointed or rather condemned, by the Governor of Louisiana. The account has not been contradicted; but the same thing is said to have taken place in Spain, during the middle ages, and was made the subject of a tragedy by one of the poets of that country, more than a century before the foundation of New Orleans.



curred, which continued to be little more than a military post, so long as Louisiana was occupied by the French.

The Natches were yet by no means conquered. A large number, probably amounting to five hundred men, with their women and children, had established themselves in the marshy region of the Washita, west of the Mississippi, nearly opposite to their old place of abode, from which they occasionally threatened the French at Natchez and Natchitoches: the others had retired towards the Chickasā country, and thence they often came in small parties to the vicinity of Fort Rosalie, in order to surprise and murder the stragglers from that post. One of these parties, in the summer of 1730, had nearly gained possession of the fort, to which they obtained admittance, as a deputation of Choctās: another party, in like manner succeeded in killing the great chief of the Tunicas, who were attached to the French, and several of his followers, before they were discovered. Of the Natches made prisoners by the French, or their Indian allies, in the course of the same year, Perier caused some to be publicly burnt, on the levée in front of New Orleans; the others were sent to St. Domingo to be there sold as slaves.

The French in Louisiana were exposed to another peril in the summer of 1730. The Governor had since the expedition to Natchez, placed much more confidence in the courage of the negroes, than in that of his own countrymen; and he employed a band of Africans to extirpate the small nation of the Ouachas or Washas, dwelling on the borders of a lake about thirty miles west of New Orleans, who had excited some alarm during the preceding winter. The expedition was successful, but the negroes on their return, became so much elated with their own prowess, that they considered it a task no less easy, to destroy their own masters; and a conspiracy was accordingly soon arranged among them, for the murder of all the white people at New Orleans and in the neighboring plantations, on a day appointed. The insolent answer of a black woman to her master, led to the discovery of the plot in time to prevent its execution; and the Governor was enabled to offer to the good citizens of the capital, the spectacle of the operations of the wheel, and other civilized instruments of torture and death, previously unknown there, to which the ring-leaders were subjected.

At this time, a small body of troops from France reached New Orleans under the command of M. Perier de Salverte, the brother of the Governor; and it was determined that an expedition should be made against the Natches in the Washita country, for which purpose, about a thousand men were assembled at the mouth of the Red river. Thence they proceeded in boats up the Black River or lower Washita, in search of the enemy, who were, after some time, found posted in forts on a marshy spot called Bayou d'Argent \*. The forts of the Indians were invested by the French in January, 1731, and some cannons with a mortar made of wood, were brought to bear upon them. The Natches, as before, defended themselves bravely; their provisions however being soon exhausted, they proposed to capitulate, and in proof of their sincerity, they delivered up to the French all the negroes, nineteen in number, remaining in their possession. Perier upon this, agreed to receive the Great Sun, his brother St. Come the Little Sun, and two other chiefs, at his quarters, in order to discuss the terms; but no sooner had the Indians entered the place, than they were seized and placed in confinement. One of the chiefs escaped in the following night, and reaching the forts, he assured his brethren, that the French intended to burn all who should fall into their hands; and it was in consequence resolved that the warriors should make a desperate effort to break through the lines of the besiegers, leaving the others to their fate. This was done without difficulty, and three hundred men thus effected their evasion, under cover of a thick mist; so that the French on closing up their lines on the following morning, found only fifty men, with about four hundred women and children, with whom they returned in triumph to New Orleans.

Of the Natches made prisoners by the French, some were burnt at New Orleans, and some were retained there as captives or slaves until their death. The Great Sun, his brother St. Come,

\* M. Robin, a Frenchman who travelled through Louisiana in 1803, conceives that he discovered this spot, on the plantation of a M. Ebrard, near the junction of the Black River with a small stream, leading to the Catahoola lake. The mounds and fortifications observed by Robin, were however probably of much more ancient date; like those found in other parts of Louisiana and on the Ohio, of which such interesting descriptions are presented in the work of Messrs. Squier and Davis, published in 1848, by the Smithsonian Institute in Washington City.



and the other principal persons, with their families, were sent to St. Domingo, where many of them soon fell victims to the diseases of that island. The survivors were supported until the following year at the expense of the India Company, after which, they were all sold as slaves, by order of the Directors of that body.\* Of their subsequent history nothing has been discovered; they probably soon sunk under the labors of the plantations.

In the course of the following summer several minor expeditions were made from New Orleans against the Natches, who from time to time, appeared in force at different points. A party of them took a position within six miles of Natchitoches, where they built a fort on the banks of a small lake, and endeavored to prevail on the French, by threats and by promises, to quit that country. The stout Commandant St. Denis, was however not to be affected by such means, and he soon assembled a small force of French, Indians, and even of Spaniards from the neighboring fortress of Adayes, with whom he attacked the Natches in their stronghold, and killed more than sixty; the others amounting to as many more, fled, impressed probably with greater respect for the courage and activity of the white men, than preceding occurrences were calculated to create.

\* "Perier, the commanding officer of the colony, had them all carried away to Cape François, where the most important member of the dynasty died a few months after his arrival. The other Suns were maintained by the Company, for the moderate sum of one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight livres seven sous; and when application was made to M. de Maurepas to defray this expense, the Minister wrote to the Directors of the Company under date of April 22, 1731, —'I know no other course to be pursued, than to order the survivors of these two Indian families to be sold or sent back to Louisiana.' What was done in consequence, may be seen by the following resolution, extracted from the Registers of the India Company, deposited in the archives of the Court of Accounts—'It was resolved to order the sale of the survivors of the said two families of Natches Indians.' At the time when this order was given, the India Company was claiming the glory of civilizing the very people, whose chiefs were thus sold as slaves."—*Histoire de la Louisiane*, by Barbé Marbois.

Bienville, on his way from Louisiana in 1733, stopped at Cape François, from which he wrote thus to the Minister at Paris, on the 23rd of January:

"At this place, I saw the Chiefs of the Natches, who are here as slaves, and among them the one named St. Come, who had been induced to believe, that they would be allowed to return with me, to their country. They assured me, that their nation alone was engaged in the revolt, that they had been forced to it by the hard usage to which they were subjected, and that they had resolved upon it, without consulting any of the other nations."—Gayarré, vol. 1, page 292.

After this period, the Natches never constituted a distinct nation. Bands of them, for some time, roved over the country west of the Mississippi, occasionally attacking the Tunicas and other Indians in alliance with the French; the greater part however became incorporated with the Chickasās, and the Muscoghees, in each of which confederacies, they still form separate tribes, retaining their own language and many of their customs, in the manner usually practised among the aboriginal nations of America. The determination displayed by this people in their resistance to the French has created for them an interest which seems to have been, strangely enough, increased by the peculiar ferocity of their character and the loathsomeness of their customs; and historians have dwelt upon their destruction with expressions of regret, and novelists have endeavored to excite feelings of sympathy in their behalf,\* which when viewed through the cold medium of reason, are utterly at variance with justice or good taste. The Natches in fact, with all the superiority of intelligence and refinement over surrounding nations, which may be admitted as pertaining to them, were barbarians, in the most objectionable sense of the term, whose only virtue was their courage, and whose extinction cannot in any way be regarded as a wrong to the cause of humanity.

This war, of course, proved very costly to the India Company, as the troops, with all the arms, ammunition, and even provisions, were sent from France, and a large proportion of those supplies, was wasted or embezzled on the way; and that body having, according to the Report of its Directors, expended more than twenty millions of livres on Louisiana, without receiving, or having reason to expect any adequate return, then resolved to entreat the King to revoke his grant, and to resume the entire possession of the country. A petition to that effect was accordingly addressed to the Crown on the 22d of January, 1731; and, on the following day, His Majesty was pleased to accede to it, on the condition that the Company should pay fourteen hundred and fifty thousand livres, in the course of the ten ensuing years, as compensation for the benefits which the colony would

\* Every one has read Chateaubriand's famous Tale of Atalā and Chactās; though very few are probably acquainted with the long, dull mass of false sentimentality, called "The Natches," of which this tale is an episode.



lose from the withdrawal of the supplies of merchandise and negroes, hitherto furnished by the association. The proposed condition was accepted, and the retrocession was soon after formally effected at New Orleans; the Crown receiving all the property of the Company in the Province, estimated at two hundred and sixty thousand livres, in part payment of the debt due to it.\* A general settlement of accounts was then made, in a summary manner, by commissioners who, being unable, in most cases, to recover any thing from the debtors to the Company, gave to its creditors merely acknowledgments of their claims, accompanied by prohibitions to prosecute that body for the discharge of them in Europe; while the bills issued by the

\*The following translations of the letter from the Comptroller General of France, to the Directors of the India Company, and of their resolution upon its contents, show the terms upon which Louisiana was retroceded to the Crown:

“MARLY, January 23.

*Gentlemen* :—I have communicated to His Majesty, the report of the deliberations, by which you were yesterday authorised, for and in the name of the India Company, to pray His Majesty most humbly, for the reasons therein set forth, to revoke the concession of the colony of Louisiana, reserving to the India Company, only the privilege of the exclusive commerce of that colony, upon its engagement to supply to the inhabitants of Louisiana, at the usual prices and terms, five hundred negroes annually, with all that may be required for their indispensable wants, or—what would be still more advantageous for the interests of the Company—to accept the retrocession of this privilege of commerce, which the Company conceives may be extremely burdensome to it, on the condition of its making a compensation to His Majesty for such engagement, to the extent which His Majesty, and his Council, may determine: And His Majesty orders me to inform you of His intentions thereupon, to the effect that—being anxious to treat the India Company with favor, His Majesty has reduced the sum of three millions six hundred thousand livres, which the Secretary of State, for the Marine, considered as a proper equivalent for the renunciation of those commercial engagements, to fourteen hundred and fifty thousand livres, payable within the ensuing ten years, namely—two hundred thousand in each of the first three years, one hundred and sixty thousand in each of the three years next following, and one hundred thousand in each of the four last years. On the receipt of these presents, you will assemble, to take into consideration the intentions of His Majesty, as herein expressed.

ORRY.”

The acceptance by the India Company is thus expressed in its Registers:

“On this 24th of January, 1731, in the Assembly of the Syndics and Directors of the India Company—the letter of Monseigneur, the Comptroller General of the Finances, having been read, it was determined to authorize the Syndics and Directors of the India Company to submit, for and in the name of the said Company, to pay the said sum of fourteen hundred and fifty thousand livres, according to the terms prescribed by His Majesty, to the person whom, and in the manner in which, His Majesty may order, for receiving them.”

officers and agents of the Company, which constituted a large portion of the currency, were arbitrarily driven from circulation, to the loss, by their holders, of almost their entire value. Perier was continued in the government until the beginning of 1733, when he was superseded by Bienville, who was again placed at the head of the colony.

Thus ended the control of the India Company in Louisiana, after thirteen years of labors and vast expenditures, the whole result of which, had been the establishment of about six thousand Europeans and Canadians, and two thousand negroes, on the banks of the Mississippi. A foundation had, nevertheless, been thus laid, for the effective occupation of those regions by the French; and with moderate assistance from the parent State, and moderate prudence and industry among its inhabitants, Louisiana might, in time, have rivalled in prosperity, the older provinces of the English on the Atlantic coasts, which it so far surpassed in fertility, and in every other advantage, except the important one of vicinity to the sea. The French colony was, however, unfortunately under the dominion of a despotic government, subjected to regulations arbitrarily devised in a distant court, and directed by persons appointed, and sent out from that court, without any regard for the happiness or welfare of its people: whilst the English provinces were, in reality, each an almost independent State, looking to the mother country only for protection and succor, and left, with little interference on the part of the central power, to manage its own affairs, in the way most conducive to its own welfare. Every encouragement to exertion, was thus offered to each and all of the English colonies, and to each individual within their limits; whilst Louisiana and Canada were, and continued to be, only plantations of the Crown, and their people were nearly in the condition of serfs, inferior, as regarded all rights and privileges, to their fellow subjects in Europe.

That there was no incapacity on the part of the French, at that time, to render Louisiana a flourishing country, sufficient proof is afforded by the condition of their colony in St. Domingo, which, under a liberal system, was rapidly rising to the high state of prosperity, afterwards attained by it, through the cultivation of sugar, coffee and indigo, and the contraband trade



with the Spanish possessions. For this trade, great facilities were also offered by the French ports on the Mexican Gulf; and the climate and soil of the adjoining regions, were adapted for the growth of many valuable articles, such as indigo, sugar, tobacco, and rice, while abundant supplies of provisions, of all kinds, might be obtained from the countries farther north. The same liberality was indeed extended to Louisiana in 1732, when all the monopolies previously held by the Company, were abolished, and the commerce between the colony and France, was freed from all duties on exports or imports, in either country, many valuable privileges being moreover accorded to the vessels engaged in it. These benefits were, however, as will be shown, all neutralized by untoward circumstances, arising in part from the selfishness and ambition of those entrusted with the immediate direction of the colony, which effectually arrested its advancement, and prevented it from ever becoming, other than an expensive and burdensome appendage to the mother country.

War had in the meantime again broken out, between England and Spain, in consequence of the insane desire of Philip V. to regain the possession of Gibraltar, which impelled him to direct a large armament against that fortress, in the beginning of 1727. The English were however prepared, and the siege, though long continued, proved unavailing. By this time, relations of the most intimate nature, had been restored, between France and Spain, by the conciliatory efforts of the French minister, Cardinal Fleury, through whose mediation the hostilities were arrested: there is even reason to believe that King George I. had resolved to deliver up Gibraltar to Spain; but this project, if entertained, was defeated by the death of that monarch in June, 1727, and it could find no favor with his successor George II. In order to settle the affairs of Europe, on a firm basis, a Congress of representatives of the great powers was then assembled at Soissons, which like that of Cambray, ended only by increasing the general dissatisfaction. Fleury and the English minister Walpole who was no less peacefully inclined, nevertheless persevered; and a treaty of alliance, similar to that of Madrid, was at length concluded at Seville, in November, 1729, between England, France and Spain. According to this treaty, all things were to be restored to the same state as in 1725, and commissaries were to be appointed

by the English and Spanish Governments, to examine and decide upon all their claims and differences, as to commerce and navigation, "as well in the Indies as in Europe, and upon all other pretensions of the two powers, in America, founded on treaties, whether with respect to limits or otherwise." This last provision, so extensive in its bearings, underwent the fate to which those of a similar character have been almost universally subjected: the commissaries were, after long delays, appointed, and they met at Madrid in February, 1732, and presented memorials of the claims of their respective nations, which were reciprocally declared inadmissible; they were then after much wrangling recalled, and the controversy was resumed between their governments, with additional violence on both sides. The Spaniards rendered their prohibitory regulations as to trade and navigation more stringent, and increased the numbers of their *guarda-costas*; while the English took other measures, more decisively injurious as will be seen, to the supremacy of their rivals in the New World.

The English provinces in America were then in the full enjoyment of peace and prosperity, though each of them was engaged in disputes with the government of the mother country, on account of some real or fancied grievance. In Carolina, the opposition of the people to the proprietors was so constant and violent, that the latter were at length in 1729, glad to dispose of their rights to the Crown; one of them, Lord Carteret receiving, in place of the money paid to the others, a tract nearly sixty miles in breadth from the southern boundary of Virginia, which was declared to extend across the Continent, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. North Carolina then contained six thousand white inhabitants, and half that number of negroes—somewhat exceeding Louisiana in both those classes of population. South Carolina with the same number of inhabitants of European race, had at least ten thousand African slaves. The condition of the latter province was highly satisfactory: the negroes indeed sometimes gave cause for uneasiness, and the Cherokees steadily resisted the advance of the English towards the upper countries, which were in the end settled by emigrants from Virginia, and the more northern colonies; and the yellow fever, which first appeared in America in 1729 among the Spanish *guarda-costas* at Carthagena, soon after broke out at Charleston, and carried off a



large number of persons. But for all these evils, abundant compensation was afforded by the advantages of soil and climate, attracting emigrants thither from many parts of Europe, especially after the introduction of the culture of rice, which then began to form the staple production of the country.

There were few, if any white inhabitants, in either of the provinces of Carolina west of the falls of the rivers. In Virginia, settlements were formed in the easternmost vallies between the lines of mountains, which compose the Apalachian or Allegany chain; and the traders and hunters of that colony had penetrated to the Ohio, and even to the vicinity of the French posts on the Wabash and the Illinois. Farther north, the governments and the people of Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, were steadily engaged in conciliating or subduing the Indians on their western frontiers, in which the French of Canada were using every effort to counteract them. The English interest however prevailed among the Iroquois; and in 1726 a treaty was concluded at Albany between the chiefs of the Senekas, Cayugas and Onondagas, on the one part, and commissioners from the Government of New York, on the other, by which the Indians ceded to the King of England, a tract of country sixty miles in breadth, extending from Oswego westward along Lake Ontario, the Niagara and Lake Erie, to Cuyahoga creek, emptying into the latter lake where the City of Cleveland in Ohio now stands—"to be protected by his said majesty, his heirs and successors for ever, to and for the use of us [the Indians,] our heirs, and successors and the said three nations." This treaty, it will be afterwards seen, was regarded by the English as an absolute cession, in virtue of which, lands in those territories were freely granted to their subjects; and the alleged violation by the French, of the rights thus supposed to have been acquired, was one of the principal causes of the war between the two nations begun in 1754. By similar agreements with the Indians, as well as by the steady advance of their settlements, the people of New England were extending their occupation effectively eastward, in which direction they had advanced nearly to the River of St. John; though the French still claimed the Kennebec as their western boundary on the Atlantic coast, as well as the whole territory bordering upon the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence.

The Marquis de Beauharnais, Governor General of Canada, was meanwhile no less actively engaged in strengthening the whole line of fortifications on the frontiers of his province, from Fort Ouayatenons, on the Wabash, afterwards called Vincennes, to the peninsula of Acadie; and in 1730 he established a new fortified post on Crown Point, at the head of Lake Champlain, which proved no less annoying to the English, than their Fort Oswego was to the French. The Marquis, likewise endeavored to extend the discovery of the Continent westward if possible to the Pacific, for which purpose, special privileges were granted to M. Verendrye a trader; he however effected nothing of consequence, so far as is known, the royal government refusing all the petitions addressed to it by Beauharnais and his successors, for the appropriation of money to such enterprises.

The Spanish provinces adjoining Louisiana remained, during this period, nearly stationary in population and in all other respects. In Florida, the only settlements were those of St. Augustine, St. Mark and Pensacola, with a few intermediate posts, which were supported entirely by the expenditures of the government on fortifications, and in the payment of civil and military officers, and garrisons, with their dependants. Yet, the Governors of that country claimed jurisdiction, at least as far northward as the Savannah, and were constantly endeavoring, by intrigues with the Indians and negroes, to harrass or destroy the "intrusive" English posts, within those limits, especially the fort at the junction of the Oconee and the Ocmulgee, which was a perpetual source of annoyance and irritation to the Spaniards.

In Texas, the same want of method and energy prevailed. The forts and missions were maintained, but very inadequately; the garrisons having seldom more than half of their complement of men, and the missionaries being unable, from their extreme poverty, to acquire any influence over the natives. The Marquis de Aguayo, had indeed, after long solicitation, obtained orders from Madrid, for the establishment of two hundred families from the Canary Islands, and as many from Tlascala, at the points selected by him for towns; a long period, however, elapsed, before any thing was done, and when seventeen families from each place had been transported to San Antonio, the orders were considered as fulfilled. This immigration took place in 1729;



the people were all established near the fortress of Bexar, and their settlement received the name of San Fernando, in honor of the Prince of the Asturias, afterwards King Ferdinand VI., though it was more commonly known by its present appellation of San Antonio. The principal missions were those of Nuestra Señora de Concepcion de Acuña, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de la Espada, all on the San Antonio river, within a short distance from Bexar; they were established by the Marquis de Casafuerte, Viceroy of Mexico, in 1731, though the vast and noble edifices belonging to them, which now excite universal admiration, were not commenced until a much later period.

The Spaniards had not been long established in Texas, ere they attracted the notice of the Apaches and Camanches, those Arabs of the desert of New Mexico, the irreconcilable foes of all who owned horses and cattle. In 1724, a party of Apaches surprised the fort of Loreto, erected by Aguayo on the site of La Salle's Fort St. Louis, and plundered it, after killing the Commandant Diego Ramon, and many of his soldiers; and in 1730, San Antonio was beset by a host of savages, who carried off nearly all the cattle. In the following year, an expedition was made by Don Pedro de Ribera, the Governor, with a hundred and fifty men, for the purpose of checking the audacity of these Indians, who were defeated, according to the report of that officer, with great loss; but no effect was produced, and the colony was ever after exposed to similar inroads, which checked its advancement as effectually, as that of Louisiana was arrested, by the enmity of the Natches and the Chickasās.

## CHAPTER XIII.

1732 TO 1749.

BIENVILLE AGAIN GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA—FOUNDATION OF THE ENGLISH COLONY OF GEORGIA—UNFORTUNATE EXPEDITION OF THE FRENCH AGAINST THE CHICKASAS—WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN—UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION OF THE ENGLISH AGAINST FLORIDA, AND OF THE SPANIARDS AGAINST GEORGIA—THE LINES OF SEPARATION BETWEEN LOUISIANA AND THE ADJOINING SPANISH PROVINCES RECOGNIZED BY BOTH NATIONS—BIENVILLE SUPERSEDED BY VAUDREUIL—GENERAL WAR IN EUROPE—RENEWAL OF DISPUTES BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE INDIANS—DEATH OF THE RED SHOE—PEACE OF AIX LA CHAPELLE.

WHATSOEVER may have been the views of the French Government in resuming the possession of Louisiana, its first measures appeared to be generally favorable to the advancement of the colony. The commercial restrictions of the India Company, as well as those of the government, were nearly all removed; and the opening of the trade with the West Indies afforded a market for the timber and turpentine of the province, in which a few vessels were soon employed. Many useless and expensive offices were abolished; and the colonial council was reorganized on a plan calculated to render it more useful and efficient, by enforcing the accountability of the officers of the government, and in some measure to supply the want of a legislative assembly, as six of its thirteen members were chosen from among the inhabitants of the country. Perier was, as already said, retained in the command until the spring of 1733, when Bienville again took his place as Governor General.



Bienville was then fifty-four years old. He had passed nearly the half of his life in Louisiana, in situations which enabled him to obtain a more minute knowledge of the country and its affairs, than any one else could have possessed; his views for its advancement, were in general reasonable, and he hoped to carry some of them into execution, as he, for the first time perhaps, enjoyed the entire confidence of the government. He had however a most difficult task to perform. His reports as to the state of the colony on his arrival, present indeed a discouraging, if not disgusting picture of vice and misery. New Orleans, the object of his fondest anticipations, was a filthy receptacle of starving vagabonds, black and white. The Chickasās and Natches had complete possession of the Mississippi, from the Ohio to the Yazoo, and extended their depredations southward to Point Coupée, which had been ravaged by them in the preceding year. The plantations were annually desolated by hurricanes or inundations, and many of them had been abandoned, from these causes, or from the uncertainty of the tenure of the lands, and disputes respecting limits, which were undetermined either by general regulations or by express provisions in any case; while the *habitans* or small proprietors, were reduced to wild fruits, roots and seeds, for support. The currency consisted only of depreciated paper; trade was embarrassed and almost extinguished; and the population, under the pressure of these various evils, was daily diminishing in numbers, from death and emigration.

Almost every colony has been subjected to similar trials in its infancy; and there was reason to hope, that tranquillity and the establishment of a better system of administration, in the country, would inspire confidence, and thus produce a disposition among the people, to avail themselves of the advantages offered in such abundance, by nature. To these ends, Bienville's first efforts were directed; but they proved fruitless. He could only substitute, for the paper found in use as money, other paper, equally without security, as to the maintenance of its declared value. The large landed proprietors residing in France, had interest at court, sufficient to prevent investigations of their titles; and the ministers refused all the solicitations of the governor, for the establishment of a college at New Orleans, and schools in other places, on the ground of their expensiveness. Unfortunately

moreover, an old feud existed between the Governor and M. Diron d'Artaguet the Royal Commissary and Commandant of Mobile, which was increased by several circumstances, after the return of Bienville to Louisiana.

In order to relieve the country from the visitations of the Chickasās, and at the same time to inspire the other Indian nations with more respect for the French, Bienville exerted himself in the first place, to regain his former influence over the Choctās, in which he however found greater difficulty, than he had anticipated, in consequence of the increase of English traders among that people. The Choctās were only to be won, by trade and presents; the English made few presents, but they traded on more liberal terms, than the French could offer, as the latter had no market for deer skins, the only articles presented by the Indians, in exchange for European goods. Bienville distributed presents as freely as he could, and he raised the price to be paid for Chickasā scalps; but he was unable to overthrow the moral effect of the increasing numbers of the English, and the wealth and power exhibited by them, when compared with what was seen among the French.

The influence of the English in those countries was moreover, about the same period, considerably extended and strengthened by the establishment of a new province, under a charter from the crown, in the territory south of the Savannah. Several propositions had been addressed to the British government, as already said, for the occupation of this territory, which was included in the second charter of Carolina, granted in 1665; but they had been unfavorably received, principally from the unwillingness of the Ministry, to increase the grounds of dispute with Spain. In 1732 however, when all expectation of terminating the discussions with that power, had proved vain, a charter was given by King George II.,\* to a number of persons as trustees, for the

\* The charter, dated June 9, 1732, describes the new province as—"seven undivided parts, (the whole into eight equal parts to be divided,) of all those lands, countries and territories, situate, lying and being in that part of South Carolina, in America, which lies from the most northern stream of the river, there commonly called Savannah, all along the sea coast to the southward, unto the most southern stream of a certain other great water, or river, called Alatamaha, and westward from the heads of the said rivers respectively, in direct lines to the South seas."



foundation and maintenance of a colony, to be called Georgia, which was to embrace within its limits, seven-eighths of the whole division of America, extending from the Atlantic westward between the Savannah and the Alatomaha, and between parallels of latitude drawn from the sources of those rivers, to the Pacific. The trustees were to have the entire direction of the colony, under certain restrictions, for twenty-one years, at the end of which it was to revert to the crown; their services were to be gratuitous, and all rents and other profits derived from the country, while under their superintendence, were to be employed for its advantage. This scheme was devised by James Oglethorpe, a gallant and enthusiastic gentleman, who had served with distinction in the army and in parliament; his object being to provide an asylum for the poor and distressed, not only of the British dominions, but of all other Protestant countries, as well as to form a rampart in the south, against the progress of the French and the Spaniards, to both of which nations he bore all the hatred of a true born Englishman. Agreeably to the system adopted by the trustees at his suggestion, not more than five hundred acres of ground could be granted to any one individual; and the lands so conceded, were to be entailed on the eldest male descendants of the grantee, in default of whom, they were to revert to the colony; slavery and the use of spirituous liquors were entirely prohibited; the Indians were to be protected against the tyranny or cunning of the white people; religion and morality were to be encouraged and enforced by laws, and many other regulations were made, equally unexceptionable in the abstract, and equally unsuitable, as was soon demonstrated, to the circumstances under which they were to be applied.

The cautious Walpole was opposed to the establishment of this colony, which could not fail to prove an obstacle to the maintenance of his policy of peace. Oglethorpe however prevailed; he obtained large amounts of money from individuals, in aid of the enterprise, and having been appointed Governor of Georgia, by the trustees, he sailed with a number of settlers for the new province, where they arrived in January 1733. Lands were immediately distributed to the people, agreeably to the regulations, and the towns of Savannah, Ebenezer and Augusta were founded; the first near the mouth of the Savannah, and the last at its falls.

Oglethorpe then convened an assembly of chiefs of the Indian tribes, occupying the adjacent regions, with whom he made a treaty, conveying to Great Britain, the absolute possession of the whole territory and islands between the Savannah and the Alata-maha, except certain small portions, reserved to the savages; and he soon after entered into similar territorial and commercial conventions, with the Muscoghees and the Choctās, from the latter of which nations, the Red Shoe appeared, as the plenipotentiary, at Augusta, in 1734.

In all these proceedings of the English, with respect to Georgia, the claims of the French and the Spaniards to countries first discovered and occupied by them, were utterly disregarded; Oglethorpe being resolved, either by charters from his sovereign, or by treaties with the Indians, to assert the right of expelling the people of the other nations, from the whole division of America, bordering upon the northern side of the Mexican Gulf. The Spaniards looked with alarm, at this new encroachment upon what they considered as their own territory: their ambassador at London protested solemnly against the establishment of the new colony, but of course without effect; and foreseeing a collision between the two races in that quarter, they began to strengthen their fortifications at St. Augustine, St. Marks and Pensacola, and to increase their garrisons in those places. The danger to the French was more remote, and the good understanding between their Court and that of England, was not disturbed by the establishment of the new colony. The Governor of Louisiana however, viewed the matter in a more serious light, and in order to provide, in time, against the evils, which he apprehended, he strengthened the garrison of Fort Toulouse on the upper Alabama, and he urged the ministers in France to afford him the means of effectually arresting the inroads of the Chickasās.

In the meantime, the Red Shoe came back from Augusta, in the autumn of 1734, much dissatisfied with the presents and honors paid to him by the English; and D'Artaguet took advantage of this disposition, to engage him and his warriors in an attack upon the Chickasās, for which he requested the Governor to furnish one hundred soldiers to be commanded by himself, and a large supply of ammunition. Bienville, however, either from distrust of the Red Shoe, whose influence he under-



valued, or from that jealousy which seems to have predominated in him over all other considerations, refused to grant more than thirty men, who were to be sent under Le Sueur. The Choctās were in consequence disappointed; and although they behaved gallantly, especially the Red Shoe who distinguished himself in the attack of a Chickasā town, no other results were obtained, of greater importance, than the taking of a few scalps, for which heavy demands were made on the French at Mobile. Bienville, who had repaired to that place in order to meet the Choctās, acceded to their demands; and he moreover prevailed upon them to assist him, in an expedition against their common enemies, from which he hoped to obtain reputation for himself, and security for the colony, the great object of his solicitude.

The Chickasās were a small nation, probably not exceeding six thousand persons, who occupied a fertile territory, immediately adjoining that of the Choctās on the north, and at present included in the counties of Fayette, Chickasā and Pontotoc in the State of Mississippi, between the head waters of the great western branch of the Mobile, now called the Tombigbee, and those of the Yazoo emptying into the Mississippi. They dwelt in several villages situated near each other, for mutual defence, and they cultivated the earth, though their principal support was derived from hunting, for which they maintained exclusive possession of the country, farther north, to the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Cherokee or Tennessee. On the west, they were separated from the Mississippi by a wide tract of morass, bordering upon that river, for more than two hundred miles, from the mouth of the Yazoo, to that of the Margot or Wolf River, at the foot of the southernmost of the cliffs now known as the Chickasā Bluffs, where the flourishing city of Memphis, in Tennessee, is situated. This was the nearest point of the Mississippi accessible to the Chickasās, whose name for the great stream—Sak-ti-halafa Okinna—signified a River at a precipitous high place.

The bravery of the Chickasās and their skill in war, had already become proverbial among the Indian nations: but they were now to be brought into collision with a civilized people, among whom military science had been most extensively cultivated, and military renown was most highly prized; and preparations were made for attacking them, on a scale of such

magnitude, as apparently to insure the success of the French. For this purpose every means at the disposition of the colony was employed; men were collected and armed and trained at all the posts, and additional supplies of arms, ammunition and heavy artillery were earnestly requested from France, while the fidelity of the Choctās was maintained at a great expense, by presents.

According to Bienville's plan, the troops were to be divided into two bodies, which were to move simultaneously from the Mississippi and the Mobile, on the principal town of the Chickasās, called Chooka-falaya, or the Long-house; and it was hoped that the Indians thus enclosed, would either be crushed, or be driven upon their enemies, the Cherokees in the north-east, or on the Shawnees, Miamis and Illinois beyond the Ohio. The larger body composing the Choctās and all the French of the lower country who could be spared, was to be commanded by the Governor in person; a rendezvous being appointed for them on the western branch of the Mobile, fifty miles above its confluence with the Tuscaloosa or Black Warrior river, where a post called Fort Tombecbé was established on a cliff overhanging the stream on the west.\* The other party, consisting of the regular troops, settlers and Indians, from the Illinois and the Wabash, was to be assembled at the mouth of the Margot, where they were to be joined by those from the Arkansās and other points on the Mississippi; and they were thence to march south-east to the point of attack, under young D'Artaguet, the nephew of the Commissary, who was Commandant of the Illinois.

The period first appointed for the assemblage of these two bodies, at their respective places of rendezvous, was the beginning of 1736, so that the attack might be made from both sides, on the 1st of March; but the arms, supplies and reinforcements, expected from France not arriving at that period, the commencement of operations was deferred until the month of May following. In

\*The place is now known as Jones' Bluff, in Sumpter County, in the State of Alabama. The name of the fort, which has since been given to the great western branch of the Mobile, and is now usually written Tombigbee, signified, according to the Choctās of the present day, the place where boxes are made, from a tradition that a French carpenter had first settled there, who made boxes for the natives: Romans, however, derives it from Ec-tom-bogue-bee, meaning Crooked creek, which he says, was the name of the small stream, flowing by the fort into the river.



the meantime, a boat laden with gunpowder, had been sent from New Orleans for the use of the northern division, under the charge of an officer who thought proper to leave the ammunition at the mouth of the Arkansās, in order to make room in the boat for goods of his own. It became necessary in consequence to despatch another officer with some men from Fort Chartres, in order to bring the powder to the mouth of the Margot; and this party on reaching the latter place were surprised by the Chickasās, who killed nearly all of them, and made prisoners of the others, obtaining at the same time an abundant supply of powder, the article most needed by them. Soon after this unfortunate occurrence, D'Artaguet arrived at the place appointed, with a small number of French and Indians from the Illinois, and others from the Wabash within the jurisdiction of Canada, under François de Vincennes, Comandant of Fort Ouayatenons, now Vincennes. A detachment of similar forces from the lower Mississippi was also, agreeably to the arrangements, to join them at the same place under M. de Montcherval; but as they did not appear in the middle of April, when the march was to be commenced, and the Indian allies of the French were becoming restless, D'Artaguet departed with forty-one regular soldiers, ninety-nine volunteers, and three hundred and sixty-six Indians, in the direction of the Chickasā towns.

Bienville was in the meantime still at Mobile, anxiously awaiting the arrival of the reinforcements, and above all, of the heavy artillery expected from France, which he considered in fact indispensable, having learned that the Chickasās, with the aid of some English traders, had rendered their towns almost impregnable to troops unprovided with battering cannon. His hopes from that quarter however proved vain; and being unable longer to delay the commencement of his operations, he proceeded to Fort Tombecbé, from which he began his expedition on the 4th of May. His forces consisted of five hundred and seventy French and Swiss\* and fifty negroes, with six hundred Choctas, (not half of the number promised) under their great chiefs the Alibamon Mingo and the Red Shoe. They ascended the Tombecbé partly in boats and partly on foot, several hundred miles, to its

\* These numbers are taken from Bienville's despatch to the French Government of the 12th of June; the other accounts represent the force as much greater.

junction with one of its branches from the west called Oketibeha,\* where the town of Columbus in the State of Mississippi now stands, distant about forty miles from the point of attack. At this place it had been intended to leave the river; but the determination was changed, and they proceeded higher up to the mouth of another small stream, nearer to the Chickasā towns, at which a temporary fort was constructed for the protection of the boats and materials not immediately required.

From this place, now known as Cotton-Gin-port, the French and their allies set out on the 24th of May, leaving at the fort a garrison of twenty men under M. de Vandereck. On that day, they went but two leagues, and passed the night disagreeably, without shelter from a violent storm, which lasted until morning; the march was then resumed with caution, and after some difficulties in passing marshes and swoln streams, they again encamped within two leagues, of the Long House, which they reached early on the 26th. This town against which the attack of the French was about to be directed, consisted of some large cabins, or groups of small cabins connected together, surrounding a slight eminence crowned with a rude fort of logs and earth, in the centre of a prairie. The roofs of the cabins and of the fort, were made of poles, covered with earth; and each group was enclosed by a palisade of logs, behind which holes were dug in the ground, to secure the defenders against musketry, and even in a measure against light artillery. The Indians were well provided with guns and ammunition, and were aided by the advice of several English traders, who were among them; so that their position was, upon the whole stronger, than many which have been held out by a few determined men, against forces infinitely superior, and provided with all the means and materials for siege or assault. A British flag was flying on the fort, according to one of the accounts; while another states that it was raised over a hut occupied by some English.

Bienville on examining the place, felt little inclination to attack it, as he had no cannon, and he proposed to move on to another village, which was said to be occupied by Natches: but the Choctās,

\* Oketibeha means, The water where we fought them; in commemoration as it is said of a great battle at that place in which the Cherokees were beaten by the Choctās.



in the exuberance of their zeal and courage, insisted on beginning the war at this point ; and as the same opinion was entertained by the French officers, the Governor yielded to their wishes. A company of grenadiers, with sixty Swiss and two hundred volunteers, were accordingly ordered to advance, under the command of M. de Noyan, Bienville's nephew, against one of the groups of cabins, preceded by some negroes carrying *mantelets* or shields of planks, for the protection of the men against musket shots. Some of these blacks were soon wounded, upon which the others threw down the *mantelets* and fled : the grenadiers, however, marched on, and succeeded in setting one of the cabins on fire with their hand-grenades, after the Indians who defended it had escaped to the fort ; but the French were exposed to a fire from the other cabins, so constant and well directed, that their commander, and a large number of their officers and men were soon killed or wounded. The Choctās were then, with much difficulty, brought to the assault, from which they, like the negroes, fled upon the fall of some of their number ; and Bienville, considering it needless to continue the attack, sent M. de Beauchamp, with eighty men, to recall the troops, and cover their retreat. This was done in good order, as the Chickasās did not venture to leave their fort ; and the French encamped for the night, at a short distance from the village. M. de Contrecoeur, the captain of the grenadiers, M. de Lusser, who commanded the Swiss, M. de Juzan, the adjutant, and seven other officers, were left dead on the field, with thirty-two of the men, whose bodies were seen on the next day hanging in quarters, on the Chickasā fort ; and more than sixty, including M. de Noyan, were brought away severely wounded. Of the number of Chickasās engaged in the defence, no account could be obtained ; none of the estimates made by the French, carried it as high as a hundred men, and the English traders make it still less.

The night was passed by the French undisturbed. On the following morning, a deputation appeared from another Chickasā village, to propose peace, but Bienville was so much irritated by the events of the preceding day, that he ordered his men to fire on them, and four of the number were thus killed. An attempt was then made to renew the attack, but it was soon abandoned ; and the Choctās, under the influence of the Red

Shoe, having evinced a disposition to separate themselves from their allies, and return directly home, it was determined that the enterprise should be abandoned. Litters and hurdles were accordingly prepared for the wounded, and the army retreating slowly, reached the place of embarkation on the Tombeché, in two days. Had they delayed their retreat much longer, it would probably have been very disastrous; for the river was rapidly falling, and they might have been obliged to march several hundred miles with their wounded, through a difficult country, in which the Chickasās would not have failed to harrass them. They however descended the river safely to Fort Tombeché, which they reached on the 2nd of June; and thence Bienville hastened to Mobile, where he had to communicate the ill success of the expedition, to the commandant D'Artaguet, his rival and enemy.\*

While engaged in this expedition, Bienville had, of course,

\* Bienville in his despatches to the government, endeavored to diminish the amount of his own responsibility, by dwelling on the difficulties which he had to encounter, not only from the Chickasas and their English allies, but also from the want of energy, and punctuality of his own officers, and the falsehood of his Indian auxiliaries, against whom he was obliged to be ever on his guard; alluding at the same time, to the neglect of his urgent entreaties for heavy artillery, and to the miserable character of the soldiers sent out to him, whose cowardice he could not have anticipated. "True it is," he writes, "that no one could have expected to make soldiers, of the miserable herd of scoundrels, sent here as recruits; and it is most painful to be obliged to jeopard the honor of the nation, with such troops, and to expose the officers to the alternative of death or disgrace. The recruits, lately arrived in the Gironde, are the worst of all: there are among them but one or two of more than five feet high; the rest are under four feet ten inches; and as to their morals, of the whole number of fifty-two, more than one half have been already publicly whipped for theft. They are, in fine, only so many useless mouths, who will always be a burthen, and never a benefit to the colony."

M. Diron d'Artaguet carefully excludes all these palliatives from his communication to the ministry, which is thus bitterly laconic—"Our army, composed of more than fifteen hundred men, and commanded by M. de Bienville in person, has failed, as you will learn by his own reports, in the attack on the first village which they found on their way. This village was defended by thirty or forty men, entrenched in a fort, and in several surrounding cabins, equally strong, from which they discharged their shot, so effectively, as to put more than a hundred of ours *hors de combat*, and occasioned so much disorder among our men, that M. de Bienville was forced to retreat. We cannot say that we have killed a single Chickasā; and it is reported, that without the assistance of the Choctās, we should not have had four men left to bring us the news of the defeat."—Gayarré's *Histoire de La Louisiane*.



been anxiously expecting to see or hear from young D'Artaguettes, of whose arrival with his men at the Chickasā Bluffs, he had been informed before leaving Mobile. No news of that body was however obtained until the return of the Governor to Mobile, when he received a letter from D'Artaguettes, written in the middle of April, stating that he should immediately begin his march to the interior, so as to meet the troops from the south at the appointed time and place; and information of his departure for that purpose, was soon after brought to New Orleans. The next accounts of that body were most deplorable. They arrived in the end of April, before a Chickasā village, which they immediately attacked; but scarcely had they begun the assault, ere they found themselves beset by a large body of the savages, who had been concealed in a neighboring wood. The Indian auxiliaries of the French, thereupon threw down their arms and fled; and the Illinois militia having been likewise seized with a panic, which rendered them incapable of sustaining the action, the route became general. About eighty of the French escaped under the direction of a young ensign, named Voisin, and reached the mouth of the Margot, on their way to which, they were met by M. de Montcherval and his men, from the Arkansās, proceeding to join D'Artaguettes. Of the others, nothing was heard during several months.

At length an Indian woman, and soon after, a sergeant who had been left among the Chickasās, brought to New Orleans, accounts of the fate of the remainder of their party. D'Artaguettes and Vincennes, with the few who supported them, fought gallantly for some time; they were however, in the end, overpowered, and made prisoners by the Indians, who treated them kindly at first, with the object, no doubt, of procuring peace through their means. But when Bienville and his army had retreated, after the failure of their attack on the Long House, the savages, being no longer restrained by fear of the future, gave a loose to their feelings of hatred against the invaders. The sergeant, who brought the news, was spared by his master, in return for some service rendered; and two men were in like manner preserved, to be exchanged for a Chickasā chief, made prisoner by Bienville. The others, nineteen in number, including D'Artaguettes, Vincennes and the Jesuit Father Senat, who had accompanied the

party as chaplain, were all burnt alive, at a solemn feast by the Chickasās.\*

The unfortunate results of these expeditions necessarily produced an effect upon the Indians most unfavorable to the French, especially on the Choctās who openly proclaimed their contempt for that nation; and Bienville resolved to engage in no enterprise

\* The following extracts from Adair's History of the Indian Nations, no doubt relate to these expeditions. They are characteristic as showing the fierce feelings which prevailed among the English traders, towards the French at that period.

"A body of the lower French, and about fourteen hundred Choctās, attacked the Long House, when only sixty warriors were at home: yet they fought so desperately, as to secure themselves, their women and children, till some of the hunters, who had been immediately sent for, came home to their assistance; when, though exceedingly inferior in numbers, they drove the French off with great loss."

"Another time, the Lower and Upper Louisiana French, and a great body of red auxiliaries surprised late at night all their [Chickasā] present towns except Amalahta, that had about forty warriors, and stood at some distance from the others. A considerable number of the enemy were posted at every door, to prevent their escape; and what few ran out were killed on the spot. The French seemed quite sure of their prey, having so well enclosed it. But at the dawn of day, when they were capering and using those flourishes that are peculiar to that volatile nation, the people of the other town drew around them, stark naked, and all painted over, red and black; thus they attacked them, killed numbers on the spot, released their brethren, who joined them like enraged lions, increasing as they swept along, and in turn encircled their enemies. Their release increased their joy and fury; and they rent the sky with their sounds. Their flashy enemies now changed their boasting tune, into "*Oh Morbleu!*" and gave up all for lost. Their red allies out-heeled them, and left them to receive their just fate. They were all cut off but two, an officer and a negro, who faithfully held his horse till he mounted, and then ran alongside of him. A couple of swift runners were sent after them, who soon came up with them, and told them to ~~live~~ go home and inform their people, that 'as the Chickasā hogs had now a plenty of ugly French carcasses to feed on till next year, they hoped then to have another visit from them and their red friends; and that as messengers, they wished them safe home.' They accordingly returned with heavy hearts to the Chickasā landing place north-west on the Mississippi, at the distance of one hundred and seventy miles, where they took boat, and delivered their unexpected message. Grief and trembling spread through the country; and the inhabitants could not secure themselves from the fury of these warlike and enraged Chickasās. Every one of their prisoners was put to the fiery torture, without any possibility of redemption, their hearts were so exceedingly embittered against them."

The particulars of this unsuccessful campaign of the French, were related to the author of this history, by an old Chickasā chief, at Washington, in the summer of 1848, with no material variation from the account here presented as derived entirely from French authorities.



of the same kind in future without troops and artillery, sufficient to enable him to dispense with Indian auxiliaries. The Government, however, disappointed by the manner in which he had conducted his campaign, refused all his applications to that effect; and the Indians, encouraged by his inaction, became daily more insolent and annoying. The Chickasās soon held entire possession of the part of the Mississippi, between the Arkansās and the Ohio; and a number of savages from the environs of the latter river, under the direction of English traders from Virginia, established themselves near the mouth of the Wabash, and cut off all communications by that route, between the lakes and the Mississippi. Under these circumstances the French colony seemed rapidly verging to ruin. All industry was paralyzed, famine prevailed every where, and the people as well as the soldiers, deserted whenever opportunities were offered, to Carolina and even to the Spanish settlements in Florida. In the Illinois, there was no want of the means of subsistence; but no market being offered for the productions of the country, in consequence of the interruption of communications with lower Louisiana, the people ceased to cultivate the earth, any farther than was necessary for the supply of their own immediate wants. The little settlement of Natchitoches on the Red river, under the direction of its founder the gallant old Chevalier de St. Denis, seems to have presented the only exception to the general misery of the lower country: its tobacco began to be known and appreciated in Europe, from which its people received a few foreign articles in return; and the irregular trade carried on with Texas, brought thither the greater part of the specie, which came into Louisiana.

The English colony in Georgia meanwhile continued to advance, although discontent soon appeared among the settlers, in consequence of the restrictive regulations of the trustees, especially with regard to the exclusion of slavery and spirituous liquors. The climate was found to be very unfavorable to the health of Europeans laboring in the fields, and they considered spirituous liquors not only necessary for their own comfort, but indispensable for their trade with the Indians: so that they soon began to regard with envy, their fellow subjects north of the Savannah, who were prospering by the employment of negroes on their plantations, and were untrammelled by annoying prohibitions. Such

was the general feeling among the colonists on the return of Oglethorpe from England, whither he had gone in 1734, to obtain funds and settlers; and as he was supposed, with justice, to be the principal cause and defender of the restrictive system, a party was soon organized in resistance to his authority, which was favored and encouraged in every way by the people of Carolina.

Oglethorpe on this occasion brought with him from Europe a number of Germans, and of Scotchmen from the Highlands, and distributed them at various points, chiefly on the coasts and islands, as far south as the river of St. John, at the entrance of which he erected a fort on St. George's island. Forts were in like manner erected at Darien, near the mouth of the Alatomaha, where a settlement of Scotchmen was formed, and on the islands of St. Simon, Jekyll, Cumberland and Amelia, the two last of which were named after members of the royal family of England; and a town called Frederica, in honor of the Prince of Wales, was begun on the channel separating St. Simon's island from the mainland, which was intended to be the principal seat of commerce of the country. Oglethorpe had convinced himself that the channels separating these islands from the Continent, were in fact all continuations of the Alatomaha, and even that the St. John was only a branch of that river.

Upon the establishment of these posts, the Spaniards became seriously alarmed, and orders were given to the Governor of Florida, to expel the intruders from the territories of his Catholic Majesty. Oglethorpe on learning that preparations for this purpose were in progress, sent two gentlemen to St. Augustine, to make inquiries on the subject, who were at first detained and threatened with imprisonment at that place; but the Governor, Don Francisco de Moral Sanchez, finally agreed to liberate them, and to authorise commissioners to treat with Oglethorpe on the points of difference. The meeting took place at Frederica, where Don Antonio de Arredondo, appeared as the representative of the Governor of Florida; and after some discussions as to the extent of the territories of the respective parties, an agreement was concluded in September, 1736, to the effect, that the English fort at St. George's Island should be abandoned, and that neither party should act in a hostile manner towards the other, or excite the Indians to do so, until the determination of their governments on



the subject of boundaries should have been learned. The agreement, was however, rescinded by the Captain General of Cuba, Don Francisco de Guemes Horcasitas, who sent a peremptory summons to Oglethorpe, for the evacuation of Georgia. This demand was submitted by the Governor in person to the British government; and Walpole, notwithstanding his anxiety to preserve peace, found himself obliged to make a peremptory denial of the claim of Spain to that territory, and to insist on reparation of the injuries inflicted on his countrymen in the West Indies by the cruisers of that nation, and by the denial of the right of the English to cut wood at Honduras, and to trade with the Indians of the Mosquito coast.

A small force was at the same time placed at the disposition of Oglethorpe, who returned with it to Georgia in September, 1738; but he there found that the Spaniards had been tampering with the Indians of his province, that the government of South Carolina had been interfering in its affairs, and that extreme discontent prevailed in the colony itself. He, however, by great exertions, counteracted these difficulties; he reasoned with the Carolinians, and induced them to join with him in preparations for resistance; he visited the Creek towns on the Chattahoochee, where he made new treaties with their chiefs; and he strengthened the forts, and distributed his soldiers, on all the islands near the coast, resuming the possession of St. George's Island, at the mouth of the St. John, within forty miles of St. Augustine: by which means he succeeded in placing the country in a state of defence, against the attack expected from the Spaniards.

This threatening state of things between Great Britain and Spain, may have had some effect in inducing the French government to listen to the representations of the Governor of Louisiana, with regard to the perilous position in which that province was placed by the enmity of the Indians. Bienville was at length informed, that a large number of troops with abundant supplies of arms and munitions of war, would be sent to Louisiana; and in May, 1738, seven hundred men with artillery and materials of all kinds, arrived at New Orleans. With them, however, to Bienville's mortification came M. de Noailles d'Aime, a lieutenant in the navy, who was to command all the forces of the colony in any expedition against the Indians, and to be consulted on all mat-

ters relating to it,—“as he possesses”—wrote the minister—“the talents and experience required in a commander.” The Governor was indeed to retain the general direction, but nothing more immediate; and if the arms of France should be crowned with success, to M. de Noailles d’Aime, not to M. de Bienville, would redound all the honor.

It was however too late for Bienville to oppose a new expedition against the Chickasās; and preparations for that purpose were accordingly commenced early in 1739. On this occasion it was determined, that the forces should be all united in one army, which was to be assembled at the mouth of the Margot; and a fort was built there, on the spot now occupied by the city of Memphis, which was called Fort Assumption, in honor of the day of its completion, the 15th of August, the anniversary of the Assumption of the Virgin. At this place were collected a vast amount of arms, ammunition, and military equipments of all kinds, including heavy artillery, and mortars, with their balls and bombs; and no less than twelve hundred French troops, and two thousand Indians were assembled there in the autumn of 1739, drawn from every part of Louisiana, and even from the banks of the St. Lawrence. The Canadians were led by M. de Celeron, with Messrs. de Longueil, Bienville’s nephew, and de St. Laurent, as lieutenants; they had descended the Allegany\* and Ohio from the eastern end of Lake Erie, and were probably the first large party of white men who navigated those rivers, in their whole length. The contingent from the Illinois, was under M. de la Buissoniere,

\* Allegany, derived as already said, from Alighin-sipou, the name of the Ohio among the Indians of the western parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, was first applied by the English, about the year 1745, to the north-eastern branch of that river, now called the Allegany, and afterwards to the northern portion of the great chain of mountains, separating the streams which flow directly to the Atlantic, from those falling into the Mississippi. The French however considered the Allegany as the main stream of the Ohio; and it seems to have been the same, to which that name was originally assigned by the Iroquois.

The party who thus came from Canada by these rivers, either then or on their return by the same route, found the first bones of the mastodon, or American mammoth, which were carried to Europe. They were obtained from a marsh, no doubt the same now known as the Big-bone-lick, on the Kentucky side of the Ohio, about one hundred miles above the present city of Louisville; and were deposited by the Baron de Longueil, in the Museum of the Garden of Natural History at Paris, where they still remain. See the “Memoires de l’Academie des Sciences” for 1762.



who had succeeded the unfortunate D'Artaguet, in the command of that part of Louisiana; those from the lower country were under the immediate direction of Noyan, another nephew of Bienville, and were accompanied by engineers, draughtsmen, artilleryists, and persons skilled in various other branches of military science, whose services might be required in the expedition. No such force had ever been assembled in the Mississippi regions; and as a large portion of the Choctās, under the Alibamon Mingo, were at the same time to attack the Chickasās, from the side of the Tombechbē, there was certainly every reason to anticipate a result favorable to the French.

Bienville did not reach Fort Assumption until the 12th of November, and the engineers who had been employed ever since the beginning of the summer in reconnoitering, then reported that no road practicable for artillery had been discovered, from that place to the Chickasā towns. It was thereupon determined that the expedition should be deferred until the ensuing spring, and the whole army went into winter quarters at the place where they remained until March, 1740. A road sufficient for the passage of the cannon, had in the meantime been made, through the marshes south-east of the fort; but just then the provisions were pronounced insufficient. A large number of the French had moreover died during the winter, and of the survivors, only a small proportion were considered fit for active service: and a council of war having been assembled, it was determined—that, under such circumstances, the expedition could not be prosecuted without jeopardizing the honor of His Majesty's arms.

De Celeron, and the other Canadian officers, however, protested against this decision, and declared their resolution to march against the enemy, with their own followers; whereupon it was agreed, that they should proceed on a mission to the Chickasās, and that the other forces should, if possible, be kept together, until their return. The Canadians accordingly marched to the Chickasā towns, where De Celeron managed his affairs so well, as to induce the Indians to send deputies to the French camp, to sue for peace: they were graciously received by Bienville, who was just on the point of returning to New Orleans; and a treaty was concluded, in which the Chickasās agreed to cast off the Natches, and to make no farther attacks on the

French. Fort Assumption, and another which had been erected on the west side of the Mississippi, at the mouth of the river St. François, were then destroyed, and the army was entirely disbanded.

Such a result, after the humiliations experienced in the preceding campaigns against the Chickasās, was regarded by the French as a triumph; and Bienville did not hesitate to represent it nearly in that light, in his despatches to the Government.\* It however produced no effects whatsoever, as the Chickasās and the Natches immediately renewed their attacks on the French, who were thus forced to return to their former course, of bribing the Choctās, to make war on their enemies. In order to secure the fidelity of the latter people, Bienville arranged a mode of conducting the trade with them, which proved for some time very effective. He established an understanding with some English merchants in New York and Charleston, who engaged to supply him with goods in return for deer skins, of which he had no other means of disposing; and as the rivers gave the French greater facilities of transportation, than were enjoyed by the English, the traders of the two nations were brought more nearly on an equality in the Indian countries.

These Indian wars were by no means honorable to the French either as soldiers or as men; exhibiting, as they did, a series of acts of treachery and misconduct, unredeemed by any manifestations of courage, except on the part of a few individuals. Glory is seldom to be acquired in wars with savages, however successful may be the result; and they frequently fail, from circumstances, inseparably attending them, unfavorable to civilized troops. But the annals of no other portion of America, present instances of such general poltroonery, in such large numbers of persons of European race, as we find displayed by the French in their contests with the Natches, and Chickasās,

\* Bienville, in his despatch of May 6, 1740, says:—"If our success in this affair has not been such, as we might have anticipated, the glory of the King's arms has not suffered in it. All the nations have been struck, with our preparations for the campaign, and have felt the superiority of our forces. They have all seen the measures taken by the enemy through fear, in order to obtain peace. I may even venture to assert, that for the tranquillity of the colony, our affairs are in a better state than they would have been if we had marched against the enemy." This last assertion, at least, seems to have been fully authorised by the results of the preceding campaigns.



agreeably to the express statements, officially made by their own high officers, to the government; and the only excuse which seems admissible in behalf of the men is, that those officers were, for the most part, utterly without principle, and were always actuated by feelings of jealousy towards each other. It is difficult to account for the inactivity of the French, during the seven months spent by them at Fort Assumption, within a hundred and fifty miles of the enemy—knowing as we now do, that no serious obstacles really existed, to their passage, with their artillery through the country—unless upon the supposition, that Bienville was determined to prevent his coadjutor, M. de Noailles, from gathering laurels, to which the orders of their government, prevented him from aspiring.

In addition to its other calamities, Louisiana was, in the autumn of the following year, 1741, visited by two dreadful hurricanes, far exceeding, in violence, any previously witnessed by the French in that country. In the first of these storms, on the 11th of September, the middle of Dauphine island was carried away by the waves, leaving the other portions separated by channel of more than a league in width: of these two portions the eastern still retains the name of Dauphine, the other being now called Massacre island. The capital of the colony fortunately escaped, and from its store-houses, provisions were sent to the other parts of the lower country, in which the people must, without such aid, have perished from starvation.

In the meantime war was in progress between Great Britain and Spain, and the whole European world was on the eve of a conflagration. The demands for reparation of injuries, addressed by the British Government to that of Spain, produced a negotiation, which ended in a convention signed at the Pardo, near Madrid, on the 14th of January, 1739. According to its terms, some vessels which had been seized by the Spaniards in the West Indies, were to be restored, payment was to be made by that nation of some debts due to British subjects, and the line of separation, between the territories of the two parties in America, was to be settled by commissaries, all things remaining in their actual condition, until the question should have been decided. This convention was received with little favor by the people of England, and was approved by a very small ma-

jority in Parliament; and when it afterwards appeared, that the Spaniards still continued their acts of violence towards British subjects in the West Indies, and were preparing to enforce their claim to Georgia, war was declared against them in October, 1739. Admiral Vernon was sent with a powerful fleet to the West Indies, and Anson with a few vessels to the Pacific; while Oglethorpe was ordered to command the forces against Florida, with the title of Major General.

Oglethorpe, immediately on receiving this commission, resolved to anticipate the Spaniards, by an attack upon St. Augustine; for which purpose he made every exertion to collect forces at St. George's Island. Having received the promise of a large number of volunteers from Carolina, he proceeded with his regular soldiers, and a number of Indians, to the place of rendezvous in May, 1740; and then crossing the mouth of the St. John, he took the fort of San Diego on its southern side, and that of San Francisco de la Popa, on the left bank of the river, immediately west of St. Augustine, by which he cut off the communications between that place and the settlements on the Gulf of Mexico. Having garrisoned these points, he returned to St. George's Island, to await the arrival of the Carolina volunteers, and the vessels with the artillery from Charleston.

After some days, the vessels commanded by Captain Warren arrived, bringing four hundred volunteers under Colonel Vanderdussen, with a large number of Indians, principally Creeks, and a few Chickasās; and those, having been landed on the south side of the St. John, began their march, on the 8th of June, for St. Augustine, to which the vessels with the heavy artillery, materials and provisions, were at the same time directed.

The town of St. Augustine stands on the mainland of Florida, opposite the northern entrance of Matanzas Sound, a narrow and shallow channel, nearly twenty miles in length, which separates the island of Anastasia\* from the Continent. The northern entrance of this sound forms the harbor, admitting vessels which draw not more than ten or twelve feet: on the south and west, the town is bordered by a marsh, traversed by a small stream called St. Sebastian's creek, which protects it from attack on those sides; and on the north, where alone it is accessible from

\* See the map on page 131.



the land, stands the castle of San Marcos, a strong stone fortress, then mounting forty pieces of cannon, including some of large calibre. Two miles farther north, was a small out work called Fort Musa; other batteries were erected at exposed points on the mainland and on Anastasia Island, and a thick wall of stone ran along the eastern side of the town towards the harbor, intended to prevent inundation from the sea during hurricanes, as well as for protection against enemies. The place was commanded by Don Manuel de Monteano, the Governor of Florida, who possessed courage and devotion to his cause, though as afterwards appeared, he was destitute of all other qualities of a general.\*

The delay of Oglethorpe at St. George's Island had afforded time for the Spaniards to drive in their cattle from the plains north of St. Augustine, and to strengthen their works around the town; and they moreover received a large supply of ammunition and men from Havanna, by vessels which could not have entered the harbor, if the English had marched thither immediately after their arrival at the mouth of the St. John. On the 10th of June, Oglethorpe reached Fort Musa, of which possession was taken upon its evacuation by the garrison agreeably to orders; and in that work he established about one hundred highlanders, under Col. Palmer, who had commanded the expedition against St. Augustine in 1725, as already related. The volunteers under Vanderdussen were sent to take a post on the creek, north-west of the town; while the general with his regulars, crossed the sound to Anastasia Island, and began there to erect batteries against the castle. The vessels blockaded the harbor and Matanzas inlet, none of those of large size being able to approach the town.

Whilst these preparations for attack were in progress, the Spaniards, on the 15th of June, made a sally from the castle on Fort Musa, which they took after an obstinate resistance, killing Col. Palmer and the greater part of his highlanders, and carrying off the others as prisoners. This disaster produced the most serious

\* A volume containing copies of all the papers relative to this siege of St. Augustine, and other matters of the same period, is now preserved among the archives of that place; and some letters from Governor Monteano, describing the defence of the town and the retreat of the English, in the usual bombastic style of Spanish commanders, may be found translated in the History of the Seminole war in 1835 and the three following years, by Captain W. Sprague, published at New York in 1847.

discouragement among the volunteers and Indians, the latter of whom immediately began to desert; and Oglethorpe had in the meantime discovered that his guns could produce no effect on the castle. He, however, summoned the Governor to surrender, and having received a contemptuous message in reply, he endeavored to assemble his forces for a general assault; but this being found impracticable, no other course was left than a blockade, during which the Indians nearly all disappeared, and sickness began to disable the men. Oglethorpe himself was seized with a fever, and all hopes of starving out the place were destroyed, by the entrance of several vessels, through Matanzas inlet, laden with provisions from Havanna. The commander of the English squadron moreover considered it hazardous to remain longer on the coast, as the hurricane season was drawing near; and it was finally resolved to abandon the enterprise. Some of the troops were accordingly embarked in the vessels, and the others made good their retreat by land, without interruption from the Spaniards, who were thus relieved from the presence of their enemies, by the 5th of July. Oglethorpe was severely blamed for his conduct in this expedition, especially for not having marched directly to St. Augustine, after the capture of the forts on the St. John, and for having alienated the Indians, by compelling them to observe the usages of civilized warfare.\* With the forces under his command, however, success was scarcely possible; and his greatest fault seems to have been, that he engaged in the enterprise, without having learned or duly appreciated the difficulties.

\* A Chickasā, who had killed a Spaniard, brought the head of his enemy to Oglethorpe, and claimed his reward; the bloody prize was however rejected by the humane Governor, with abhorrence, to the astonishment and discontent of the Indians, many of whom immediately deserted the camp, declaring that if they had carried the head of an Englishman to a French commander, they would have received very different treatment. This *impolitic* proceeding of Oglethorpe was not often imitated by the British commanders in America; who, though they may have turned with disgust from a reeking head, did not refuse to receive or pay for a dried scalp, as recently as 1814.

The Indians were entirely incapable of understanding the reasons of the communications, which passed under flags of truce, between the English and the Spaniards, and the polite manner in which the latter were treated by the General: and they in the end concluded that the whole war was a pretext for their destruction. So well convinced of this were the Cherokees, that the English had great difficulty in restraining them from joining the French in a body, during the subsequent war, in revenge for this supposed act of treachery. See Adair.



In the meantime, Admiral Vernon had taken Portobelo and Chagres, but had failed in his attack upon Carthagena. A small portion of the force employed in those operations, which would have been of no advantage, even if perfectly successful, might have expelled the Spaniards forever from Florida; but the British Government may possibly have considered a Spanish garrison at St. Augustine useful, as a salutary check on the tendencies to self-government, which had already occasionally manifested themselves among all the English colonies in America. In like manner, though the differences between Great Britain and France on several important questions were then daily increasing, and the French were preparing for the struggle in the New World, by strengthening their great fortresses of Quebec and Louisburg, and securing the Indians in their behalf, the English provinces were left to provide for their own safety by their own resources.

The losses thus sustained by Vernon at Carthagena, in 1740, obliged him to return with his fleet to Europe in the following year; and the Spaniards relieved from that danger, resolved immediately to direct their forces against Carolina and Georgia. For this purpose several thousand men and a large fleet were sent to St. Augustine under Don Antonio de Arredondo; and being there joined by others under the Governor Monteano, they took their departure in the middle of June, 1742, for the coast of Georgia.

The English had been warned of their danger some time before, and General Oglethorpe had done all in his power to place the exposed points under his command in a state of defence. Unfortunately however, he was, as already mentioned, by no means a favorite in Carolina, either with the government or the people, and there was much discontent with his administration in Georgia; so that he could only assemble about seven hundred men, of whom the majority were militia, and a few Indians, before the Spanish ships made their appearance off the entrance of St. Simon's Sound, forming the harbor of Frederica. On this sound batteries had been erected with a strong fort on the channel, which separates St. Simon's Island from the mainland; the Spanish ships, however, passed the batteries after a severe engagement, in which their loss was considerable, and they anchored on the 5th of July, within ten miles of Frederica.

Frederica stood on the west side of St. Simon's Island, oppo-

site the mainland of Georgia, from which it was separated by the channel above mentioned: the part of the island between it and the place at which the Spanish ships anchored, was marshy, and covered with thick woods; and Oglethorpe, after his batteries were rendered useless, had spiked the heavy guns and withdrawn all the men for the defence of the town. He expected some supplies of soldiers, provisions and ammunition from Charleston, and he was determined by every means to gain time, for which his plan was to harrass the enemy and retard their movements, but to avoid a general action. His men were, with this object, posted in several detachments, on the line by which the Spaniards would march; and as a last resource, in case retreat should be necessary, the fort a little below the town was strong and well armed, and could contain all the people and soldiers.

The Spaniards landed on the 6th of July, in number not less than three thousand; and on the following day, they marched across the island undisturbed, to within two miles of Frederica. There, on the edge of a marsh, between them and the town, they were attacked by Oglethorpe so vigorously, that their advanced guard were entirely routed, and many of them made prisoners before the others could come up, through the thick woods; and the whole body was forced back to the place of their landing, where they encamped under cover of the guns of their ships, and remained several days without attempting to resume the offensive. During this period they were harrassed, especially at night, by the English and Indians, who killed large numbers; while their ranks were farther thinned by sickness and desertion, and their energies were paralyzed by a violent dispute, which had arisen between the two commanders, Monteano and Arredondo.

Of this state of things among the Spaniards, Oglethorpe was well informed by prisoners and deserters; and he employed the same channels to increase the indecision of his enemies, by false reports as to the extent of his own forces, and his expectations of assistance. He thus succeeded in convincing the Spanish commanders, that he was daily looking for the arrival of Vernon with a large fleet from England; and when a few vessels sent from Charleston, to watch the movements of the enemy, appeared in front of the island, no doubt was entertained by Monteano and Arredondo, that they were part of the expected fleet. The



Spaniards thereupon saw that they must quit their confined position in the Sound without delay; before which, however, they resolved to make one more effort for the destruction of Frederica. They accordingly set forth from their camp on the 13th, and again arrived within a short distance of the town, where they halted to rest; but no sooner had they laid aside their arms, than they were attacked by the ever watchful Oglethorpe, defeated with dreadful slaughter, and driven back to their ships. On the following day, the 14th of July, the invaders hastily re-embarked and quitted the Sound, leaving a large number of their men; wounded and prisoners, with several pieces of cannon in the hands of the English; and after attacking the forts on Cumberland island, with no better success, they sailed back to St. Augustine and Havanna.

Expeditions for invasion and conquest rarely succeed; but very rarely has one been resisted and defeated in a manner, more complete and more honorable to the defenders, than that of the Spaniards against Georgia in 1742. Monteano, on his return, was arrested and cashiered, notwithstanding his gallantry and success, in the defence of St. Augustine in 1740. Oglethorpe received the congratulations and thanks of the Governors of several of the northern colonies; but from South Carolina, came only an address of some of the inhabitants of Port Royal, while from his own province of Georgia, a series of charges of misconduct against him, were transmitted to England.

In the spring of the following year, Oglethorpe made another expedition with a few of his own men, and a number of Indians against St. Augustine; but the Spaniards were alarmed in time, and ere he reached the town, they were so well prepared to receive him, that he was obliged to return without effecting any thing, to Frederica. After this repulse, he proceeded to England, where a court martial was ordered to examine the charges which had been made against him. They were pronounced groundless and malicious, and he was acquitted in the most honorable manner; and he did good service against the Pretender in 1745. He however did not again visit America, being probably unwilling either to oppose, or to admit the changes apparently inevitable, in the system which he had established in Georgia; and the remainder of his life, prolonged to ninety years, was passed in England, in the enjoyment of all the happiness which respectability, wealth, and fortunate domestic associations, could secure to man.

The trustees of Georgia endeavored for some years longer, to maintain their system, but the resistance of the people rendered it in time impossible. Negroes were introduced from South Carolina, as servants hired for one year, and the term was then extended to ten years, and even to a hundred years, until they were at length openly imported from Africa, as rum was brought in from the West Indies. Dissensions also arose among the people from these and other causes, and in 1751 the charter was surrendered to the crown, after which the peculiar restrictions introduced by Oglethorpe were removed, and the country began to exhibit signs of prosperity.

In the meantime, a change was made in the direction of affairs in Louisiana. Bienville's conduct in his expeditions against the Chickasās, had subjected him to numerous expressions of dissatisfaction on the part of the ministry, which, becoming known in Louisiana, encouraged his enemies to treat him with contempt and ridicule. In vain did he set forth his services in memorials; in vain did he enumerate the Chickasā scalps, taken under his influence by the Choctās; in vain did he show his inveterate hatred towards the English, by confining in dungeons, or surrendering to the Spaniards, the unfortunate subjects of that nation, who were found on the Ohio, or the Mississippi, or were delivered to him by the Indians.\* These services availed him nothing, and he had no other alternative than to request his recall; it was granted, and on the 10th of May, 1743, he yielded up the command at New Orleans, to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the son of a former Governor General of New France, who had been appointed to succeed him.

From what has been shewn of Bienville's course, during his long connexion with Louisiana, it will be seen that he merits a conspicuous place in the history of the New World; though not so much from his own character and talents, as from the nature of the events, in which he bore a part, always important. He seems to have been, in the first place, really anxious for the advancement and good of the colony, for which he was ready to

\* Among the persons thus imprisoned, was John Peter Sallee, a Virginian, who after several years of imprisonment in Louisiana, escaped and returned to his country, where he settled, on James River at its confluence with North River, immediately east of the Blue ridge.



commit any act, however repugnant to honor or humanity. His desire was to see flourishing French settlements rise on the banks of the Mississippi; and with that object, he applied himself diligently to the extermination of the natives of those regions, by every means, which could have been admissible, with regard to noxious animals. He made war on them openly with his own forces; and he encouraged them to destroy each other by fomenting their mutual animosities, and exciting their cupidity, and by offering in his own conduct, examples of cruelty and treachery, which could not have failed to produce serious effects upon the short-sighted savages. That the inferior races of man—to whom nature has denied the capacity to improve what the earth offers—must yield and disappear before those endowed with higher powers, is a law against the execution of which, it would be vain to contend: but the people to whom the task of enforcing it is committed, may and should, do so, with leniency; and their governments are bound to employ only just and humane men for this purpose, as much as for the management of their prisons, or asylums for the insane. Of such qualifications, no man possessed less than Bienville; nor was any mode of life less calculated to encourage feelings of honor, justice or humanity, than that in which he was engaged, from youth to old age, among rogues, ruffians and savages. With what degree of faith he served his government, we know not: it would be unfair to pronounce him guilty of the numerous delinquencies with which he was charged, during his residence in Louisiana; but we are authorised to suspect, that one uniformly false and treacherous to his enemies, could not have been always true to his friends.\*

Vaudreuil assumed the government of Louisiana at a critical period, when all Europe was again involved in war by the selfish ambition of its sovereigns; and the contest was as before, extended to the American dominions of England, France and Spain.

The causes of this war were numerous. The imperial crown of Germany was in dispute between Maria Theresa, Queen of Hun-

\* Bienville probably left Louisiana with a moderate, if not a large fortune. His plantation, opposite to New Orleans, was purchased by his successor, M. de Vaudreuil. He proceeded immediately to Paris, where he passed the remainder of his life in retirement, and died in 1767, in his eighty-sixth year, after seeing—no doubt to his grief and mortification—the colony for which he had so long labored, transferred to the dominion of another nation.

gary, and the Elector Charles of Bavaria. Frederic II. who had just succeeded to the throne of Prussia, was anxious to include in his kingdom the Austrian province of Silesia, and Hanover the patrimony of the King of England. Philip V. of Spain desired to regain Gibraltar and Minorca, and to secure two of his sons on the thrones of Naples and Parma. Louis XV. of France wished to enjoy the pomp and parade of a war, for which the acquisition of some territory in the Netherlands or on the Rhine, was the pretext. England wanted nothing except peace with Spain; but George II. was determined at all hazards, not to lose Hanover. Under these circumstances the hostilities were begun in Germany in 1741: in February of the following year, Sir Robert Walpole, unable longer to maintain his position, was obliged to resign the direction of the State; and in January, 1743, his old coadjutor, Cardinal Fleury died at the age of eighty-four, leaving Louis XV. at full liberty to pursue the course which his favorites and mistresses might point out to him. English and French armies were sent into Germany, where they soon came into collision, and the French were utterly routed at Dettingen on the 27th of June. Alliances were then formed between France, Spain, Prussia and Bavaria, on the one side, and between Great Britain, Holland and the Queen of Hungary on the other; and the struggle became general throughout Europe before the end of the year.

At this period a secret treaty was concluded between the sovereigns of France and Spain, which deserves special notice from the peculiarities of its provisions, and the importance of their consequences in the New World as well as in Europe. By this treaty, concluded at Fontainebleau on the 25th of October, 1743, the two monarchs guarantied to each other, in terms far more specific and binding than those employed in any previous engagement, "all their kingdoms, states and lordships, as well in as out of Europe, and all the rights which they have, or ought to have therein." Particular provisions were made for the destruction of the colony of Georgia, for the liberation of Spain from the Asiento treaty, and for the restoration to that power, of all the territories of which she had been, or might be, despoiled by England: and this alliance was soon after rendered common to the King of Naples and the Duke Parma, sons of Philip V. being, as expressly stated in the additional article to that effect, signed in



November following, intended as a *Pacte de Famille*, or *Family Compact*, between the various Princes of the House of Bourbon. The treaty so well known by the same appellation, concluded in 1761, was merely a development and confirmation of this the original compact, which carried into execution the design of Louis XIV., and subsisted, without infringement by either of the parties, until the French revolution.\*

Of the dreadful battles and sieges in the Netherlands, Germany and Italy, and the conflicts on the ocean during this war it would be needless to speak. The invasion of Great Britain by the Stuart pretender to the throne in 1745, may however be mentioned, as it rendered necessary the retention of the forces of that nation at home, which would otherwise have been directed against the French and Spanish provinces beyond the Atlantic.

In America the news of the war between England and France was first received in the spring of 1744, by the Governor of the French Island of Cape Breton, who immediately sent a body of men to occupy the neighboring English settlement of Canso, in Nova Scotia. Nothing of great importance occurred during that year; but in June following, the strong fortress and town of Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton, on which the French had expended such vast sums, as to render it apparently impregnable, was besieged and taken by an army of volunteers from Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut, under William Pepperel, of Boston, supported by a small squadron from England.

The success of this expedition encouraged Mr. Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, by whom it was organized, to form a plan for the conquest of all the other French possessions in America, in the same manner; that is, by a combination of land forces from the colonies with British ships of war. The plan

\*This treaty remained for a long time unknown, except to the parties immediately concerned; and was first published by Flassan, in his "*Histoire de la Diplomatie Francaise*," in 1811. Its tenth article relating to America is as follows:

"Art. X. As the safety of Florida cannot be complete, so long as the new colony of Georgia subsists, for the establishment of which the English have never yet been able to produce any title in justification, their said Majesties will take measures in concert, to oblige the English to destroy this new colony, as well as any other fort which they may have constructed in the territory of His Catholic Majesty in America, and to restore the country or places belonging to Spain which the English may have already occupied or which they may occupy in the course of the war."

was approved by the government, and a large armament was assembled at Portsmouth in England to be commanded by General Sinclair,\* while not less than eight thousand men were raised in the colonies: but the ships were not ready until the middle of September, 1746, when it was considered too late for their voyage across the ocean; and their forces were in consequence directed against the opposite coast of Bretagne, where their efforts produced only disgrace and ridicule. The French made several incursions from Canada into New York and New England, which ended as usual in the destruction of some frontier settlements; and in 1746, they endeavored to regain Louisbourg by means of a large naval armament under the Duke d'Anville, which was almost entirely destroyed by storms near Nova Scotia.

The British colonies farther south remained undisturbed during the war, from which the principal inconvenience suffered by them, was the interruption of their commerce with Europe and the West Indies, and the murder of some of their traders, by Indians in the interest of France or of Spain.

In Georgia and Florida, no hostilities were committed by either party against the other, except a few marauding expeditions; nor does any plan seem to have been arranged between Spain and France, for the expulsion of the English from Georgia, agreeably to the engagements made in the Family Compact. All the forcer of France and Spain, which could be spared from Europe, were in fact required to preserve the dominions of those nations in the West Indies, from devastation, if not from conquest, by the powerful British fleets which ranged through the adjoining seas, under Knowles, Hawke, Townshend, and other distinguished commanders. Either of these fleets might doubtless have easily conquered Florida or lower Louisiana, as both countries were entirely destitute of the means of resistance, and they might both have been retained by a few small garrisons; yet the vast armaments of the English were wasted in attempts to batter down the old Spanish forts at Laguaira, Porto Cabello and other places on the coast of Terra Firma, or to capture islands which were not worth the expense of holding them.

\*David Hume was to have accompanied this expedition, as Secretary to the Commander-in-chief.



Louisiana had been left by Bienville, on his resignation of the government to Vaudreuil, in a condition even worse than that in which he found it. After forty-four years of subsistence of the French colony, it contained only six thousand persons other than Indians, and of these, more than one-third were negroes.\* The lower districts still received a large proportion of their provisions from France, in consequence of the suspension of the communications with the Illinois, by the supremacy of the Chickasās on the Mississippi, from the Arkansas to the Ohio. From Pointe Coupée to Kaskaskia, through seven degrees of latitude, the only French settlements were those immediately under the guns of the forts at Natchez and at the mouth of the Arkansas, and at Natchitoches on the Red river, where small quantities of Indian corn were raised, for the support of the inhabitants and garrisons, and some tobacco for consumption in Europe. The tobacco of Louisiana, particularly that of Natchitoches, indeed began to be prized by snuff-takers in Europe; and a few small vessels annually took from Mobile and New Orleans, cargoes of timber and pitch, in return for the rum and sugar which they brought thither. These were, however, the only exports from lower Louisiana; while in the Illinois, agriculture was diminishing, from the want of a market, and the principal employment of the people was in trade with the Indians, who gave their furs in payment for articles of French manufacture from Canada.

All these evils were of course increased by the war between France and England, begun in the autumn of 1743, soon after the arrival of Vaudreuil as Governor of Louisiana; as all intercourse with the mother country was immediately cut off, and the Indians were of course rendered discontented, if not hostile, by the inability of the French to supply them with goods, either in trade or as presents. The new Governor displayed much energy and talent in his efforts to sustain the colony under these depressing circumstances—if that can be called talent, which consisted

\* According to a census of Louisiana, taken in 1745, the whole population amounted to four thousand, of whom eight hundred were soldiers, and the negroes to two thousand and twenty. New Orleans contained eight hundred whites, and three hundred blacks, besides the garrison of two hundred men. The richest individual in the colony was M. Dubreuil, who had five hundred negroes employed on his plantations, particularly on that immediately adjoining New Orleans, and now occupied by the Third Municipality of that city.

chiefly in the dextrous employment of dissimulation and falsehood, accompanied by a constant care for the advancement of his own interests. He re-opened the communications between the lower country and the Illinois, by means of squadrons of armed boats navigating the river; he succeeded in renewing the arrangement with the English merchants of New York, Charleston and Jamaica, by whom goods were secretly sent to New Orleans and Mobile, and there exchanged for deer skins; and he evinced the utmost desire to effect a general peace between those Indians and the Chickasās, with the object of throwing the latter off their guard, and thus obtaining an opportunity to destroy them entirely. Savages however, accustomed from their childhood to distrust every act and word, are not easily deceived: the amiable proposals of Vaudreuil produced no effect on the Chickasās, who received his presents, and then plundered the boats and frontier settlements of the French; while the great majority of the Choctās, under the influence of the Red Shoe, sided with the English.

The Red Shoe had been much exasperated against the French by their failure to supply him with certain presents of arms and ammunition which had been promised, as well as by the seduction of his favorite wife, by one of the officers of Fort Tombecbé; and he was thus easily led to favor the views of the English, who employed as their agent, the bold and skilful trader James Adair, the author of the interesting account of the Indian nations of that part of America, so frequently mentioned in these pages. Adair, like Vaudreuil, had in view the reconciliation of the Chickasās with the Choctās, not however with the object of destroying both, but to unite them in a confederacy with the English, against the French;\* he succeeded to a certain extent, and the consequences might have been very disastrous to the colony of Louisiana, had not the impatience of the Indians led them to commence hostilities too soon, by the murder of the Chevalier de Verbois, a French officer, and two traders on the Alabama in the summer of 1746. The French being thus put on their guard, could not be surprised; and their Governor immediately demanded from the Choctās, the head of the Red Shoe, who was known to have instigated the murders, as the only means of averting his vengeance. This

\* See Adair's Account of the American Indians, pages 314 et seq., in which he gives full vent to his detestation of the French.



demand Vaudreuil indeed had no power to enforce, as he was unprovided with men, arms or ammunition, and was in daily expectation of an attack from the British, who were said to be on their way under Admiral Knowles, to the Mississippi: the Choc-tās were nevertheless disconcerted, and it was resolved, in an assembly of their chiefs, convened near Fort Tombecbé, by Grandpré the commandant of that place, that the Red Shoe should be put to death. The party of the doomed chieftain was however too large for the execution of this decree without difficulty; and a civil war was begun in that nation, which continued for several years, with little intermission.

The efforts of Vaudreuil were in the meantime producing some improvement, especially in the Illinois, where agriculture and commerce were revived, in consequence of the regularity of the communications established on the Mississippi. A squadron of large bateaus ascended that river in the spring of each year, carrying such articles of European or West India merchandise as could be received, despite the watchfulness of the English cruisers; and they returned in the autumn with cargoes of flour, meat, skins, furs, lead and other productions of the upper country. For the upward voyage three or four months were required, the descent being effected in half of that time. The Governor endeavored also to re-establish the fort at the mouth of the Margot, near the lowest of the Chickasā Bluffs, in order to exclude the Chickasās from the Mississippi; but he was never able to spare the number of men requisite to garrison such a post, though he succeeded in occupying another position on the north side of the Ohio, forty miles above its mouth, a little below the entrance of the Cherokee or Tennessee river, which was called Fort Assumption,\* and proved useful in securing the communications with Canada, by way of the Wabash and the Miami. The Chickasās, however, from time to time, repeated their inroads upon the French settlements: in 1748, they surprised the establishment at the mouth of the Arkansās, and killed or carried off several of the inhabitants, before the garrison of the fort could be collected for defence; and similar attacks were made by them on the German Coast, and on Pointe Coupée, while New Orleans

\* Afterwards Fort Massacre, and by abbreviation Fort Massac, from the surprise of the place and the destruction of the garrison by the Cherokees in 1763.

and Mobile were kept in constant dread of invasion, by the English from the Gulf.

In the same year, 1748, Vaudreuil succeeded in effecting the death of the Red Shoe, who was murdered by some Indians at the instigation of French officers deputed for that purpose, whilst he was escorting an English trader with goods from the Chickasā country to the Alabama.\* M. de Grandpré the Commandant of Fort Tombecbé seems to have directed the measures for this act, which was executed through the agency of Lieutenant Grondel; an act excusable only on the grounds—scarcely admissible—of its conformity with the usages of all the European nations then holding dominion in America. It was not however a barren crime; for though the influence of the English was still maintained over the Indians for some time, through the exertions of Mingo Push-kush the half brother of the Red Shoe, and of Payā-matahā the great war chief of the Chickasās, yet the French after the termination of the war with Great Britain, regained their power much more easily, than they could have done, had their daring enemy survived to oppose them.

The war between England and Spain produced as before, an increase of intercourse between the Spanish and the French provinces on the Mexican Gulf, the Governors of which were instructed to assist each other by every means in their power.

\* Adair thus relates the particulars of this murder: "Red Shoe afterwards fared the same fate, by one of his own countrymen, for the sake of a French reward, while he was escorting the foresaid gallant trader, and others from the Chickasās to his own country. He had the misfortune to be taken very sick on the path, and to lie apart from the camp, according to their usual custom. A Juda, tempted by the high reward of the French for killing him, officiously pretended to take great care of him: while Red Shoe kept his face towards him, the barbarian had such feelings of awe and pity, that he had not power to perpetrate his wicked design; but when he turned his back, then he gave the fatal shot. In a moment, the wretch ran off, and though the whole camp were out in an instant, to a considerable breadth, he evaded their pursuit, by darting like a snake into a deep crevice of the earth."—Account of the Indians, page 328.

The French accounts of this transaction agree as to the principal point of the demand (the head of the Red Shoe) by Vaudreuil, and of his assassination by Indians in the manner related by Adair; though they differ as to the direct agency of the French in the execution. Those who may consider any moral difference to exist, between urging the commission of an act, and taking part directly in it, may consult Bossu, Baudry de Lozieres, and Gayarré, as to the circumstances.



Bienville supplied the Viceroy of Mexico with cannon and ammunition in 1741, when an attack by Vernon on Vera Cruz was expected; and the contraband trade of the French, with the ports of Florida and Mexico, was in return less severely interdicted. Attempts were likewise made by the Spaniards, to occupy the country bordering upon the Mexican Gulf, between Panuco or Tampico and the Bay of Espiritu Santo, now Matagorda Bay, which had remained uninhabited and indeed unexplored, and was then known under the general name of La Sierra Gorda. Authority to "reduce and pacificaté" this vast territory, was in 1739, granted by the King of Spain to Don Jose de Escandon, as Lieutenant Captain General of La Sierra Gorda; and through his exertions and expenses, several small settlements were formed in the course of the ensuing twenty years, of which the principal were New Santander on the Santander river, entering the Gulf midway between the Panuco and the Rio Bravo, and Camargo, Revilla and Laredo on the latter stream. The Spanish population of Texas however increased but little, in consequence chiefly of the enmity of the savages, who annually made inroads upon the settlements; although the garrisons were strengthened, and several new missions were founded on the frontiers, in the hope of reducing those people to quiet by mild means. The principal advance of population was in the town of San Fernando or San Antonio de Bexar, which contained about six hundred inhabitants exclusive of the soldiers, in 1743. The fort erected by Aguayo on the site of La Salle's Fort St. Louis, was in the same year abandoned, on account of its insalubrity and its distance from the other posts; and another bearing the same name of La Bahia—the Bay—was erected on the Medina or San Antonio river, forty miles from its mouth, opposite the spot now occupied by the town of Goliad.

The lines of separation between the possessions of Spain and France were also at this time, understood and admitted on both sides, as they subsisted until the termination of the French dominion in Louisiana; the extravagant assumptions of the India Company having been abandoned, so far as regarded the countries occupied by the Spaniards. The earliest map on which those lines have been found, is that of the West Indies and the countries surrounding the Mexican Gulf by D'Anville, attached to Charlevoix's History of St. Domingo, published at Paris in

1731, of the portion of which including lower Louisiana, an exact copy is here presented.



On this map, will be seen, a line running north-eastward from the Mexican Gulf, near the mouth of the Perdido river, as separating Louisiana from Florida on the east; and on the other side of the Mississippi, a similar line, which begins on the Gulf, east of the mouth of the Sabine—or R. Mexicano as it is called by D’Anville—and thence extends north-westward between that stream and the Red river, dividing Louisiana from the Spanish province of Texas, or Tepas, as the name was then usually written by the French.\* The same lines may be found, on all the subsequent maps of D’Anville, and of all the other French geographers, on which the boundaries of the possessions of that nation in North America are traced: the eastern line extending from the Perdido northward, to the dividing ridge of the Apalachian or Allegany mountains, and along that ridge to its termination

\*The name of R. Mexicano may be found, in the maps of Delisle published in 1718 and 1722, in that of Popple in 1733, in that of Bellin in 1744, and in a few others of the same period, assigned to another river entering the Gulf east of the Sabine; and Humboldt, in his "Essay on New Spain," chap. viii., pronounces it identical with the Mermentao. All the best authorities, French, English and Spanish, however, apply the name of R. Mexicano to the river occupying the position of the Sabine, between which and the Red river, the Spanish fortress of Adayes is placed; this river is also called the Magdalena, but more generally R. de Adayes, and very rarely the Sabine, though that name was assigned to it by the Spaniards in their first expeditions to Texas.



There is a small pond in the garden, and a small stream runs through it. The water is very clear, and the fish are very numerous. The pond is surrounded by a low wall, and the stream is bordered by a narrow path.



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threat contained in the concluding part of this epistle, was by no means calculated to render the old French Commandant disposed to comply with the summons of the Spaniard; in his answer he stated—that “the Marquis de Aguayo had erected the fort of Adayes in 1721, long before which time, the French had established themselves on the island, and in the country adjacent on the south side of the Red river, where they had houses and pens for cattle, without any opposition from the Marquis or his successors; that the French represented the Natchitoches Indians, the original possessors of the territory on both sides of the river, as the Spaniards represented the Adayes, who dwelt farther west; and as the space of seven leagues between the two forts had never been divided, there was no reason by which the Spaniards could claim the whole; but however that might be, he acted under orders from his superiors, and if attacked with arms, he would defend himself in the same way, leaving the consequences to fall on the party which might begin the contest.” The correspondence there ended; and Sandoval, having no means of compelling the French to retire, could only communicate the particulars to the Viceroy of Mexico, who transmitted them to Madrid.

In 1736, Sandoval was removed from the government of Texas, and a prosecution was commenced against him, at the instigation of his successor, Don Carlos Franquis, the proceedings of which were continued for several years, at great expense to all concerned. At length, the evidence having been collected, it was submitted to the Marquis de Altamira, Auditor of War at Mexico, who presented his report on the subject to the Viceroy, Count'de Fonclara, on the 4th of July, 1744.\* In this long and able document, the Marquis enters into the particulars of the settlement of Texas, which are related fairly and dispassionately; and he concludes by declaring as his conviction—“that the place called the Great Mountain, midway between the two posts of Adayes and Natchitoches, had been always regarded as the definitive boun-

\* This report, of which the author possesses a copy in the original Spanish, is the principal source of the information here presented, with regard to this dispute as to boundaries, between the authorities of Louisiana and those of Texas. The conclusions are repeated and confirmed by numerous other official documents of later date, showing that no doubt existed among the Spaniards, as to the admission of the boundary on both sides.



dary separating the dominions of the two crowns, and not the Red river, on this [south] side of which, the French had houses and other possessions, extending as far as the said Great Mountain." This opinion of the Auditor was no doubt confirmed by the Government, as the French remained in quiet occupation of the place chosen by them, on the south side of the Red river, where the town of Natchitoches now stands. The Great Mountain was a range of low hills, along the foot of which, as stated in the report, flows the small stream called Arroyo Hondo, or Deep rivulet, ever after regarded as the precise dividing line between the two jurisdictions.

The report of the Marquis de Altamira, also states with precision, the other boundaries of Texas, on which points he, as Auditor of War, was the highest authority. In describing the provinces adjoining on the south, he says—"Next beyond the kingdom of New Leon is the province and government of Coahuila or New Estremadura, extending more than one hundred and twenty leagues in length, from the river Medina, where begins our farthermost province and government of Texas or the New Philipppines."—"From the river Medina, where the said province of Texas begins, to the Fort of Adayes where it ends, its breadth from the west to the Mexican Gulf, is about eighty leagues."\* The Medina is the river now called the San Antonio; the latter name being applied by the Spaniards only to the small stream, on which the town of San Fernando or San Antonio de Bexar is situated, falling into the Medina at a short distance below that place: the eighty leagues which are given as the extent of the province westward from the Mexican Gulf, would include all the territory east of the range of mountains or highlands where lie the sources of the Neches, the Trinity, and all the other rivers of Texas, except the Brazos and Colorado. The limits thus defined remained unchanged, during the whole period of the possession of the country by Spain, and appear to have been adopted

\* See also the "Teatro Americano, Descripcion General de la Nueva España" by Antonio de Villa-Señor y Sanchez, published at Madrid in 1748, containing minute information, geographical and statistical, respecting the Mexican provinces; and the Appendix to the Journal of the expedition of Captain Z. M. Pike through the northernmost of those provinces in 1806, describing them from notes afforded by the Spanish authorities.

and continued by the Mexicans so long as they held dominion in those countries.

In the meantime Philip V. died in July, 1746, leaving the crown of Spain to his eldest son Ferdinand V., that of Naples to another son Don Carlos, and that of Parma to the third Don Philip. Many alliances among the powers of Europe had been made, and many had been broken; some of the most important questions in dispute had however been settled *de facto*, and the reasons for continuing the war were thus so far diminished at the commencement of 1748, that the parties engaged in it, were induced to agree on certain terms for its termination. A congress of plenipotentiaries was accordingly assembled at Aix la Chapelle, where a treaty was concluded on the 18th of October, between Great Britain and the United Provinces on the one hand, and France on the other, to which Spain, Austria, and the remaining States subsequently acceded. The great European questions were thereby definitively settled: Maria Theresa was acknowledged as Empress of Germany and possessor of all the Austrian dominions, except Silesia, which was secured to Prussia, and Parma which was left to Don Philip of Spain; the right of the House of Hanover to the throne of England was confirmed, and the pretensions of the Stuarts forever set at rest; and other arrangements were made, with the exception of which, all things were to return to the same state, as before the war. This latter provision was extended to America, including the admission of the right of Great Britain to the enjoyment of the advantages of the *Asiento*, during the four years from 1739 to 1743, for the loss of which she was to be indemnified: all territories and places taken by either of the belligerents from the other, were of course to be restored; and the rights of each were to remain precisely as they stood before the commencement of the hostilities, agreeably to the treaties of Utrecht, and to others which were renewed so far as they related to such rights. These arrangements were considered in England, as constituting a poor return for the expenses of the war, and the gallantry which had been displayed by the nation in conducting it; while the French and the Spaniards, had reason to congratulate themselves on such a termination of the contest, in which neither of those parties had gained laurels, or any other advantages.



Many additions, some of them important, were made to the geography and history of North America, in the interval of time to which this chapter relates. The search for a *north-west passage*, or northern channel of communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, was renewed, in consequence of the frequent attacks made on the Hudson's Bay Company, for the neglect of the condition implied in its charter, that it should persevere in this search, and of the offer by the British Government, of a reward of twenty thousand pounds, to the discoverer of such a channel; and some voyages were made, by which the north-western arms of the Bay were explored farther than before. The French at the same time, became more familiar with the countries between the Ohio and the Lakes; and they penetrated the wilderness north-westward from those great reservoirs, to a considerable distance, though certainly not beyond the range of mountains which divides the waters flowing respectively into the two Oceans. The Russians likewise entered upon the career of discovery, and their gallant navigators Bering and Tchirikof, sailing from Kamtchatka, ascertained the existence of many islands, and a large extent of coast east of that peninsula, between the 54th and the 64th parallels of latitude, which were rightly conjectured to be parts of America.\*

During this period moreover, the enlightened Jesuit Charlevoix, in 1744, published his history of New France, including all the possessions of the French in North America, accompanied by the journal of his travels through those countries in 1721-2. The Histories of Virginia by Keith and Stith, the Historical and Political Summary of the English Provinces by Douglass, the History of the Five Nations of Indians by Colden, the Natural History of Carolina, Florida, &c. by Catesby, the Maps of D'Anville, Bellin and Popple—the latter more remarkable for size than for accuracy—were likewise given to the public; all tending in various degrees, to increase the importance of the New World in the eyes of Europeans, and thus to bring on the great events, which soon followed.

\* Accounts of these discoveries of the Russians, will be found in the fifth chapter of the "History of Oregon and California," by the author of this work.

## CHAPTER XIV.

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1749 to 1763.

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DIFFICULTIES OF EXECUTING THE TREATY OF AIX LA CHAPPELLE IN AMERICA—DISPUTES BETWEEN FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN AS TO BOUNDARIES—UNSUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS BY COMMISSARIES—CONFLICTS IN NOVA SCOTIA AND THE OHIO COUNTRIES—FIRST CAMPAIGNS OF WASHINGTON—KERLEREC SUCCEEDS VAUDREUIL AS GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA—WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE—CANADA CONQUERED BY THE BRITISH—FRUITLESS NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE—SECOND FAMILY COMPACT BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN—SPAIN JOINS FRANCE AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN—SUCCESS OF THE BRITISH—NEW NEGOTIATIONS—TREATY OF PEACE CONCLUDED AT PARIS—CESSION OF CANADA, EAST LOUISIANA AND FLORIDA TO GREAT BRITAIN, AND OF WEST LOUISIANA TO SPAIN.

THE war ended by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle had the important effect of bringing the English and French colonies in America distinctly in view of the civilized world, and of inducing inquiries as to their relative situations, extent, and resources, which were thenceforward to be admitted as elements in the calculations of European statesmen. The people of the British colonies at the same time began to make those enquiries and comparisons themselves, and to feel that they had a country, and might have a national existence, and a name, independent of the distant powers to which they had been hitherto regarded only as appendages. The manifestation of these feelings had already excited the jealousy of the government of the parent State, which was to be still farther increased by the more important events related in the present chapter.



The restitutions prescribed by the treaty were made, as speedily as possible, in all the quarters of the world; and the people of New England, with feelings of deep mortification, saw Louisbourg and the island on which it stands, surrendered to its former masters, in July, 1749. The British ministry, on the other hand, showed its determination to occupy Nova Scotia effectively, by sending thither, immediately on the termination of the war, a number of emigrants, principally disbanded soldiers, and founding a city, which was named Halifax in honor of the President of the Board of Trade and Plantations, upon the Bay of Chebuctoo, opening to the Atlantic on the south-east side of the Peninsula. Large tracts of land upon the upper waters of the Ohio, supposed to be still included in the limits of Virginia, were at the same time, granted to an association of persons in England and Virginia, called the Ohio Company, by which agents and surveyors were immediately despatched to select proper sites for establishments on that river; and other associations in New York, Pennsylvania, Carolina and Georgia were in like manner authorized to trade and settle in the territories claimed by those provinces, west of their existing establishments.

All these acts of the English, were however regarded by the French, as encroachments upon their dominions, or on the rights of the Indian nations, whom they considered as under their protection; and remonstrances against them were addressed to the British ministers by those of France, and by the Governor General of New France to the Governors of the adjoining British provinces. In Nova Scotia, a regular system of hostilities was begun, between the British settlers and the French inhabitants of the country calling themselves neutrals, in which the troops on both sides soon took part; and the war was continued with fury, until 1751, when it was arrested by a compromise between the Commandants of the two nations, until the question of right could be decided by their governments. On the Ohio, a body of armed men was sent by the Governor General La Galissonnière from Quebec, under M. De Celeron, (the officer who had commanded the Canadians in the war against the Chickasās in 1740) with orders to expel the Virginia and Pennsylvania intruders, to secure the friendship of the Indians, and to select places for fortified posts. These orders were executed by De Celeron with lenity

towards the traders, whom he dismissed with a warning not to return to the country west of the Alleghany mountains; and he carefully examined the upper branches of the Ohio, affixing leaden plates in various places, with inscriptions declaring the rights of his sovereign to those regions.\*

On the Mississippi, the peace enabled the French to regain their influence over the savages, by a more regular supply of presents, and by the increase in the forces of the province, to which more than one thousand men were sent in 1749, to be distributed among the various garrisons; and a treaty was made between Vaudreuil and the Choctās, in the following year, by which the latter bound themselves, to exclude the English from their territories, and to continue the war with the Chickasās. The agriculture and commerce of the country were thus somewhat advanced; to the benefit however chiefly of the Governor and the other officers, who increased their fortunes by the sale of offices, by the purchase of paper money at low prices to be afterwards re-issued in payment of troops and workmen, and by every other species of extortion and embezzlement. Vaudreuil was moreover, like his predecessors, at war with the Royal Commissary or Intendant of the Finances of the colony, M. de la Rouvilliere; and each of these personages sent to France by every vessel charges of misconduct against the other. Thus when the

\* The following is a copy of the inscription on one of these plates, which was buried by De Celeron, according to his official statement, on the 20th of July, 1749, at the foot of a red oak tree, on the south bank of the Alleghany, opposite to the point of a little island, at the junction of that river with the Conewango, where the town of Warren in Pennsylvania now stands.

“L'an mil sept cent quarante neuf, du Règne de Louis XV. Roi de France, Nous Celeron, Commandant du détachement envoyé par M. le Marquis de la Galissonnière, Commandant Général de la Nouvelle France, pour rétablir la tranquillité dans quelques villages de ces Cantons, avons enterré cette plaque au confluent de l'Ohio et du Kanaougon, ce vingt neuf Juillet, pour monument du renouvellement de possession, que nous avons prise de la dite rivière Ohio, et de toutes les terres des deux côtés, jusqu'à la source des dites rivières, ainsi qu'en ont joui ou dû jouir les précédens Rois de France, et qu'ils s'y sont maintenus par les armes et par les traités, et spécialement par ceux de Riswick, d'Utrecht, et d'Aix la Chapelle; avons de plus affiché dans le même lieu à un arbre, les armes du Roi.”

Several of these plates, each eight or nine inches square, and bearing the above inscription in capital letters, except as to the date and place of deposite, have been found at the mouths of the Muskingum and of the Kanawha, and at other points on the Ohio.



Governor complained of the refusal of the Commissary to supply the posts with necessaries, and the Choctās with presents, the latter declared, that the Marquis demanded double the requisite quantity of those articles, with the sole object of selling the surplus for his own profit, and accused him moreover, of compelling the soldiers to frequent no other taverns than those kept by his own creatures, and of which he shared the gains.

A large number of the troops sent to Louisiana, were stationed in the Illinois, where Fort Chartres was rebuilt on a new and extended plan, so as to render it capable of sustaining a siege by regular forces; and in order to secure the possession of the Ohio, which was considered indispensable for the subsistence of the French dominion in America, other officers were successively despatched from Canada with bodies of men, chiefly marines, to occupy the several points recommended by Celeron. The first spot thus fortified, was Presqu'île or the Peninsula, on the south-east side of Lake Erie, where the town of Erie in Pennsylvania now stands: another fort was erected on the river le Bœuf, or French Creek, eighteen miles south of Presqu'île; and a third called Fort Machault, in honor of the Minister of Marine, about forty-five miles farther in the interior, at Venango now Franklin, in the angle formed by the junction of French Creek with the Alleghany, the great northern branch, or—as the French considered it—the main stream of the Ohio. Traders and settlers from Virginia and Pennsylvania however still continued to resort to those countries; and the seizure of some of these men, who were sent as prisoners to France, in 1751, contributed to increase the difficulties between the Governments of the two nations.

The treaty of Aix la Chapelle, had indeed left many important points relative to America, for future settlement by negotiation. The rights and dominions of the two nations were, according to its ninth article, “to be restored on the same footing as they were or should have been,\* before the commencement of the present war;” no other indications being given as to what that “footing”

\* The words “*should have been*” are omitted in some English copies of the treaty, the French of which, is however the only authentic version, by the terms of its separate articles. The Abbé Mably, in his “*Droit Public de l'Europe*,” chap. xiv., states that these words were adroitly inserted by the English plenipotentiary, in order to afford a pretext for the wide interpretation, which was afterwards given to the terms of the restitution.

was, or "should have been," at the period prescribed, except by reference to various anterior treaties, which were specially renewed and confirmed, in all points not otherwise settled, by the stipulations then made. The Utrecht treaty, the most recent of these agreements, was however entirely silent as to boundaries; for although certain countries therein named, were ceded or admitted to belong to one or the other of the parties, their limits and all other questions concerning them, were expressly reserved for determination, or rather for ascertainment, by Commissaries, according to the terms of previous treaties, which were equally indefinite on those points; and the attempts to effect such determinations, had produced no result in any case.

Assertions had indeed been made about this period, by certain English writers on history and geography, that some line of separation between the Hudson's Bay territories belonging to Great Britain on the north, and the dominions of the French next adjoining on the south, had been determined by Commissaries of those nations, appointed agreeably to the tenth article of the treaty of Utrecht,\* which provided for that mode of settling the question, and were admitted by their governments. These assertions, however, all proceeded from persons entitled to no confidence; and they differed from each other materially as to the course of the supposed boundaries: one of them represented the line as extending from a point on the Atlantic coast, midway between the St. Lawrence and Hudson's Strait, south-westward to the 49th degree of latitude; another continued this line westward along the 49th parallel to the Pacific; while a third gave a totally different boundary, following the course of the highlands separating the waters of Hudson's Bay from those falling into the St. Lawrence, the Lakes and the Mississippi. They appear to have attracted little or no attention at the time when they were made; and had been generally forgotten, like many others of a similar kind, at the beginning of the present century, when one of them, presenting the boundary as fixed on the 49th parallel, was revived by the Government of the United States, and became in time, the base of two important treaties of limits, between that Republic

\* See that article in full, with the account of the negotiation between the English and French Commissaries, at page 347 of the first volume.



and Great Britain. It is now certain that no such settlement of boundaries in that quarter was ever effected;\* and it is only ex-

\* The earliest mention of such a supposed settlement of boundaries, appears in the fourth volume, page 349 of the "History of America" by Salmon, a writer of all-work for the London booksellers, published in 1739, as a part of the celebrated compilation called the Universal History. It is in these words:—"Commissioners did afterwards settle the limits, by an imaginary line, drawn from a promontory situate on the Atlantic Ocean, in 58 degrees 30 minutes, and running from thence south-west to Lake Miscosink or Mistasin, and from thence south-west indefinitely, to the latitude of forty-nine; all the countries to the north being assigned to Great Britain, and all on the south, between that line and the river of St. Lawrence or Canada, to France."

This assertion was adopted, without any variation, by Hutchins in his "Historical and Topographical Account of Louisiana," published in 1784. Douglass thus presents it with a notable addition, in his "Summary of the English Provinces in America," vol. 1, page 8:—"By the treaty of Utrecht, the Canada or French line with Hudson's Bay Company or Great Britain was ascertained, viz: from a certain promontory upon the Atlantic Ocean, in north latitude 58 degrees 30 minutes, to run south-west to Lake Mistasin (which communicates by Indian water carriage, by Rupert's river with Hudson's Bay, and by Seguan river with St. Lawrence river at the port of Tadousac, thirty leagues below Quebec,) and from thence continued still south-west, to north latitude forty-nine degrees, and from thence due west indefinitely."

In the meantime D'Anville's fine map of North America had appeared, in 1746, presenting the line of separation between the British and French dominions south of the St. Lawrence, as already said, running from the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Perdido, north-eastward to and along the Apalachian or Alleghany chain, in its whole length, and thence eastward to the Atlantic, near the Bay of Fundy. North of the St. Lawrence, a dotted line is traced on this map, nearly parallel to the eastern shore of James' Bay, (the southernmost part of Hudson's Bay,) extending from the 54th degree of latitude south-westward irregularly to the 51st, as representing the course of the highlands separating the waters of that Bay from those flowing to the Atlantic and the St. Lawrence, and marked "*Hauteur des terres*." In the copy of this map published in London in 1752, "*greatly improved by John Bolton*," all these lines disappear, the boundaries being made to suit the views of Great Britain; and a line is introduced in the course, described by Douglass with the following note near it on the map—"The line that parts French Canada from British Canada, was settled by Commissaries after the peace of Utrecht, making a course from Davis' Inlet on the Atlantic Sea, down to the 46th degree, through the Lake Abitibis to the North West Ocean: therefore D'Anville's dotted line east of James' Bay is false." This line may be found traced on some of the maps published in the middle of the last century; while others, including those of Mitchell and Jeffries in 1755, of Bennet 1776, of Faden 1777, and of Harrison in 1787, present a line following the course of the highlands enclosing the waters of Hudson's Bay on the south, as the "*Bounds of Hudson's Bay by the treaty of Utrecht*;" but the greater number, embracing nearly all those of highest authority, contain no line of separation between the dominions of France and Great Britain north of the St. Lawrence.

This subject will be farther treated hereafter at pages.

traordinary, that these assertions, so evidently unsupported, should have obtained credit among statesmen.

Of the impossibility of settling those questions of boundary by arrangement, the Governments of France and Great Britain must have been doubtless, as on the previous occasions, well aware. An attempt was however made, in appearance at least, with that object, while each nation was ardently engaged, as already shown, in endeavoring to secure the possession of the disputed territories, by occupation, or by the increase of its influence over the Indians. Commissaries were appointed by each Government, who met at Paris in the summer of 1750; Mr. Shirley, late Governor of Massachusetts, and Mr. Mildmay being the representatives of Great Britain, and the Marquis de la Galissoniere late Governor General of New France, and M. Silhouette, acting on the part of France.

The duty first assigned to the Commissaries, was to fix the limits of the country secured to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, under the name of Acadie or Nova Scotia. The Englishmen opened the discussion by claiming for their nation, the whole territory extending from New England to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, between the river St. Lawrence and the Atlantic; denying to the French any right, to any portion of the Continent south of that river. The French on the other hand insisted, that the Nova Scotia secured to Great Britain by the Utrecht treaty, was neither more nor less than the province of Acadie, which was declared by them, to be only a small strip of land on the southwest side of the Peninsula so called; and that the remainder of the territory claimed by the British, was either comprised in Canada, or belonged to Indian nations in alliance with, and under the protection of France. In support of these extreme pretensions, which were maintained without any signs of concession by each party, many long memorials were presented, accompanied by numerous documents and maps, affording together, undeniable evidence of the learning, labor and ingenuity of the Commissaries, who in fact exhausted their subject.\* The question at issue

\*The proceedings of these Commissaries fill four large quarto volumes, published at Paris between 1751 and 1756, under the title of—"Mémoires des Commissaires du Roi, et de ceux de Sa Majesté Britannique, sur les possessions et les droits respectifs, des deux couronnes en Amérique"—forming together one of the most valuable collections of documents yet made, relative to the early history of North America.



nevertheless seemed as far from a decision, at the end of the first year of the discussion, as at its commencement; nothing being proved, except the entire absence of all right on the part of either nation, to the possession of more than a few small points in the disputed region, agreeably to any admitted rule of conduct in such cases. Other questions respecting the islands of St. Lucie and Tobago were then submitted to the Commissaries, and were treated in the same way, and with no more definite results; and after two years passed in these futile investigations, the attempt to insure the continuance of peace by that means was abandoned.

While these discussions were in progress at Paris, affairs were proceeding rapidly in America to a crisis. The English traders and settlers were boldly advancing into the interior of the Continent; and the Governors of the French provinces were actively engaged in adopting every possible means to arrest them, especially by exciting the Indians to make war upon the daring intruders. The English fort at Oswego was the particular object of the jealousy of the French, and their missionaries among the Iroquois labored diligently, to effect a union of those nations for its destruction;\* while the English were no less anxious to procure the expulsion of their rivals from Fort St. Frederic or Crown Point, where Lake Champlain expands into a broad sheet of water, about ninety miles from Albany. On the Ohio, the English were daily gaining ground; and one of the agents of the Ohio company, Mr. Gist, had penetrated as far as the Miami river; through his efforts the Twittowee† or Miami Indians, had been induced to attack the French settlements on the Wabash,

\* The most active and zealous of the French missionaries engaged in this pious work, was the Abbé Francois Picquet, of whom a curious biographical memoir, read by M. de la Lande before the Academy of Sciences at Paris, may be found in the *Lettres Edifiantes*. In it is an extract from the instructions of the Minister of Marine M. Rouillé to the Abbé, to impress upon the Indians, "that the only means of relieving themselves from the pretensions of the English to the possession of their territories, is to destroy Oswego, so as to deprive them of a post, which was established chiefly for the purpose of restraining the Iroquois." The Abbé displayed great talent and boldness in his endeavors to comply with these instructions; but fortunately for the English, he was not seconded by the Commandants of the French garrisons, between whom and the missionaries there was a mutual repulsion, preventing all cordial co-operation.

† This name is said to be an imitation of the cry or whistle of the plover. It is usually written Twightee, and sometimes Twixtee.

and the flame had extended to the Illinois, where a plan was formed in 1751 for the extermination of the Europeans, which was only frustrated by the energy of the French Commandant, an Irishman named MacCarty. Farther south, the Chickasās again took up the hatchet, and interrupted the communications between the upper and the lower Mississippi; and a large French force was again assembled at the Chickasā Bluffs, with the hope of overwhelming these irreconcilable foes. Vaudreuil, however, on this occasion gained no more glory than Bienville had reaped from his expeditions: he marched from the Mississippi to the Chickasā towns in the summer of 1752; but each village was found, as before, strongly fortified, through the exertions of the British traders, and the French were obliged to return, without having ventured to attack any one of them.

The French Government had in fact, by this time, arrived at the conclusion, that the overthrow of the authority of Great Britain in America and in India, was indispensable to the security of its own dominion in those parts of the world; and plans had been devised with that object, which might have been considered wise and provident, had the power and resources of France, equalled the estimates of her statesmen and commanders with regard to them. The first great measure embraced in this plan, respecting America, was the establishment of a connection between the provinces of the St. Lawrence and those of the Mississippi, by the effective occupation of all the strong points in those countries; a measure which had been indeed contemplated, ever since the settlement of Louisiana, and the execution of which the English had as constantly labored to prevent. For the success of this plan, facilities were offered by the position of the great interior waters of that part of America, most favorable for intercourse between the French possessions; while the English, in order to reach any one of them, would be obliged to traverse lofty mountains and dense forests, presenting impediments almost insurmountable to the march of large bodies of troops, with their necessary arms, ammunition and provisions. The completion of such a system of fortified posts would, it was hoped by the French, place the provinces of their rivals at their mercy, or at least arrest the advance of the settlements of that people, which would thus be exposed to attack in all directions. With the exception of



Oswego, the French had all the principal points on the waters of the St. Lawrence, namely Frontenac, Niagara, Presqu'île, Detroit, and Mackinac, between which and the Mississippi, the only important spot remaining to be occupied by them, was at the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, called by the English the Forks of the Ohio, where the flourishing city of Pittsburg now stands.

The British Government was, probably, by no means equally anxious to expel the French from the North American Continent, where they might serve as a check upon the tendencies to independence, which had so unequivocally manifested themselves among the English colonies; and His Christian Majesty might probably have been suffered to retain his dominions on the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, so long as he should not overstep the bounds, within which the dignity of Great Britain required that he should be restrained. But the people of the British American colonies were not content with any restrictions upon their advance into the interior of the Continent: wherever good land was to be found, they then, as now, claimed the right of settling and of establishing their own customs and laws, to the exclusion of all others; and it must have been evident to their rulers, that any attempt to curb this disposition, would prove vain, if not perilous to the subsistence of the authority of the mother country.

The English colonies at that time contained at least a million of inhabitants of pure European race, while the whole number of French subjects, in New France and Louisiana, was less than fifty thousand: the French were however always the superior in numbers of regular forces, which had been then recently increased to perhaps ten thousand, and their militia were well trained and equipped for war. The jealousy prevailing between the different English provinces, each regarding itself almost as an independent State, moreover rendered concert among them, for any object except opposition to the mother country, extremely difficult, if not impossible: their legislative assemblies could rarely be induced to appropriate funds for defence; and their militia, unless supported by large bodies of regulars, were generally tardy and wasteful, to a degree which seriously impaired their efficiency. It is nevertheless difficult at the present day to comprehend, either the expectations of the French, or the fears of the English. Con-

tinents are to be overspread with population, by industry and perseverance in the quiet pursuits of life, for which armies and fortifications are only useful as protections; and the French, ever under the influence of the military spirit, had already proved beyond all possibility of doubt, their vast inferiority as colonizers to the English, who never drew the sword unless it was absolutely necessary, to defend their ploughs, looms and anvils.

The particulars of the plan for connecting Canada and Louisiana by colonies and forts, appear to have been suggested by Vaudreuil, who made many communications to the French ministers on the subject; and in order that he might farther unfold his views, he was summoned to Paris, where he arrived in the spring of 1753, having resigned the government of Louisiana on the 9th of February, to M. de Kerlerec a captain in the royal navy. M. de la Jonqui re had in the meantime succeeded La Galissoni re, as Governor General of New France; and upon his death, in March, 1752, the Marquis de Duquesne was appointed to that important situation. He immediately increased the forces in the Ohio countries, which were placed under the command of M. Legardeur de St. Pierre, an old and experienced officer; and he made preparations for farther establishments in those regions, all of which above the Wabash, had been declared within the limits of his province, agreeably to the line of separation recently established between Canada and Louisiana, extending from the head waters of the latter stream north-westward to the Mississippi at the mouth of Rock river.

These proceedings of the French in the Ohio territories, soon became known in New York, Virginia and Pennsylvania, where they excited some alarm and much indignation. Representations were made to the ministers at London, who in consequence sent orders to the Governors of those provinces, to take measures in concert for defence against these hostile invasions; while the colonies were themselves urged to unite for the same common purpose. Funds were moreover placed at the disposition of the Governor of Virginia, within whose jurisdiction the countries of the Ohio were considered as lying, in order to enable him to raise troops and build forts, for the maintenance of the British dominion in that quarter, where it appeared to be most seriously menaced by the French.



The claim of Virginia to the Ohio countries was founded upon the terms of the second and third charters granted to the Virginia Company by James I. in 1609 and 1612; agreeably to which, it embraced the coasts of the Atlantic, northward and southward from Point Comfort at the mouth of James river, to the distance of two hundred miles in each direction, and the whole territory thence extending across the Continent, "west and north-west," to the Pacific.\* The coast thus described, comprehended nearly the whole line from Cape Fear to the entrance of New York bay; and the territory stretching westward from that line included nearly the whole course of the Ohio proper—that is to say, below the junction of its two great branches the Alleghany and the Monongahela; while a line drawn north-westward from the northernmost point on the coast granted, would have placed in Virginia, all the countries drained by the Ohio, the Upper Mississippi, and the Missouri, and by all the streams falling into Lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan, and Superior from the south and west. This latter construction of its boundaries was maintained by Virginia, except with regard to the portions of its original grant, which had been assigned by charters from the crown, to Maryland, Pennsylvania and Carolina; and these portions comprehended all south of the latitude of 36 degrees 30 minutes, and all north of the Potomac, and of a line drawn from the mouth of that river eastward to the Atlantic, together with such other territory on the north as might be ascertained to belong to Pennsylvania, which was to extend through five degrees of longitude, eastward from the Delaware.

The upper waters of the Ohio, on which the French had established themselves, were included in the last mentioned territory, then in question between Virginia and Pennsylvania; and were moreover claimed by other provinces, on grounds which it is un-

\*—"All those lands, countries, and territories, situate, lying and being in that part of America called Virginia, from the point of land called Cape or Point Comfort, all along the sea coast to the northward two hundred miles, and from the said point of Cape Comfort, all along the sea coast, to the southward two hundred miles, and all that space and circuit of land, lying from the sea coast of the precinct aforesaid, up into the land, throughout from sea to sea, west and north-west, and also all the islands lying within one hundred miles along the coast of both seas of the precinct aforesaid."

These are the words of the second charter, recited in the third, which was granted in 1712. Both documents may be found at length in Stith's History of Virginia and in Hening's Statutes of Virginia.

necessary here to explain. The French Government founded its pretensions to those regions, upon first discovery and occupation; supporting them, sometimes by reference to the charter of Louis XIV. to Crozat in 1713, and the decree annexing the Illinois to Louisiana in 1718, in which the whole division of America drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, is declared to be included in that French province; while it was asserted on other occasions, that the countries of the Ohio had always formed part of Canada, and on others again, that they belonged to the Indian confederacy of the Iroquois under the protection of the French.

The Virginians however had no doubt of the sufficiency of their title to the Ohio countries; and their Governor, Mr. Dinwiddie, in order to learn the objects and strength of the French in that quarter, commissioned George Washington, then a major in the provincial militia, though only twenty-one years of age, to proceed thither with a letter to the French commandant, inquiring by what right he appeared in arms, in the territories of the British King. In performance of this duty, the young envoy, accompanied by a few men, proceeded from Williamsburg the capital of Virginia, by way of Alexandria, Winchester and Wills' Creek, (now Cumberland in Maryland,) to the foot of the Alleghany mountains; and crossing that range in November, 1753, he reached the Forks of the Ohio, the importance of which, he after a careful examination, fully appreciated. Thence he went up the valley of the Alleghany to Venango, where he found the first French post, commanded by Captain Joncaire; and after a short stay, during which they were well treated, the Virginians continued their journey northward to Fort Le Bœuf, the head quarters of the Chevalier de St. Pierre, the commandant of the upper Ohio, to whom Washington delivered the letter from Governor Dinwiddie. To the question propounded in this letter, the commandant only answered, that he had been sent by the Governor General of New France, to establish and maintain the authority of their sovereign over those countries, which belonged of right to France, and to seize every person of any other nation who should attempt to trade on the Ohio or its waters; and that it was his intention scrupulously to execute this commission. As to the origin and base of the right thus assumed, Washington could only learn, that it was derived "from a discovery made by one



La Salle sixty years ago;" and as he could produce no better title himself, and his object was rather to observe than to discuss, he returned to Williamsburg, carrying with him a mass of valuable information, relative to the posts, the forces and the views of the French, which was soon after published in the form of a journal, and has since been often reprinted.\*

Accounts of Washington's visit to Fort Le Bœuf, were immediately despatched to the Governor General at Quebec, who thereupon sent M. Pecaudy de Contrecoeur with a large body of reinforcements, to take the command on the Ohio. This officer on reaching Venango, learned that the English were already engaged in building a fort at the Forks of the river; and considering it important to arrest these operations at once, he proceeded to that point, where he found about fifty Virginians under Captain Trent, who had been sent by Dinwiddie to occupy the place upon the recommendation of Washington, and who retired on the first summons from the French. Contrecoeur being satisfied of the great advantages of the position—unsurpassed indeed, in many advantageous respects, by any other in the interior of America—commenced a large work at the point of the junction of the two streams, which was named Fort Duquesne in honor of the Governor General of New France.

The news of these proceedings of the French on the Ohio, were soon carried through the British colonies; and a convention or Congress of delegates from nearly all those north of the Potomac, was assembled at Albany, to which the principal chiefs of the Six Nations also repaired in June. Treaties were made between the parties, on terms calculated to secure the attachment of the savages; and this business being despatched, propositions were presented by Benjamin Franklin one of the delegates from

\* "The Journal of Major George Washington, &c.:" London, 1753.—It may be found in Marshall's "Life of Washington" and in the second volume of Sparks' "Life and Writings of Washington," which contains many other documents relative to the events of Washington's early military proceedings.

Farther information on these and other circumstances, which led to the war between England and France, is communicated in a work published by the French Government at Paris in 1756, entitled—"Mémoire, contenant le précis des faits, avec leurs pièces justificatives, pour servir de réponse aux observations envoyées par les ministres Anglais, dans les cours de l'Europe"—which was translated and printed in English at New York in the following year, as "A Memoir in answer to the observations sent by the English Ministry to the Courts of Europe."

Pennsylvania, for a union of all the colonies under a General Government, consisting of a legislative body elected by the colonies, and an executive President appointed by the crown: the acts passed by the General Assembly were to have the assent of the sovereign in order to render them valid; while the officers and agents of the President, should receive the approval of the legislature, before entering upon the performance of their functions. This plan, in which may be seen the rudiments of the Federal constitution, adopted thirty-five years afterwards for the union of the same colonies as free and independent States, was at once rejected by the provinces and by the mother country; the latter refusing to concede the powers claimed for the General Legislature, while the colonies were equally opposed to those which would be conferred upon the representative of the crown.

In the meantime important events had occurred on the Ohio. The French were actively engaged in the construction of their Fort Duquesne in the latter part of May, 1754, when they received news that a large number of English soldiers from Virginia, had crossed the mountains, and were marching towards them. In order to ascertain the strength and objects of this body, Contre-cœur detached M. Villiers de Jumonville, a young ensign, of a family already distinguished for courage and enterprise, with thirty-five men, to make observations; instructing him, in case he should meet the English, to read to them a formal summons, of which he was the bearer, to quit those territories under pain of being obliged to do so by force.

The English, of whose approach news had been thus brought to Fort Duquesne, were about three hundred Virginians, commanded by Washington, as Lieutenant Colonel. They had been raised and equipped by order of the Governor, under an act from the legislature of the Province, appropriating ten thousand pounds for the defence of the Ohio; and their commander having learned on the way, the fact of the expulsion of Trent and his men from the Forks of the river, and the occupation of that important spot by the French, was hastening to take another position on the Monongahela, thirty-seven miles from Fort Duquesne, where the town of Brownsville in Pennsylvania is now situated. Soon after crossing the Alleghany mountains, Washington was informed by some Indians, that a party of French were in his vicinity; and



being unable to ascertain their numbers, he threw up an entrenchment at a place called the Great Meadows, near the present town of Union in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, where he left his baggage and all his men, except forty with whom he marched ahead accompanied by some Indians, in search of the enemy.

The French whom Washington went to meet, were Jumonville and his thirty-four men. They were found by the Virginians early on the morning of the 28th of May, in an obscure hollow, where they had encamped during the previous night; and Washington having surrounded their position, so as to close every avenue for escape, attacked them on all sides at the same moment. Thus surprised, the French could make no effectual resistance: Jumonville and nine of his men were immediately killed; one or two then escaped, and the remainder after firing a few shots, laid down their arms. The Indians, as usual, tore off the scalps from the dead, which were sent with presents to the tribes farther north; the prisoners were despatched under guard to Williamsburg. Upon the person of Jumonville were found the instructions and the summons given to him by Contrecoeur, both serving to show, that the intentions of the French were not directly hostile; and the same views were confirmed by the declarations of the prisoners. Yet Washington seemed, from the terms of his letter to Governor Dinwiddie, not to have had any doubts as to the propriety of his own conduct in the attack; unless indeed they might be inferred from the remarkable conciseness of his account of the action—the first in which he was ever engaged—and the length of his arguments, in demonstration of the evil designs of the French.\*

\* The only original reports of these circumstances, are to be found in the despatches of Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, and of Contrecoeur to the Marquis Duquesne. Washington's account of the action with Jumonville is all embraced in these few words:

"When we came to the place where the tracks were, the [Indian] Half-king sent two Indians to follow their tracks and discern their lodgement, which they did, at half a mile from the road, in a very obscure place, surrounded with rocks. I thereupon, in conjunction with the Half-king and Monacawacha, formed a disposition to attack them on all sides, which we accordingly did; and after an engagement of about fifteen minutes, we killed ten, wounded one, and took twenty-one prisoners. Amongst the killed, was M. de Jumonville the commander."—*Sparks' Life and Writings of Washington*, vol. 2, page 32.

Contrecoeur thus relates the particulars as derived from one of Jumonville's men who escaped: "One of that party, Monceau by name, a Canadian, made his

Accounts of the death of Jumonville and the capture of his party, were carried to Fort Duquesne, by one of the men who escaped. They excited the utmost indignation; and Contrecoeur immediately ordered M. Le Mercier, his second officer, to proceed with five hundred soldiers, and chastise the intruders upon the territories claimed by their sovereign. Ere Le Mercier could set out, M. de Villiers, the elder brother of Jumonville, arrived from the Illinois, and claimed the command; which being assigned to him, he quitted the fort on the 29th of June, and on the 3rd of the following month reached the Great Meadows, where Washington had thrown up an entrenchment, named by him Fort Necessity. The Virginians immediately advanced from their lines, and a battle was begun, which continued throughout the day, though rather languidly; as the French exhibited no disposition to leave their cover in the wood, and Washington did not attempt an attack, probably from want of confidence in his men, who were all raw volunteers, and inferior in numbers and equipment to their opponents. At night, Villiers proposed a parley; and this being accepted, he offered terms of capitulation, to which

escape, and tells us that they had built themselves cabins, in a low bottom, where they sheltered themselves, as it rained hard. About seven o'clock on the next morning, they saw themselves surrounded by the English on one side, and by Indians on the other; the English gave them two volleys, but the Indians did not fire. M. de Jumonville by his interpreter, told them to desist, as he had something to say to them; upon which they ceased firing. M. de Jumonville then ordered the summons, which I had sent them to retire, to be read, a copy of which I have the honor to send you. The said Monceau saw all the French coming close around M. de Jumonville, whilst the summons was read; so that they were all in platoons, between the English and the Indians, and in the meantime, Monceau made the best of his way to us. \* \* \* The Indians who were present when the thing was done, say that M. de Jumonville was killed by a musket shot in the head, while they were reading the summons, &c."—See the Memoir published by the French Government in 1755, as mentioned in the note on page 475.

The two accounts do not differ in any material point; and they both show clearly, that the French were surprised, surrounded, and attacked by Washington, ere they could prepare to fight or to explain their objects.

It is strange that with these documents before them—the authenticity at least of which could not be doubted—the circumstances of this affair should have been so frequently misstated by historians. What are we to say, for instance, to the following extract, from the Life of Washington, by great and good Chief Justice Marshall, as revised, corrected and published by the author in 1833, vol. 1, page 4:—"At day-break, his [Washington's] troops fired and rushed upon the party, which immediately surrendered. One man only escaped capture; and *M. Jumonville alone, the commanding officer was killed.*"



Washington, after many alterations had been made in them, finally agreed. The Virginians were allowed to evacuate the place with all their arms and munitions of war except artillery, on condition that they should retire beyond the Alleghany mountains, and that the prisoners taken by them should be restored; it being expressly stated in the articles, which were drawn up in French, and imperfectly explained to Washington by a Dutch interpreter, that the principal object of the French was to avenge the *assassination* of Jumonville.\*

Such were the circumstances which led directly to the celebrated struggle between Great Britain and France, for dominion in North America. The commander of the Virginians was the same George Washington whose death forty-five years later, was mourned in all parts of the civilized world, as a loss to humanity; whose statue, erected long afterwards by the universal assent of a grateful nation, bears the inscriptions, no less true than beautiful—

“First in war, First in peace, First in the hearts of his Countrymen.”

The incomparable manner in which Washington discharged his subsequent trusts, the highest ever confided to man, renders it the desire, and indeed the duty of those who relate the circumstances of his attack upon Jumonville, to defend his conduct as far as the principles of right will allow: yet youth, inexperience, and the prejudices of early life—prejudices which he soon abandoned—are the only grounds of excuse for that conduct. France and England were then in peace, and engaged in discussions for the determination of their rights, to the territory in which the attack was made. Jumonville bore instructions from his Government,

\* Washington, many years afterwards, addressed a letter to a friend with regard to the French accounts of this affair, which may be found, though without date or address, in the Appendix to Marshall's Life of Washington, published in 1833, vol. 1, page 12. He therein says:—

“That we were wilfully or ignorantly deceived by our interpreter, in regard to the word *assassination* I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will every officer that was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman, little acquainted with the English tongue, and therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English; but whatever were his motives for so doing, certain it is, he called it the *death*, or the *loss* of the *Sieur de Jumonville*.”

Washington made no farther allusion to the circumstances of the death of Jumonville, in this letter, or on any other occasion, so far as is known, subsequent to the date of his account of that action transmitted to Dinwiddie.

to give warning, but not to commence hostilities, for which his force was clearly inadequate. Washington was ignorant of the nature of these instructions, and he says that he regarded the French as spies: but the French commander, had only six weeks previous, demonstrated his desire to preserve the peace, by allowing Trent and his men to retire uninjured from their position at the Forks of the Ohio; and Washington had himself, in the preceding winter, been received and treated with courtesy by the people of the same nation at Fort Le Bœuf, whither he had gone, as admitted by him, with the object of obtaining information. Finally—he surprised Jumonville at a great disadvantage in amount of force as well as in position; and humanity, as well as generosity required, that the French should have been allowed time to explain their purposes, while prudence and policy dictated the same course, in order to avoid the responsibility of breaking the peace. What would have been the feeling of the English world, had the results been reversed—had Jumonville surprised and attacked the Virginians, and killed their leader and more than a quarter of their number, under similar circumstances? Of Washington's own judgment upon the subject, in after life, nothing is known; it seems however scarcely credible, that he could have regarded his proceedings otherwise than with regret.

The circumstances above related, produced a strong sensation throughout Europe, as well as in America; and it was not difficult to foresee that war must soon be renewed between France and England. The French regarded the death of Jumonville as an act of assassination; and the name of Washington was repeated with every epithet of abhorrence attached to it, by the poets, historians and orators of Paris. The British Government viewed the whole proceeding only as demonstrating the necessity of employing stronger forces on the Ohio; and measures were immediately taken for the purpose, as well as to confirm the friendship of the dominant Indian nations in that quarter. Major General Edward Braddock was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the British forces in North America, and was instructed immediately to expel the French from the Ohio, and from all the other countries farther east, lying south of the lakes and the St. Lawrence. On the part of France, the Marquis de Vaudreuil was made Governor General of Canada, in place of Du Quesne; and



he was employed in superintending the equipment of a large body of troops, who were to sail in the ensuing spring, with the object of securing the possession of Nova Scotia, the Iroquois countries and the Ohio.

At the same time also, in order to divert the attention of the British, and to arrest as far as possible their preparations for war until the armament under Vaudreuil should have arrived in Canada, the French Government proposed through the Duke de Mirepoix, its Ambassador at London—that the question as to the possession of the Ohio regions should be submitted to the Commissioners who were still employed, nominally at least, at Paris; and that until these questions should have been determined, the countries traversed by that river, should be restored to the condition in which they were before the peace of Aix la Chapelle. The British ministers, having a similar reason for not wishing to commence hostilities immediately, accepted the offer of negotiation, and proposed in answer—that the condition of things at the time of the treaty of Utrecht should be assumed as the basis; but this was refused by the French, on the grounds—that the Utrecht treaty did not in any way relate or allude to the Ohio, and that the British neither held nor claimed any part of that river, before the late peace. The British ministers, in reply, insisted—that the Ohio was comprised in the territory of the Six Nations, which was secured to them by the treaty of Utrecht; and a correspondence ensued, in which each Government developed and supported its own views, as to the interpretation of that treaty, not only with regard to the Ohio regions, but to all other portions of America in question between them. The French distinctly claimed the whole of the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, and all the countries drained by streams falling into them, as having always formed parts of Canada; as well as the Ohio countries, on the ground of their having been first discovered, first explored, and first occupied by French subjects, and of the absolute necessity of the river, as a means of communication between their different possessions. The British on the other hand, adduced the words of the treaty of Utrecht, recognizing the Five Nations as subjects of Great Britain, and thereby excluding the French from the countries occupied by those Indians, which extended, according to their views, southward from the Lakes Erie and Ontario, so

far as to embrace all the Ohio regions; and they treated as absurd, the claims of the French founded on discovery and occupation.\*

In the course of this correspondence, on the 6th of February, 1755, the French Government presented a projet of a preliminary convention, to subsist during the discussions for the definitive settlement of the questions at issue, provided they should not continue longer than two years, according to which—the territory between the Ohio and the Alleghany mountains, should be evacuated by both parties, and all grants of lands made in it by either, should be held as void, all other things relative to North America being meanwhile restored to the state, in which they stood by the treaty of Utrecht. To this the British in a few days replied by a counter-projet, to the effect—that all forts or posts established by either nation, on the south side of Lake Erie or on the Ohio, should be evacuated and destroyed; and that a wide tract of territory, extending southwardly from the western half of that lake, to and beyond the Ohio, should be also evacuated by their forces, and be regarded as neutral by their subjects, who should have full and equal liberty of trade therein, until the conclusion of the discussions. Neither of these propositions was accepted by the party to which it was addressed; but the correspondence continued without any appearance of concession or prospect of compromise, until the middle of 1755.

In the meantime, the French fleet had sailed from Brest with three thousand men, under the Marquis de Vaudreuil as Governor General, and the Baron de Dieskau as commander of the forces. It was followed by an English squadron under Boscawen, who on the 7th of June, attacked and took two of the French ships, with several companies of soldiers on board, off the coast of Newfoundland. The remainder of the French fleet reached Quebec, where the troops were landed, and Dieskau immediately set off with two thousand of them, in the direction of Lake Champlain, in order to destroy the English posts in that quarter, and to penetrate if possible as far as Albany. The news of the capture of the two French ships of course ended the negotiations at London; and accounts of other events of a more serious nature soon after arriving, destroyed all prospects of accommodation.

\* The documents of this negotiation are given at length, in the Memoir addressed by the French Government to the other Courts of Europe in 1756.



Nova Scotia had been invaded in May, by a large force sent from Boston, under Colonel Winslow, who completely subjugated that country, and expelled all the French soldiers from it. The inhabitants were almost entirely of French origin, and though professing neutrality, were attached to that nation, by feelings which, it was believed, would never be eradicated; it was in consequence determined to remove them from their country, and several thousands of these unfortunate people were accordingly transported to Massachusetts and other colonies, where they subsisted miserably under the name of Neutral French, until the greater part of them repaired to France, or St. Domingo, or Louisiana. Their places were supplied by emigrants chiefly from Scotland, with whom the climate of Nova Scotia was found to agree in all respects; and the territory has ever since remained in the uninterrupted possession of Great Britain.

The attempt made by the British to settle the controversy as to the dominion of the Ohio regions in the same way, terminated in a manner much less satisfactory to that nation.

General Braddock arrived in Virginia in February, 1755, with two regiments of regular troops; and having made requisitions on the Governors of that province, and of North Carolina, Maryland and Pennsylvania for additional forces and supplies, he proceeded to Fort Cumberland on the Potomac, which had been appointed as the rendezvous of his army. Washington, whom he had selected as aid-de-camp, with the rank of colonel, strongly urged him immediately to press onwards to Fort Duquesne, ere the garrison at that place should be increased: Braddock followed this advice, and though badly supplied, in consequence of the failure of the contractors to produce the wagons and provisions required, he set off on the 10th of June, with about twelve hundred men, and ten pieces of artillery, leaving eight hundred others to follow under Colonel Dunbar. The natural impediments offered by mountains, forests and streams retarded the march, and it was not until the 9th of July, that they reached the Monongahela, which was crossed a little below its junction with the Youghogany, about fifteen miles from Fort Duquesne.

The approach of the English to the fort had been communicated to the French several days previous; and the Commandant De Contrecoeur was inclined to evacuate the place, which he did

not consider defensible against a force so much superior to his own. One of his officers, M. de Beaujeu however offered to advance against the enemy, with a small number of men and Indians; and the proposition being accepted, he set out on the morning of the day on which Braddock crossed the Monongahela, at the head of two hundred and fifty French and about six hundred Indians, taking his course along the right bank of that stream. Having proceeded in this direction six miles, Beaujeu learned that the English were crossing the Monongahela again, at a short distance before him; and he concealed his men among the trees and in the ravines, bordering upon a plain near the river, through which his enemy would soon pass.

The English general unsuspecting, and disdaining the caution which his aid-de-camp Washington endeavored to impress upon him, marched onwards with his men, after fording the river to its right bank; and at one o'clock they entered the plain above mentioned, which they had nearly traversed, when they suddenly received a volley of musketry in front. The foremost columns returned the fire, but at random, as they could see no enemy, and the regular troops, unaccustomed to this mode of warfare, became panic-struck and fell into confusion; the Virginians on the other hand, took refuge each behind a tree, and directed their fire, as opportunities were offered, against the French and Indians. The battle thus lasted three hours, at the end of which more than one half of the English officers, as well as of the soldiers, were killed or disabled by wounds; those who could, then retreated, leaving the others with all the artillery, baggage, ammunitions and stores in the hands of the French. Braddock was carried from the field severely wounded; all the other principal officers of the English were killed or wounded except Washington, on whom fell the conduct of the retreat. The panic communicated itself to Dunbar's men, who were met, soon after re-crossing the river, and it was impossible to restore order and subordination, until they arrived at Cumberland. The general died on the way, near Fort Necessity, the place at which Washington had capitulated to the French in the preceding year; and the spot where his remains were deposited, is still shewn to the traveller on the road side, at the foot of the westernmost ridge of the Alleghanies. The loss on the part of the French was trifling;



their commander Beaujeu had however been slain at the commencement of the action, and his successor Dumas did not consider it prudent to attempt to pursue the retreating foe; so that after the Indians had killed and scalped their prisoners, the party returned in triumph, and laden with spoils to Fort Duquesne.

The alarm and depression produced throughout the British colonies by the news of Braddock's defeat, were in a measure counterbalanced by General Johnson's victory over Dieskau and capture of that commander, on the shores of the Lake of the Sacrament thenceforward known as Lake George, in September following. General Shirley, who succeeded Braddock in the command of the forces, then endeavored to organise an expedition against Fort Niagara, with which object, boats were built and troops were collected at Oswego; but the proceedings were conducted so slowly, that winter set in ere the preparations were completed, and it became necessary to abandon the enterprise.

In Louisiana, M. de Kerlerec, who succeeded Vaudreuil in the government in the summer of 1753, had exerted himself like his predecessors, in endeavoring to secure the Indians in favor of the French; in this, however, he had made but little progress, until the arrival of the news of the defeat of Braddock, the moral effect of which was most prejudicial to the cause of the English. The Choctās seized the traders of the latter nation in their country, and carried them as prisoners to Mobile; the Chickasās appeared to be cowed into submission, and the Great Mortar, the principal chief of the Upper or Coweeta Creeks, whom the French pretended to style Emperor, declared openly in their favor.

The condition of the French colony in Louisiana, was little if at all improved in any respect. Its population did not exceed six thousand whites, of whom about fourteen hundred were in the Illinois, and about four thousand negroes almost all of them in the lower country. The immigration was very small, not more than sufficient to counterbalance the loss by death, and the departure—or desertion as it was termed—of the inhabitants to the West Indies or the English provinces; and the persons sent thither from France as settlers, were in general but ill calculated, morally or physically, to advance the prosperity of the colony. The people continued to be, as before, idle and dissolute; the soldiers were insolent, insubordinate and cowardly, and the offi-

cers, both civil and military, were tyrannical and venal. The Governor, Kerlerec, seems indeed to have been inferior in talent and energy to each of his predecessors, though if possible more false and grasping than any one of them. His despatches to the Government are a tissue of complaints on account of the delay of supplies, and of invectives against the English, whom he is always confident of being able to destroy, if he were only in a situation to satisfy the demands of the Choctās for presents, and to increase the garrisons of the frontier posts. These posts were frequently the scenes of most horrible crimes, committed sometimes by the Commandants, and sometimes by the soldiers; who seem to have been fully equal in brutality to the Turks of Algiers.

A religious dispute was moreover in progress, in Louisiana, at this period, in which the people seem to have generally taken sides, probably from the want of any more material cause for excitement. The parties were the Jesuits and the Capuchins—the black-gowns and the bare-feet—as they were respectively termed by the Indians; and the whole question was, whether or not the Jesuits should exercise their priestly functions in New Orleans and its district, which had been placed by royal ordinance, in 1722, under the exclusive ecclesiastical direction of the Capuchins. The Jesuits had, as already shown, obtained permission to form an establishment near the city, for which they purchased a portion of the plantation of M. de Bienville in 1726; and with the care and economy always bestowed by them on their affairs, this establishment had been considerably increased and extended, while its possessors were at the same time steadily rising in consideration among the people. The prohibitions to which they were subjected by law, fell into desuetude; and they openly performed all the offices of their religion, taking care at first to avoid as far as possible, any shock to the susceptibilities of the Capuchins. Success however rendered the Jesuits less observant in this latter respect, until they at length went so far, as to assume authority in the district, and even to threaten their rivals with an enforcement towards them of the same interdiction, to which they themselves had been obliged, in the first instance to submit. The Capuchins were too weak to struggle against opponents then so powerful: but the star of the Jesuits had reached the highest point of its course, and was, though imperceptibly, sinking; and



what the mendicant friars failed to effect by representations to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, was soon after consummated, as will be shown, by the strong hand of the civil power.

Kerlerec endeavored also, through the agency of the Creeks to gain over the Cherokees: but Attakullakulla—the Little Carpenter—the most esteemed of their chiefs, who had made the treaty with the English at London in 1730, informed the Governor of South Carolina of the designs of the French; and through his influence, a new treaty was made, by which the Cherokees ceded to the English the whole of their territory on the Savannah and the upper waters of the Tennessee or Cherokee river. In this territory two forts were immediately erected, one called Prince George, in honor of the heir apparent to the throne, on the Seneca a branch of the Savannah in the north-west angle of South Carolina; and the other at the confluence of the Tellico with the Little Tennessee, in the south-east part of the present State of Tennessee, which was named Fort Loudoun, after Lord Loudoun the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America.

The defeat of Braddock by the French, served also to encourage the Spaniards in resistance to the advancement of the English power. The relations between Great Britain and Spain, were then indeed by no means of an amicable character. A Convention between the two nations, concluded at Madrid in October, 1750, had fixed the terms of the indemnification, to be made to the British for the loss of the advantages of the Asiento contract, agreeably to the treaty of Aix la Chapelle; but the great questions as to the navigation of the West Indian seas, and the boundaries of the possessions of the two nations in America, were undetermined. On the ocean, the Spanish *guarda-costas* ransacked and plundered British vessels and ill-treated their crews. On the American continent, the English continued their encroachments upon the territories claimed by Spain; and their settlements extended southward, from the Alatomaha to the Santilla, and even to the St. Mary, where a colony of Virginians had been planted by a man named Grey, in spite of the threats and remonstrances of the Governor of Florida. In 1755, Don Jose de Leon, was sent from St. Augustine, with a party of dragoons, to expel the English from these latter places; this was easily effected, but on the retirement of the troops, the settlers returned, and occupied their

former positions. A complaint was then addressed to the government at London, which issued orders to the Governors of Georgia and South Carolina for the withdrawal of its subjects from those countries; however, before the orders could be executed, the two nations were again at war with each other.

Notwithstanding all the hostile operations above mentioned in America, and on the ocean, the peace was not formally broken until the spring of 1756, when the French attacked Minorca, which then belonged to Great Britain. The other European powers had by this time become involved on one side or the other, as their respective interests dictated; and the declaration of war by Great Britain against France, on the 17th of May, was the commencement of another general struggle among the nations of that quarter of the world, which is celebrated in history as "the Seven Years War." During its continuance many combinations were formed, but the principal parties in the field, were Great Britain and Prussia in alliance against France and Austria. The Prussians and the Austrians limited their desolating movements to Germany; the French and the English met hand to hand on the cultivated fields of Europe, in the trackless forests of America, in the burning plains of Hindostan, and in fleets on every division of the ocean.

In North America, the war between the English and the French was confined almost exclusively to the countries of the St. Lawrence and the Upper Ohio; a sketch of the events in those regions will however be necessary, in order to explain their effects upon Florida and Louisiana. In the spring of 1756, the Marquis de Montcalm arrived at Quebec, to supply the place of Dieskau in command of the French forces; and he immediately marched against Oswego, which, after a gallant defence by the garrison, was taken on the 14th of August. The loss of this most important point dispirited the English, who could only remain on the defensive, until winter put an end to the operations; and in the following year 1757, Montcalm was again successful in the only expedition undertaken by him, in which Fort William Henry established by Johnson at the southern extremity of Lake George, was forced to capitulate. The French were thus far triumphant, and nothing impeded their communications between Quebec and New Orleans, the whole intervening regions of the Lakes and the Mississippi being in their undisputed possession. The Six Na-



tions of the Iroquois acknowledged their supremacy; in the Illinois all was kept in profound tranquillity, and farther south every thing went on, wretchedly indeed, but without the occurrence of any event worthy of note.\* The French and Indians made several incursions into Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, in which, particularly in one led by M. de Villiers, another brother of Jumonville, they committed ravages on the frontier settlements, and carried away many of the inhabitants to Louisiana and Canada.†

William Pitt had, in the meantime, become established in power as chief of the British ministry; and under his imperious and energetic dictation, the aspect of things in America was soon changed. Lord Loudoun was succeeded as commander of the forces, by General Abercrombie, who found himself in the spring of 1758, at the head of fifty thousand men, mostly regular troops. The French had also considerably increased the number of their soldiers in America; and their great fortresses of Louisbourg and Quebec, with the line of smaller forts extending westward, rendered their position exceedingly strong. A serious dispute had however arisen between the Governor General Vaudreuil, and the military Commandant Montcalm; the latter of whom urged their King to embrace the opportunity offered by success, to negotiate with Great Britain for a favorable boundary, while Vaudreuil could think of nothing less, than driving the English into the Atlantic, and taking of all their provinces.

\* The European world at this period, received some important additions to its knowledge of the Mississippi regions, by the publication of several works, which have been frequently mentioned in the preceding pages.

Le Page Du Pratz, who had acted as Director of the Royal Plantations in Louisiana, until the surrender of the India Company's charter in 1731, published in 1758 his *Natural and Civil History* of that country, which has been translated into English and several other languages. Though filled with errors on all matters of which the writer was not an eye witness, and written in the most confused and disorderly manner, it is nevertheless valuable from the apparent sincerity and truthfulness of the accounts of many interesting circumstances.

The "*Memoires sur la Louisiane*," compiled by the Abbé le Maserier from the notes of Captain Dumont, had appeared previously in 1753. Bossu, from whose narrative of his residence in Louisiana, much information is derived as to events from 1751 to 1761, did not publish his work until some years afterwards.

† The French accounts of that period, speak particularly of the gallantry displayed by Villiers, in the capture of a fort in Virginia, which is sometimes called Granville, and sometimes Dambelle. The prisoners were carried to the Illinois, whence they were conducted to New Orleans by Bossu, as related in his travels.

Under these new circumstances, the campaign of 1758 was begun. In the north-east, General Amherst with twelve thousand soldiers, and a large naval armament, attacked Louisbourg, which after a short defence, was surrendered with all its magazines of provisions, ammunition and arms, and its garrison of nearly three thousand men became prisoners of war. From the Hudson, General Abercrombie proceeded to Lake George with sixteen thousand men, and besieged the strong fortress of Carillon or Ticonderoga, at the outlet of that Lake, from which he was repulsed with loss by Montcalm on the 8th of July. Abercrombie was nevertheless able to detach a portion of his army, under General Bradstreet, who embarking at Oswego, crossed Lake Ontario and took and destroyed Fort Frontenac, the important post established by La Salle, at the outlet of the lake by the St. Lawrence, where the city of Kingston now stands.

At the same time, no less than eight thousand British regulars and volunteers from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, were on the way under General Forbes, with the object of expelling the French from the Ohio; the Virginians being commanded by Colonel Washington, whose good conduct in the unfortunate expedition of Braddock, had won for him the respect of all, and caused great reliance to be placed on his judgment, by the directors of the operations in that quarter. The first encounter between the parties was unfavorable to the English, as Major Grant with eight hundred men who had been sent in advance, were met near the fort on the 14th of September, and defeated with great loss by the French under Captain Aubry. The main army under Forbes did not reach the place until the 25th of November, and then they found only the ruins of the French post: the Commandant De Lignerie having but five hundred men in his garrison, and being deserted by all his Indians, had wisely retreated in boats down the Ohio to Louisiana, so that nothing was left for the English, except to rebuild the fort, which they did, changing its name to Fort Pitt. The Indians immediately came in crowds to offer their services to the new masters of this important spot, by the capture of which, quiet and confidence was restored to the English, throughout their whole frontier on the Ohio; settlers then appeared from the east, and the town of Pittsburgh in time grew up under the walls of Fort Pitt.



Far more important were the events of the following year, in which the British arms were crowned with signal success at every point. In America, the conduct of the war on the part of that nation had been entrusted by Pitt to Major General Edward Wolfe, as commander-in-chief, who had projected three great expeditions, all simultaneous and tending to the same end,—the conquest of Canada. Wolfe was himself to head one army, which was to ascend the St. Lawrence in a fleet to Quebec; another was to proceed under General Amherst for the capture of the French posts on Lake Champlain, while the third, under Prideaux and Johnson, was to attack the stronghold of the enemy on the Niagara.

The details of these expeditions it is unnecessary to present; their results are well known, but should be recapitulated. The French fort at Niagara was taken by Johnson on the 24th of July, after a severe action, in which Prideaux was killed, and all the other French posts in that quarter fell soon into the hands of the English. On the approach of Amherst from Albany, Ticonderoga and Crown Point were successively evacuated by the French, who concentrated their forces in the Isle aux Noix on Lake Champlain; and Amherst not being strong enough to attack them, was obliged to pass the winter at Crown Point. In the meantime several actions had been fought before Quebec, in the last of which the English gained possession of the heights of Abraham commanding the city, on the 13th of September, when Wolfe and Montcalm were both killed. The town and fortress was then surrendered by the Governor M. de Ramezay, and the approach of winter put an end to all operations.

Whilst these events were passing in North America, the French West India islands of Mariegalante and Guadaloupe fell into the hands of the English; the French fleets were beaten and destroyed in several engagements, and the terrible battle of Minden on the 1st of August, proved so decisive in its effects upon the forces of Louis XV. that they were obliged to abandon Germany. The succors sent from France to the St. Lawrence, were captured by Byron at the mouth of that river, in the spring of 1760; and after several fruitless efforts to regain Quebec, Vaudreuil on the 8th of September, signed a capitulation at Montreal, by which he surrendered to General Amherst, the whole territory of Canada, on condition that the inhabitants were to be protected in their civil

rights, and in the exercise of their religion, until a treaty of peace should have determined the future destinies of the country. Vaudreuil and his principal officers were immediately sent to France, whither they were followed by the remainder of the French troops. General Amherst then detached Major Rogers with a body of men to take possession of Detroit, Mackinac and the other posts on the Great Lakes which were surrendered, after some opposition from the Indians, in the spring and summer, and the flag of France disappeared from the regions of the St. Lawrence.

The satisfaction produced among the English colonies by these triumphs in the north, was lessened by troubles in the south-west. The Cherokees did not long remain faithful to the engagements contracted with the Governor of South Carolina in 1756; or rather, they were driven to break those engagements, by the ill-treatment of the traders and settlers in their vicinity. They began, as usual, by attacks on the frontier settlements of the English, which proving successful, they boldly laid siege to forts Prince George and Loudoun. Fort Prince George was relieved by a large body of highlanders detached by General Amherst for the purpose, under Major Montgomery in the spring of 1760; but that officer advancing incautiously towards the upper country, fell into an ambuscade, and after losing several of his men, was obliged to retreat. Fort Loudoun then capitulated to the Indians, who put to death the greater part of its defenders. In the following year 1761, the English resumed the offensive under the command of Major Grant, who defeated the Cherokees, and harrassed them in every way to such an extent, that they were obliged to sue for peace. Similar attacks were made by the Indians on the settlements in Virginia and Pennsylvania, which were as usual attributed to the agency of the French: but the evils produced were on so small a scale, that no effectual attempt was made to check them, until the conclusion of the war with France.

Louisiana remained undisturbed, though much distress was occasioned, especially in the lower country, by the interruption of communications with France and the West Indies, which completely prostrated the agriculture and commerce of the inhabitants. The same circumstances also prevented the transmission of the funds from France, for the payment of the civil and military officers and the soldiers, which formed the whole circulating medium of the



colony; and in order to remedy this deficiency the royal commissary M. de Rochemore, issued notes called *bons*, varying in amount from half a livre to a hundred livres, with the understanding that any one, on presenting them for a certain sum, might receive in exchange, a bill on the French treasury, payable at sight in Paris. This arrangement was found to answer very well for some time; the bills were passed off to the captains of English vessels who frequented Mobile and New Orleans, during the whole period of the war, under different pretexts, bringing cargoes of goods from Jamaica, Charleston or New York, and for some time they were regularly paid on presentation in France.

This illicit trade with the English was encouraged as far as possible by Kerlerec, but it was violently opposed by Rochemore; and an open contest was carried on between the two high functionaries, in which every person in the colony took part, according to his interests or his views of justice. Rochemore contended, that it was most imprudent to allow the enemies this free access to the rivers and ports of the country, enabling them to acquire a knowledge of its strength, which might be employed against it; while the Governor maintained, that without the supplies thus furnished by the English, the colony would soon be ruined. The French government tacitly took part with Kerlerec, and the remonstrances of the commissary were not heeded: at length, however, in 1759, the treasury suddenly refused to pay any farther bills, drawn on it from Louisiana, on the grounds of want of sufficiency in the vouchers; and the trade with the English was thus considerably diminished, from the incapacity of the people of the country to afford adequate returns. The government nevertheless, made no other provision for the expenses of the administration in Louisiana, which were, for three years, met only by loans exacted from the inhabitants in the most oppressive manner; and at the end of that period, the debts thus contracted, exceeded seven millions of francs. The same dishonest proceedings had been practised in Canada to a much greater extent by the Intendant M. Begon, who was severely punished on his return to France, for excesses encouraged directly or indirectly by the ministry.

At this time, an attempt was made for the restoration of peace, which however served only to render the difficulties greater.

Whilst the British were engaged in completing the conquest of Canada, their King George II. died in October, 1760, and was succeeded by his grandson George III., then in the twenty-second year of his age: in August of the preceding year, Ferdinand VI. of Spain had been in like manner succeeded by his brother Charles III.; and these two events materially changed the aspect of affairs both in Europe and in America. George III. was a man of limited capacity, obstinate and most jealous of his prerogative, upon the maintenance of which he considered the security, not only of his own crown, but of the whole kingdom to depend. The new king of Spain was more upright, and of much stronger character in every respect, than any of his predecessors since Philip II.; and being really desirous for the advancement of the interests of his nation, he determined immediately to endeavor to restore peace in Europe. Partly through his mediation, negotiations were begun for that object, in June 1761, between Mr. Pitt and M. de Bussy a French commissioner, at London, and at Paris between Mr. Stanley and the Duke de Choiseul who had recently become Prime Minister of France.

The questions discussed in this negotiation, related almost exclusively to America, in which the parties had the greatest interests at stake.\* The possession of Canada by Great Britain was admitted from the commencement by the French; but difficulties occurred as to the territory which was to be embraced under that general name, and as to the islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which France wished to retain for the benefit of her fishery. Pitt, assuming the most haughty and uncompromising tone, refused to allow any island, or other facility for the fishery, to the French; and he insisted that Canada should include the whole course of the Ohio, upon the grounds that the French Commissaries had so stated its extent during the late discussion, and that Vaudreuil had declared that territory to lie within his government, at the time of the surrender. This Vaudreuil, however, positively denied, protesting that he had represented Canada as separated from

\* The documents exchanged in this negotiation, were printed in France by order of the Government, under the title of "*Actes et Mémoires authentiques des négociations faites pour le paix en 1761*," and soon after in English at London; and may be all found, with many others relating to the same subject, in the 15th volume of the Parliamentary History.



Louisiana by a line drawn along the highlands, between the head waters of the Wabash and the Illinois on the south, and those of the streams falling into the Lakes Michigan and Erie on the north. M. de Bussy then offered as the ultimatum of his government, that the line separating the dominions of the two powers in America, should be drawn from the Perdido river northward to the Lakes, so as to include in Louisiana, the whole course of the Mobile river, and the lower portions of the Tennessee, the Cumberland and the Ohio. Upon the rejection of this proposition, it was modified, by substituting for a line of boundary, a strip or tract of territory extending from the Mexican Gulf to Lake Erie, wherein no settlements should be made by either nation; but this was also peremptorily refused by the imperious British minister, who had vowed, as he said—"that another peace of Utrecht should not disgrace the annals of England."

The business was at this point rendered more complicated, by the attempt on the part of the French government, to introduce into it, the consideration of certain claims of Spain with regard to America, of which the principal were, the concession to that nation of the privilege to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and the abandonment by the English, of their establishments on the Bay of Honduras. This however only served to afford Pitt, who hated and despised Spain and its people, an opportunity for a reply\*—the most haughty and insolent to be found in the records of diplomacy—repelling all pretensions on the part of France to interfere in disputes between Great Britain and Spain; and after some farther correspondence, in the same tone, the negotiation was broken off in September. Mr. Pitt in fact believed that the discussion was a pretext on the part of France to gain time; and he had in consequence pressed the war against that power as much as possible, and exerted himself in preparing new forces, during the whole period of the negotiation.

\* The following extract from Mr. Pitt's letter to M. de Bussy of July 24, 1761, is characteristic of its author:—"It is my duty farther to declare to you, in plain terms, in the name of His Majesty, that he will not suffer the disputes of Spain, to be blended in any manner whatever, in the negotiation of peace between the two crowns; to which I must add, that it will be considered an affront to His Majesty's dignity, and as a thing incompatible with the sincerity of the negotiation, to make any farther mention of such a circumstance. Moreover, it is expected, that France will not at any time, presume a right of intermeddling in such disputes, between Great Britain and Spain."

A discussion was at the same time, carried on in England, through newspapers and pamphlets for the most part anonymous, as to the policy of retaining the countries conquered from the French in America, in the event of a peace.\* Their retention was urged, on the grounds of the security which it would afford to the English colonies, and the general diminution of the power and influence of the French; while it was insisted on the other hand, that France should be left in possession of Canada and Louisiana, as "a check" upon the English colonies themselves, which would otherwise "extend almost without bounds, into the inland parts, and increase infinitely from all causes; having a numerous, hardy, independent people, possessed of a strong country, communicating little or not at all with England, living wholly on their own labor, and in process of time knowing little and inquiring little about the mother country." These latter views were defended with much ability by a writer, since known to be Edmund Burke; and they were opposed with less force perhaps, but with greater ingenuity and knowledge of the circumstances, by another anonymous author, who proved to be Benjamin Franklin. The latter denounced the proposed "check," as a "modest word for massacreing men, women and children," to which the French would be directly incited by the restitution of Canada; and he recommended instead, as less cruel, the adoption of the mode employed by Pharaoh for preventing the increase of the Israelites. In answer to another assertion, that the extension of the British territory in America would drain the mother country of its population, Franklin declared—that the emigration from Britain alone to the transatlantic provinces, for a long period immediately preceding, had been less than ten families in each year! Burke was the advocate of the interests and glory of Great

\* The discussion was begun by Lord Bath, (better known by his family name of Edward Pulteney,) in "A Letter to two great men," (the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt,) which brought forth from Burke, an "Answer to the letter to two great men," containing the passage here extracted on the necessity of "a check." Franklin's paper was entitled, "The interests of Great Britain considered, with regard to her colonies, and the acquisition of Canada and Guadaloupe;" and to this Burke, in 1762, replied, by "An examination of the commercial principles of the late negotiation between Great Britain and France," in which he repeated and defended his former view, that the retention of Guadaloupe would be more advantageous to Great Britain, than the annexation of Canada to her empire.



Britain alone; Franklin contended for those of the whole British people. At the present day, it would be difficult to disprove the reasonableness of the views presented by Burke; as there can be no doubt that the English colonies would have increased in every way, much more slowly, had the French been replaced in possession of the territories conquered, and that they might have remained much longer under the tutelage of the mother country, whose government would have taken care to afford them no farther support or protection, than might be necessary to maintain a balance of power between them and their immediate neighbors. Fortunately however for America and for the world, Canada was retained at the peace soon after concluded.

The suspicions of the British minister with regard to the sincerity of the French, proved to be well founded; for the Duke de Choiseul was engaged at the same time, in a most secret negotiation with Spain, to which he rendered that with Great Britain subservient; and he attained his end, by the conclusion of a second "Family Compact," binding France and Spain together, in an alliance much more intimate than any previously existing between them, or indeed between any two independent nations.

By this compact, signed at Paris on the 15th of August, 1761, the two sovereigns renewed the mutual guarantee made at Fontainebleau in 1743,\* of all their dominions, in any part of the world, without reserve or exception; and they in like manner, pledged themselves, to consider as their common enemy, any power which might become the enemy of either, and to maintain and furnish upon the first demand, a certain amount of military and naval force for the war, except in some specified cases in which Spain was not to be required to take part. All the sovereigns of the House of Bourbon, and none others, might enter into the compact; and the subjects and vessels of the parties were to be entitled to peculiar privileges and advantages, in the dominions of all of them. At the same time moreover, a Convention was signed, by which Spain engaged to declare war against Great Britain on the 1st of May, 1762, unless the latter should have pre-

\* See the account of this first Family Compact at page 448. It is most remarkable that this treaty should be so little known, considering the length of time which has passed since its publication in 1811. No allusion to it has been found in any English or American history.

viously made peace with France; and all the advantages acquired, or losses sustained by either during this war, were to be made common to both, by sharing, or by compensation to the loser.

Although this negotiation had been conducted with the utmost care to keep it secret, Pitt soon learned that some engagements in the nature of an alliance, had been concluded between France and Spain; and he proposed to his colleagues, that the British ambassador at Madrid should be instructed to demand the terms of these stipulations, in support of which demand, a strong fleet should be placed before Cadiz. Pitt was however not so powerful in the cabinet as he had been: the new king, ignorant, obstinate and wedded to his prerogative, was not pleased to see any other will than his own exerted openly; his favorite Lord Bute pronounced the proposition rash and inadvisable, and the minister, unable to carry his views into effect, resigned his office, receiving however at the same time, a peerage for his wife, and an immense pension secured to himself.

The Earl of Egremont succeeded Pitt as the head of the British ministry, though Lord Bute directed every thing. No efforts were spared to prevent a rupture of the peace with Spain, but they proved unavailing. The Court of Madrid temporised, and continued its preparations for war; and so soon as the treasure fleet from America, was safely moored in Cadiz, it threw off the mask, and set Great Britain at defiance. The Spanish ambassador quitted London, after venting his spleen against Pitt, in a memorial, holding him up as the cause of all the difficulties between the two nations; and in January, 1762, war was declared by each power against the other, almost at the same moment.

The vast armaments prepared by Pitt then came into play with terrible effect. Martinique, Granada and St. Lucie were taken by Rodney in January, and in August following, Havanna was surrendered to Albemarle and Pococke. In the East Indies, the dominion of France had been entirely overthrown by Clive; and Sir William Draper, with a large force sent from Madras, captured the Philippine Islands in September. On the American Continent, the only hostile operations were those of the English against the Indians of the Lake regions, who resolutely opposed the establishment of the new white people among them; but Florida and Louisiana lay at the mercy of the conquerors of Canada.



Negotiations had been meanwhile re-opened, through the intervention of the Sardinian plenipotentiaries at London and Paris, who conducted the real communications between Bute and Choiseul, while the Duke of Bedford as British ambassador at Paris, and the Duke de Nivernois representing France in the same capacity at London, were the ostensible agents.\* The French, after some discussion as to the boundaries of Canada, in order if possible to retain a portion of the territory between the Lakes and the Mississippi, agreed to surrender to England all their possessions east of that river, except New Orleans, in return for their lost West India Islands; they were nevertheless anxious, as before, to secure some coast or island on the banks of Newfoundland, for the benefit of their fishery, and the Spaniards insisted on the abandonment of Honduras by the British. These difficulties however disappeared on the arrival of the news of the capture of Havanna, in return for which the British demanded the cession either of Florida or of Porto Rico; and the Spanish government, after a short deliberation, found it more prudent to surrender Florida, and to recede from all its other pretensions without delay, in order to avoid farther losses. The preliminaries of a treaty were in consequence drawn up and signed at Paris, on the 3rd of November, 1762, by the plenipotentiaries

\* The Count de Viry was the Sardinian Minister at London, the Bailli de Solar represented the same power at Paris; they are universally described as being men of superior talents and character, and they each exercised considerable influence in the Courts to which they were accredited. The weight of the business of the negotiation in London, fell on Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, the brother of Lord Bute, to whom Dutens the author of the curious and interesting memoirs, was private secretary.

The Dukes of Bedford and Nivernois were selected as ambassadors on account of their high rank and wealth, as well as from the mediocrity of their talents, which rendered them well adapted for pageants. The British ambassador soon discovered the light in which he was regarded by the Minister at home, and complained of it somewhat angrily to Lord Bute in his letter of September 20th, 1762, in which he asks—"what occasion there was for sending a minister to this Court, if the whole was to be transacted from ministry to ministry? and why he was solicited for this contemptible employment of transmitting projects only to his Court, after so long a negotiation which must be finished soon or not at all?"

The correspondence of the Duke of Bedford, recently published by his great-grandson Lord John Russell, throws much light upon the progress of the negotiation at Paris, as well as upon subsequent events at London; and if it fails to raise the Duke in the opinion of the world, as a man of capacity, it effectually vindicates him from the aspersions cast upon his private character, by Junius.

of England and Portugal on the one part, and those of Spain and France on the other, with the understanding that they should be submitted to the British parliament for its approval; as the ministers of that nation did not choose to assume the responsibility of the restitution of Havanna on the terms proposed, or indeed on any terms, without such an assurance.

Agreeably to the preliminaries thus concluded, Minorca was to be restored to Great Britain, and all the places in Europe belonging to either of the parties before the war, which were then occupied by troops of the other, were to be immediately evacuated. In the East Indies, the French were to surrender to Great Britain, all their possessions except a few factories and trading places, which they were allowed to retain, though under conditions calculated effectually to stifle all their expectations of political dominion in that quarter. In America, the results were most important. Great Britain restored to France, Guadaloupe and Martinique, and to Spain all the places conquered from her during the war, including Havanna; in return for which, Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain, while France surrendered to the same power, her rights and claims to Nova Scotia, Canada and all other parts of the continent east of a line, drawn along the Mississippi, from its source to its outlet through the river Iberville, and thence through the latter stream and the Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the Mexican Gulf,\* together with all the islands in and near the Gulf of St. Lawrence, except the two small ones of St. Pierre and Miquelon which the French were to retain for the purposes of their fishery. The inhabitants of the territories thus ceded to Great Britain were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and to be protected in the possession of their property; and the navi-

\* The Duke of Bedford was anxious to secure to Great Britain the whole territory east of the Mississippi, including New Orleans; and when he found the French resolved not to cede that city, he endeavored to limit them to its immediate environs: they however insisted on the line through the Iberville and the Lakes, which was in the end admitted. "It is remarkable," writes the Duke to the Earl of Egremont on the 24th of December, 1762, "that the Marquis of Grimaldi [Spanish ambassador] took a great part in this dispute against me, which he has never before done in points solely French; which, I own, increases my suspicion, that the report I have heard, that France intended to cede New Orleans to Spain, has some foundation."—Correspondence of the Duke of Bedford, vol. 3, page 180.



gation of the Mississippi was to be perpetually open to the subjects of that power, and to those of France, in its whole length. British subjects were not to be disturbed in cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras, and other parts of the Spanish territory in that quarter, with which object they might build houses for residence or for stores; though no fortifications could be erected, and those already standing were to be demolished.

These provisions were all expressed in language the most clear and unequivocal; the ministers who dictated them being resolved to leave as few points as possible, open to attack in Parliament. They were opposed in the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt, with his usual vehemence, chiefly on the grounds of the surrender of Havanna to Spain and the French West India Islands to France, and the assignment of St. Pierre and Miquelon to the latter power for its fishery, for which he considered Florida and the other countries not already in the possession of Great Britain, as an insufficient return. The preliminaries were however approved by large majorities in both houses, and a treaty containing the same stipulations, in the same words—a few trifling alterations excepted—was accordingly ratified by all the parties at Paris, on the 10th of February, 1763.\* Prussia and Austria in like manner settled their dispute by a treaty at Hubertsburg a few days afterwards, and peace was thus completely re-established throughout the civilized world.

The treaty thus concluded at Paris in 1763, was by far more important as regards the New World, than any other previous

\*The principal provisions of the treaty respecting America, are as follows:

“ART. 4. His Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions, which he has heretofore formed, or might have formed, to Nova Scotia or Acadia, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the king of Great Britain. Moreover, His Most Christian Majesty cedes and guaranties to His said Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton and all the other islands and coasts in the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, and in general every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the Most Christian King and the Crown of France have had till now, over the said countries, lands, islands, places, coasts and their inhabitants; so that the Most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said king, and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guarantee, under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned.”

agreement of the same nature, since the Treaty of Partition of 1492. *It established the first line of boundary between the possessions of civilized nations in North America*—a line eternally stamped on the face of the Continent, extending through eighteen degrees of latitude, from the northernmost limit of its habitable

“ART. 7. In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove forever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that for the future, the confines between the dominions of His Britannic Majesty and those of his Most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably, by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea; and for this purpose the Most Christian King cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannic Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and everything which he possesses, or ought to possess on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth: It is farther stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever.”

“ART. 17. His Britannic Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty: and His Catholic Majesty's subjects, or their workmen, are not to be disturbed or molested under any pretence whatsoever in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood; and for this purpose they may build, without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects; and his Catholic Majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages and powers on the Spanish coasts and territories, as above stipulated, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.”

“ART. 19. The King of Great Britain shall restore to Spain, all the territory which he has conquered in the Island of Cuba, with the fortress of Havanna.”

“ART. 20. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article, His Catholic Majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to His Britannic Majesty, Florida with Fort St. Augustine and the Bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the east or to the south-east of the river Mississippi; and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholic King and Crown of Spain have had till now over the said countries, lands, places and their inhabitants; so that the Catholic King cedes and makes over the whole to the said king, and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form.”



territory to the Mexican Gulf. "The confines between the dominions of His Britannic Majesty, and those of His Most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world," says the treaty, "shall be fixed irrevocably, by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river and the Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea." All lying east of this line was secured to Great Britain, and the countries ceded were moreover each specially named and described, in terms so exact, as to leave not the slightest doubt of their meaning in any case; nothing being reserved for subsequent determination by commissaries, or in any other way. With regard to the territory west of the great boundary, nothing is said in the Treaty of Paris. North of this territory, as well as of those ceded by France on the east, Great Britain likewise possessed all the regions drained by streams entering into Hudson's Bay, the southernmost sources of which, were situated in the immediate vicinity of the head-waters of those falling into the St. Lawrence, the Lakes and the Mississippi; and the right to this portion of America, was secured beyond question to Great Britain, by the Treaty of Utrecht which was renewed and confirmed by the Paris treaty. To have attempted to determine the line of separation between the Hudson's Bay territory, and that which was left to France west of the Mississippi, would have been useless at that time, when the countries through which it might be supposed to pass, were utterly unexplored; especially as the terms of the two treaties above mentioned, showed with perfect distinctness, that this boundary must run along the ridge or height of land separating the streams falling into Hudson's Bay from those flowing to the Mississippi, westward as far as the claims of the two nations might extend.

The boundary between Louisiana and the Mexican provinces, long before informally adopted by the people and the authorities of those countries, still remained unchanged, either by removal, or by extension, or by diminution. Natchitoches and Adayes were still the only settlements of the two nations sufficiently near to each other, to render any determination of limits necessary; and the Arroyo Hondo, running midway between them, was still respected as separating the jurisdictions of their commandants.

Natchitoches, was however, the source of great and constant annoyance to the Spaniards, as from that place, the wild Indians received the principal portion of the arms and ammunition which they employed in their attacks on the frontier settlements of Mexico; the remainder being supplied by the French vessels, which frequented the coast of Texas, especially those of the great basin, now known as Galveston Bay, receiving the waters of the Trinity and several other rivers. The Spanish Government addressed many remonstrances to that of France, with the object of obtaining some relief from these evils, either by the suppression of the trade with the Indians, or by the abandonment of Natchitoches; and when it was found that no favorable results could be obtained in this way, orders were given to the Viceroy of Mexico, to establish a line of fortified posts along the whole northern and western frontiers of Texas. With this object, after numerous consultations, a fort was at length established in 1751, on the San Xavier, a branch of the Guadalupe, which was however, soon after abandoned, from the want of water and pasture, for another place farther north-west, on the San Saba, one of the headwaters of the Colorado. A post was also formed in the vicinity of the Bay of Galveston, which was called San Agustin de Ahumada, after the family name of the Viceroy Marquis de las Amarillas; but it was consumed by fire, and another spot was selected, at the mouth of the stream, since celebrated as the San Jacinto, where Fort Orcoquizas was founded in 1757. To each of these forts, a mission was attached; and those already established in the vicinity of San Antonio de Bexar were enlarged by the erection of the extensive and magnificent buildings of stone, which still excite the admiration of the traveller.

The attempts of the Spaniards to restrain the Indians in Texas by these means, proved wholly abortive. On the 22nd of March, 1758, the mission near Fort San Saba, was surprised by a band of those barbarians, who sacked and destroyed it, after putting to death nearly all its inmates; and the efforts of the Commandant of the fort, were insufficient to induce his men to sally forth against the invaders. Great consternation was produced by this event, and various were the plans proposed in consequence at Mexico; until it was at length determined, in a Council of war, that the Indians should be chastised for their audacity in a man-



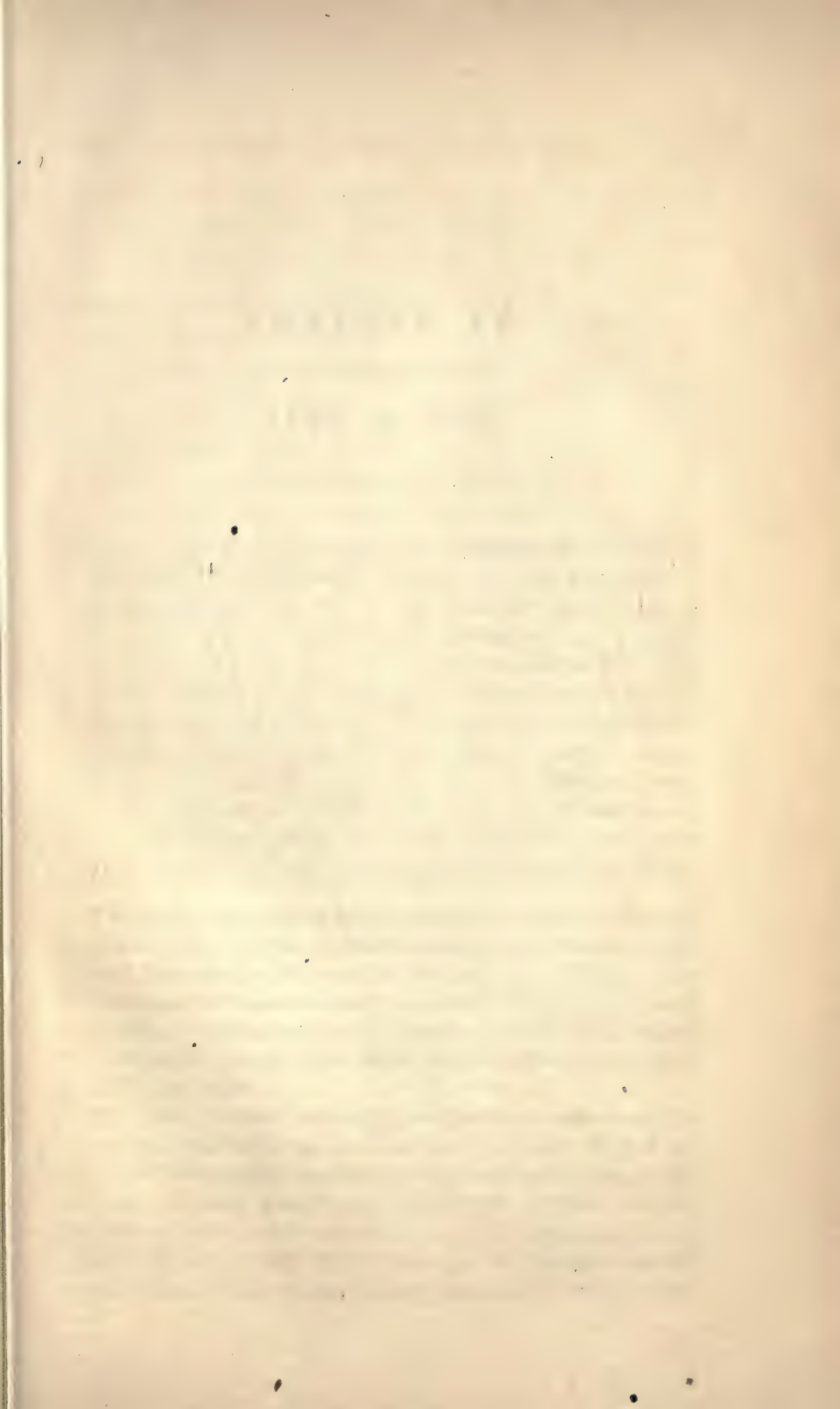
ner calculated effectually to prevent the repetition of such attacks. For this object, more than five hundred men were sent from San Antonio, in August, 1759, under the command of Colonel Diego Ortiz Parilla the Governor of Texas, who marching northward, discovered a large body of Indians encamped in a fortified enclosure near the sources of the Trinity river. The Spaniards being well provided with artillery, immediately advanced to assault the place; they were however,—like the French in the great expedition against the Chickasā towns, twenty-five years previous,—repulsed and completely routed, all their baggage, ammunition and six pieces of cannon remaining in the hands of the savages; and Parilla was unable to collect his forces again, until he reached San Antonio.

The expenses of these establishments in Texas were enormous; yet the reports of the various commissioners, civil, military and ecclesiastical, sent from time to time to inspect them, are filled with accounts of their wretched and inefficient condition. The missions were often without a single convert; the forts were in ruins, and the soldiers, though well paid, were sunk in sloth and misery, ragged and starving, where the slightest exertion on their parts, would have enabled them to live in comfort. These expenses were not however always borne by the government, which was occasionally relieved from a portion of the burthen, by the enterprise or the pious and disinterested liberality of individuals. The convents contributed largely, especially those of the Franciscan order, of San Fernando in Mexico, Santa Cruz in Querétaro, and Guadalupe in Zacatecas, from which the greater part of the missionaries were despatched. D. Jose de Escandon still prosecuted, at great cost, his efforts to settle the territories adjoining the coast north of Tampico; and about this time, he founded Camargo, Revilla and Laredo, on the Rio Bravo, the latter seven hundred miles from its mouth, with several other places, none of which have since risen above the rank of poor villages. In 1758 moreover, Don Pedro de Terreros, the owner of extensive silver mines in Mexico, offered to defray all the expenses of the missions in Texas for three years; and having done so, he, at the end of that period, received the title of Conde de Regla, as a reward for his patriotic sacrifices. But these efforts served only to add a few













## CHAPTER XV.

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1763 TO 1770.

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FLORIDA AND EASTERN LOUISIANA SURRENDERED TO GREAT BRITAIN—D'ABADIE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF LOUISIANA—ESTABLISHMENT OF FIVE NEW BRITISH PROVINCES IN AMERICA—ULLOA ARRIVES IN LOUISIANA, AS SPANISH COMMISSIONER TO RECEIVE THE POSSESSION—OPPOSITION OF THE PEOPLE TO THE TRANSFER—EXPULSION OF ULLOA—ATTEMPTS OF THE PEOPLE OF LOUISIANA TO PLACE THEMSELVES UNDER THE PROTECTION OF GREAT BRITAIN—ARRIVAL OF A LARGE SPANISH FORCE UNDER O'REILLY, WHO TAKES POSSESSION OF LOUISIANA, AND PUTS TO DEATH THE LEADERS OF THE OPPOSITION TO SPAIN—EXTENT AND LIMITS OF LOUISIANA AS THUS SURRENDERED BY FRANCE TO SPAIN.

THE treaty concluded at Paris in February, 1763, was followed by fifteen years of peace, unbroken though often threatened with rupture, between the parties; and time was thus afforded for the developement of new circumstances, which led to great moral and political revolutions, first in America, and afterwards among the nations of Europe, from which the New World derived its civilized population.

The history of these revolutions, is interwoven with that of the countries, to which the present work chiefly relates. In fact, the treaty of Paris, which transferred the greater and better portion of those countries from Spain and France to Great Britain, planted the first seeds of the changes; for by increasing the resources of the colonies of the latter power, and removing all apprehensions of danger from foreign enemies, it rendered those



colonies less dependant upon the mother country, and less patient of its authority. This effect, had been, as already shown, foreseen in England; and the Government, adopting the idea, began immediately after the conclusion of the peace, to devise means for regulating—that is restraining—the advancement of the American colonies, as the only alternative for preventing their separation from the mother country, which otherwise seemed inevitable if not imminent. Lord Bute withdrew from the responsibility of such measures, by resigning his place in the ministry, in April, 1763; he was succeeded by Mr. George Grenville, who with greater boldness, or rather rashness, undertook the task of rendering the American colonies, then containing more than fifteen hundred thousand white inhabitants,\* sensible that they were not independent Republics, by requiring their submission to contributions and restrictions imposed by a Legislature, in which they were not represented. These measures and their consequences are now well known; but it will be necessary occasionally to advert to them here, on account of their influence on the destinies of the countries more particularly in question.

The stipulations of the treaty of Paris, respecting territories in America, were too definite to afford any room for doubt as to their meaning; and the losing parties were neither of them, in a situation to oppose or delay the execution. Canada had been for three years in the possession of the English, whose flag waved over every post from Louisbourg to Mackinac; and Havana was held by the same power, in pledge, if necessary for the surrender of Florida. The French inhabitants of Canada then numbered about eighty thousand,\* nearly all of whom resided on the banks of the St. Lawrence, below its rapids; and their character was not such, as to give any cause for uneasiness to the new lords of the dominion. The countries of the Lakes and the Ohio, and the remainder of Louisiana ceded to England, were by far more fertile and valuable in every respect, than the portion retained by France west of the great line of boundary, and they contained probably more than half of the population of the whole province: but these people were scattered over a wide space, and could make no resistance; and large numbers of them prepared, immediately on learning the terms of the peace, to

\* These numbers are given on doubtful authorities.

retire beyond the Mississippi. The portion of Florida which Spain had to cede was of little value agriculturally; its inhabitants, other than Indians, were few, and these would probably nearly all quit the country upon its surrender to the English: but its possession by the latter was important for the prosperity of the regions farther north, to which it opened a long line of coast, embracing the mouths of several large rivers. Why the British Government, when holding France and Spain at its mercy, did not also insist upon the cession of New Orleans, cannot be explained satisfactorily, except upon the supposition of a desire to check the advancement of the interior countries, by leaving that key of the Mississippi, and only site for a commercial emporium upon its waters, in the hands of an enemy.

No apprehensions being entertained by the British Government, of resistance to the execution of the treaty by France or Spain, Havanna was surrendered on the 7th of July by Keppel, to the Spanish Commissioners Conde de Ricla and General O'Reilly. General Gage the commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, was at the same time engaged in preparations for taking possession of Florida and the Illinois countries; when information was received of a general outbreak among the Indians of the north-west, who had almost simultaneously captured Venango, Presqu'île, Mackinac, and every other post in that quarter, except Niagara, Detroit and Fort Pitt, and put to death nearly all their inmates. These disasters were the result of a conspiracy, for the destruction of the English, embracing all the savage nations of the Lakes and Ohio countries, between Lake Ontario and the Illinois. It is supposed to have been conceived or fomented by the French, although the Illinois tribes, most nearly connected with those people, remained neutral; the head of the enterprise was however, an Ottawa Chief, named Pontiac, who had been distinguished for his devotion to the cause of France, and for his courage and success in the late war against the English. The influence of Sir William Johnson, prevented the Six Nations from joining in the attack, except the Senecas, dwelling between Lakes Erie and Ontario, who for some time held Fort Niagara closely besieged. Pontiac himself directed the attempt upon Detroit, which was frustrated by the energy of the Commandant Major Gladwin; Mackinac was taken on the 4th of



June, by the Sacs and Chippewās, large numbers of whom were admitted into the fort by the incautious Major Etherington, while the remainder were engaged in a game of ball on an adjoining field, with the garrison as spectators.

General Gage immediately despatched Captains Dalyell and Grant, with three hundred men, for the relief of Detroit, while Colonel Bouquet proceeded with a larger number towards Fort Pitt. The former party were waylaid by Pontiac, near the place of their destination, and many of them, including Dalyell, were killed ere the remainder under Grant could reach the fort: Bouquet, after a severe battle with the savages at Bushy-run near Fort Pitt, reached that place with little loss; but he was unable to take the field from want of supplies until the following summer. The excitement among the Indians extended southward through the western portions of Virginia and Carolina: the Cherokees indeed remained quiet; but the Muscoghees or Creeks, crossed the Savannah in December, 1763, and attacked a settlement called the Long-canes on a small stream of the same name, emptying into that river, from which they were gallantly repulsed by the people, under the direction of Mr. Patrick Calhoun,\* though not until they had killed several of the settlers.

These difficulties with the Indians prevented the British from taking possession of the countries of the Upper Mississippi for two years. Colonel Robinson was however despatched from New York to St. Augustine, which was surrendered to him by the Spanish Commandant in the beginning of October, 1763. The place was then said to contain about two thousand inhabitants, principally negroes, in addition to twenty-five hundred soldiers: these people were at first disposed to remain in the country; they however soon became dissatisfied, and retired with the soldiers to Cuba, where lands were granted to them near Matanzas. Pensacola was about the same time given up to Colonel Prevost, who arrived there with a battalion of three hundred men from Havanna: the town had been rebuilt at the western extremity of Santa Rosa Island, after the restoration by the French in 1722; but this site was abandoned, in consequence of the destruction of the greater part of the houses by the waves, during a storm in 1754, and another was selected on the western shore of the bay

\* Father of the Hon. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina.

eight miles from its entrance, where Pensacola has ever since stood. It contained only a small number of inhabitants, all of whom departed with the garrison to Cuba, immediately after the surrender to the English: and as a similar emigration took place from St. Marks, the English were soon the only people in the country of European descent.

On the 20th of the same month of October, Major Robert Farmer who had been also despatched from Havanna, received formal possession of the town and fort of Mobile, from the French Commandant Pierre Annibal de Velle, and the acting Commissary Jean Gabriel Fazende. On the 23rd of November, Fort Tombechbé was surrendered by its chief officer Captain Pierre Chabert, to Lieutenant Thomas Ford; and Fort Toulouse at the junction of the Coosa and Talipooosa branches of the Alabama, was soon after delivered to the English, by its commandant the Chevalier de la Noue. The French withdrew from these latter places almost entirely; and it is worthy of remark, that they were followed by the Muscoghee tribe of the Alibamons, dwelling around Fort Toulouse, and by the remnant of the Taensas, who had resided near the junction of the Alabama and Tombechbé rivers, ever since their expulsion from their old seat on the Mississippi in 1706. The Taensas were established by the Government of Louisiana, in the country of the Opelousas—more properly Okelousas or Black-waters,—which had then been recently explored by M. Marigny de Mandeville; and a post called Fort Opelousas, was founded in their vicinity, on the Vermillion river, fifty miles west of the Mississippi, where the town of the same name now stands. The Alibamons, were placed on the eastern side of the Mississippi, near the old towns of the Houmas, about seventy miles above New Orleans.

In the meantime the cession of Louisiana by France to Spain, though rumored in Paris immediately after it took place, had not been officially proclaimed by the Government of either of the parties. It appears indeed to have been positively denied by the French Ministry on an occasion, on which it certainly ought to have been communicated; for M. D'Abadie, who was appointed Commandant and Director General of Louisiana, in place of Kerlerrec, in the spring of 1763, certainly quitted France under the conviction, that the report of the cession was entirely groundless.



This silence of the two Governments and the subsequent delays in the consummation of the transfer, were occasioned, as may be here said in anticipation, by the unwillingness on the part of King Charles III. of Spain, to accept the territory thus offered to him by his cousin of France. The Catholic Monarch was then endeavoring ardently and sincerely, to retrieve his dominions, from the languid and disordered condition, into which they had sunk; and for this object, his attention was chiefly directed to the augmentation of the public revenues, and diminution of the expenditures, which, according to Spanish ideas of political economy, could only be effected, by more strictly enforcing the old prohibitory system, especially with regard to the transatlantic colonies. New taxes were to be laid on the people of those countries, who were also to be farther restricted in commerce and manufactures, so as to secure the monopoly of both to the mother country; and new settlements and fortifications were to be made, where they might, more effectually bind the colonies together, and render them defensible against foreign enemies. For these purposes, large expenditures would be required in the first instance; and doubts were reasonably entertained by the Spanish Government, whether it would be politic to add to its dominions, a large tract of territory inhabited only by a few people of another nation, and almost unexplored, from which no return could be expected during a long period, if ever, for the cost of maintaining the possession. The countries adjoining the Gulf and the Mississippi could not be rendered fit for cultivation without a vast previous outlay for drainage and embankments; and those of the interior were too remote, from the seats of Spanish power, for their protection against the all-encroaching English. In fine, the only real advantage which the Spanish Government could expect to derive from the possession of this territory, would be by keeping it, as a desert between the English and the precious provinces of Mexico; which would be as effectually attained by leaving it in the hands of the French, without subjecting the Catholic Monarch, to the expenses of maintaining the colony and to the danger of new disputes with the English.

Another circumstance contributed to render the King of Spain unwilling to accept the possession as offered by France. The debt of the province,—that is to say, the debt of the French

Government on account of the province—due almost entirely to its inhabitants, exceeded seven millions of livres, or about twelve hundred thousand dollars; the evidences of which existed in paper money, in *bons* or due bills issued, as already shown, by the provincial authorities, in bills of exchange drawn on the Government in redemption of the *bons* and returned unpaid, and in certificates of loans arbitrarily exacted after the refusal of the Government to acquit the amount of the *bons* and bills of exchange. The unprincipled Duke de Choiseul, who then directed the affairs of France without control or question, as Vizier to the indolent, voluptuous Sultan Louis XV., was determined never to pay this debt; and with that view, he began by seeking what portions might be repudiated, on the grounds of informality or of knavery in their issue. A commission was accordingly instituted, to examine the conduct of the Governor Kerlerec, of the Royal Commissary Rochemore, who had been displaced upon the representations of the Governor, and of his successor M. Foucault; and this commission having reported, that Kerlerec had been guilty of malversation of the sums raised by the Commissaries agreeably to his demands, as well as of many other acts of fraud or violence, he was imprisoned in the Bastile immediately on arriving in France. The Minister having in this manner proved, or at least rendered it probable or possible, that a large number of the *bons* might have been given without a proper consideration, obtained a pretext for deferring the payment of any of them, until he should be enabled openly to reject them all, after the surrender of Louisiana and its people, into the hands of the Spaniards. The Catholic Monarch was however desirous, that this business should be settled before he took possession of the country, in order that he might be freed from all embarrassments and importunities on account of the debt, for which he was resolved not to become in any way responsible.

M. D'Abadie the new Director General of Louisiana, landed at New Orleans on the 29th of June, 1763. Like all his predecessors, he found the condition of the country much worse than he had anticipated; and his first letters were, like those of Kerlerec, Vaudreuil and the others, filled with details of the indolence, drunkenness, and misery of the people, the knavery of the Government officers, and the neglect and recklessness every



where apparent. He was immediately surrounded by complainants and claimants of all classes, and on all accounts, chiefly however, by the holders of paper-money, Government *bons*, returned bills of exchange, and certificates of loans, which were all three hundred per cent. below par. In answer to their questions and prayers for relief, he could only offer them new paper-money, the issue of which, merely served to depreciate the value of what was already on hand; and this produced a formal remonstrance from the principal merchants of the colony, couched in terms of insubordination so strong and unequivocal, as greatly to shock the feelings of the loyal Governor.

This tone of independence, or more properly indifference, which he soon found every where prevailing, was regarded by M. D'Abadie as ominous of evil: in order to repress it, he proposed to fill all the offices of the colony by natives of France of approved fidelity to the crown; and with this view, he recommended the immediate removal of several creole members of the Council, and especially of M. Chauvin de Lafrénière, an eminent and influential lawyer of New Orleans, who had been recently appointed Attorney General. In order to improve the condition of the province, he could devise no means more effective, than that of conceding to Frenchmen, monopolies of all the branches of commerce and industry, which could be subjected to such restrictions: and he accordingly obtained the privilege of executing all the printing in the country, for M. Braud, who under this protection, established the first press at New Orleans in 1764; while the whole trade with the Indians of the Missouri and the upper Mississippi, was in like manner secured to a company of individuals, at the head of whom was Pierre Liguette Laclede. This latter concession proved most advantageous to Louisiana, as well as to those to whom it was made. Laclede a man of capital and energy, immediately proceeded up the Mississippi, where he founded several trading posts on that river and on the Missouri, near their junction; and these posts were soon converted into settlements, on the evacuation of the Illinois by the French, who would probably have remained in the latter territory under the dominion of Great Britain, without the new support thus offered to them among their countrymen, on the western side of the Mississippi.

The dispute between the Capuchins and Jesuits, which had so long agitated New Orleans, was at this time ended in a summary manner, by the ejection of the disciples of Loyola from the country. This celebrated order had been long the object of the attacks of the philosophers of France, who assailed it by arguments, by examples drawn from history, and by ridicule; and it also in time, excited the jealousy of Governments, especially of those most despotic and most devoted to the Roman Catholic Church. After many attempts had been made in vain, to procure their suppression by the Pope, the Marquis de Pombal, who ruled Portugal with an iron rod in the name of its imbecile sovereign Joseph I. caused all the Jesuits to be expelled from those dominions, in September, 1759, and all their property to be confiscated. In France, the Duke de Choiseul was no less inimical to them; and their whole order was brought into farther discredit, by the exposure of some commercial transactions of a nature by no means creditable, in which it had been engaged. At length the Parliament of Paris, by a Decree of August 6th, 1762, declared their proceedings abuses, and forbade them longer to reside or act together as a community; and this being found ineffectual, another Decree was issued on the 9th of March, 1764, by which they were obliged to quit all the French territories within a month after the notice. The execution of this order in Louisiana, was accompanied by no incidents worthy of note. The fine establishment and grounds of the Jesuits immediately adjoining New Orleans on the west, were sold for nearly a million of livres to a M. Pradel; the place afterwards came into the possession of Bertrand Gravier, who divided it into lots, and thus formed the Faubourg Sainte Marie, now included in the Fourth and Fifth Municipalities of that city. Their lands and buildings at Kaskaskia, and in other parts of the Illinois, were in like manner confiscated and sold for the benefit of the French treasury, although that country no longer belonged to France; the purchaser M. Beauvais, however, did not obtain the possession of the property, as the English authorities, after occupying the country, refused to admit the validity of the sale.

Whatsoever may have been the faults or crimes of the Jesuits in Europe, their presence in America seems to have been every where attended with good. They failed indeed every where,



except in Paraguay, in attaining the end for which they always labored—the establishment of a community of natives, under the exclusive direction of their order: but they always protected the poor Aborigines against their white oppressors, and softened and humanized both parties, by their patient and self-denying conduct, and their conciliatory measures; while to their researches, the world is indebted for the earliest exact accounts of many distant regions, into which they penetrated, in defiance of the most appalling perils and privations.

To the Jesuits, Louisiana owes the introduction of the sugar cane, which was brought by members of their order from St. Domingo, in 1751, and planted on their estate, near New Orleans. Experience having shown the soil and climate of that region to be favorable to its growth, several planters, particularly Messrs. Dubreuil and Destrehan, engaged in its cultivation; and in 1763 a cargo of the sugar was shipped for France. Unfortunately, however, from some defect in the manufacture, its crystalization was so incomplete, that nearly the whole of it leaked from the hogshead in the form of molasses; and for more than thirty years afterwards, the quantity made in Louisiana was never more than sufficient for the supply of the province, and generally much less.

The surrender of the territories ceded to the British by the treaty of Paris, was a source of deep mortification to M. D'Abadie; particularly as it brought those meddling rivals of France into the very heart of Louisiana, in virtue of their right to navigate the Mississippi in its whole length.

For the occupation of Natchez, Major Loftus was sent from Pensacola to the Mississippi, with three hundred men, and some women and children, with whom he quitted New Orleans, in ten boats, for the place of their destination, on the 27th of February, 1764. They were accompanied by a small escort of French, who left them at Pointe Coupée; they then continued their voyage without interruption, as far as the Rocher á Davion—the cliffs so often mentioned in the preceding pages, a little above the mouth of the Red river, on the opposite side of the Mississippi—where they on the 20th of March, received a volley of musketry from unseen hands, which killed six of their number and wounded seven others. This unexpected attack disconcerted the English commander, who considering it imprudent to proceed farther,

returned to Manchac, the outlet of the Mississippi to the Iberville, and thence despatched an officer to New Orleans, to represent the affair to the Governor. D'Abadie denied all knowledge of the authors of the outrage, who were supposed by him to be Indians; but the Governor of Florida was so little satisfied with these assurances, that he recalled Loftus and his men from the Mississippi, and the occupation of Natchez, was also deferred until the following year. The Rocher á Davion was so called, as already stated, after the courageous missionary Father Davion, who resided there among the Tunica Indians, during the first twenty years of the century; in consequence of the incident last related, it received from the English the name of Loftus' heights, which it retained until the occupation of the country by the people of the United States, when Fort Adams was erected on it.

The difficulties between the English and the Indians continued until the end of 1764, by which time the latter had been entirely subdued, by the resolute conduct of the English under Bradstreet, on the upper lakes, and Bouquet on the Ohio, aided by the influence and exertions of Sir William Johnson, in the countries south of Lake Ontario. Pontiac, the chief of the insurrection, abandoned by his allies, took refuge in the Illinois, where he was three years after murdered by a Frenchman. That the Indians were aided in their resistance to the English by the French, is most probable if not certain; and the latter retaliated in the same way, whenever an opportunity was presented. Thus in the winter of 1763-4, a number of Cherokees under Ottassite or Judd's Friend, a chief devoted to the English cause and acting under instructions from the Governor of South Carolina, descended the Tennessee river to its mouth, where after waiting for some days, they intercepted two large boats laden with ammunition for the Miami Indians, under the charge of some Frenchmen, who were carried as prisoners to Charleston. About the same time, Fort Assumption on the north bank of the Ohio, forty-six miles above its mouth, was surprised by Indians, probably Chickasâs, who put to death all found in it; the place was in consequence called Fort Massacre, and is now known under the abbreviated name of Fort Massac.

Peace being thus restored, the commander-in-chief of the British forces again prepared to take possession of the Mississippi



countries. A vessel of war was sent up that river, with materials for the construction and armament of a fort, which was established at the outlet to the Iberville in 1765, and named Fort Bute; and Natchez and the mouth of the Yazoo were then successively occupied by a party of Scotch Grays under Captain Campbell, who changed the name of Fort Rosalie to Fort Panmure, in honor of their Colonel. Major Sterling was at the same time despatched with a large body of Highlanders to receive possession of the Illinois, from which the French soldiers had been nearly all withdrawn in the preceding year, by the Commandant M. Nyon de Villiers. M. de St. Ange, who was left with a few men, at Fort Chartres, surrendered that place and the whole country to Sterling, on the 10th of October; and the British then held under their authority, all the territories in North America, assigned to them by the treaty of Paris.

The French population of the Illinois country at the time of this cession, was probably about eight hundred, with one-fourth of that number of negroes; nearly all of whom resided in the small villages of Cahokia, Fort Chartres, Prairie-du-Rocher, and Kaskaskia. Fort Chartres had been rebuilt within the preceding fifteen years, so as to form a fortification sufficient to resist any attacks which might be expected, either from English or Indians; it stood on the edge of the Mississippi bank, one hundred and twenty-four miles above the mouth of the Ohio, and sixty-seven miles below that of the Missouri, and was built of stone in form of a quadrangle, with a bastion at each angle, enclosing a number of large houses, for barraeks, armories, magazines, and other military purposes. Prairie-du-rocher was four miles south-east of the fort, and Kaskaskia ten miles farther in the same direction, near the mouth of the river of the same name; Cahokia was fifty miles north of Fort Chartres. These places were all situated in a tract of low land extending from the Kaskaskia river, to the Illinois, between the Mississippi and the highlands, which form the eastern border of its basin. On the opposite side of the Great River, the French had likewise made some small settlements, the principal of which, near Kaskaskia, had received from its wealthier neighbors, the *soubriquet* of Misère or Misery; while another in the vicinity of Cahokia, seventeen miles below the mouth of the Missouri, was honored with the appellation of Pain-Court,

in allusion to the proverbial scarcity of bread in its district. At each of these places, the company of Laeade formed an establishment for the Indian trade, of which it had, as already said, obtained the monopoly from the French Government, in the preceding year; and the number of their inhabitants being soon increased by emigration from the opposite region, after its surrender to the English, the opprobrious name of *Misère* was changed to *Sainte Genevieve*, while *Pain-Court* became *Saint Louis*.

The countries thus acquired by Great Britain, in North America, through the treaty of Paris, were nearly all within the limits of some one of the existing colonies of that nation, agreeably to their charters, which originally included the whole breadth of the Continent, between the 29th and the 48th parallels of latitude; and the Governments or the people of several of these provinces, were preparing to avail themselves of the advantages, thus offered to them by making settlements in the new countries, when they were arrested for the time, by a Royal Proclamation,\* issued at

\* The description of the boundaries of these Provinces, in the proclamation, are as follows:

“First, the government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the river St. John, to the south end of the Lake Nipissing; from whence the said line, crossing the river St. Lawrence and the Lake Champlain in 45 degrees of north latitude, passes along the High-Lands, which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea; and also along the north coast of the Baye de Chaleurs, and the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, by the west end of the Island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid river St. John.

“Secondly, the government of East Florida, bounded to the westward by the Gulf of Mexico and the Apalachicola river; to the northward by a line drawn from that part of the said river, where the Cattahoochee and Flint rivers meet, to the source of St. Mary’s river, and by the course of the said river, to the Atlantic Ocean; and to the east and south, by the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Florida, including all the islands within six leagues of the sea-coast.

“Thirdly, the government of West Florida, bounded to the southward, by the Gulf of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the coast, from the river Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the westward by the said Lake, the Lake Maurepas, and the river Mississippi; to the northward, by a line drawn due east from that part of the river Mississippi, which lies in thirty-one degrees north latitude, to the river Apalachicola, or Cattahoochee; and to the eastward by the said river.

“Fourthly, the government of Grenada, comprehending the island of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the Islands of Dominico, St. Vincent, and Tobago.



London on the 7th of October, 1763. By this proclamation, three new provinces were erected in parts of the Continent which had been already occupied by civilized people, and one in the West Indies, comprehending the Islands of Granada, Dominica, St. Vincent's, Tobago and the Grenadines. The provinces on the Continent were—Quebec, embracing all the territory to some distance on each side of the St. Lawrence, below the place where the river is crossed by the 45th parallel of latitude—East Florida, including the Peninsula and the adjoining country, between the Atlantic and the river Apalachicola, as far north as a line drawn from the junction of the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers which form the Apalachicola, eastward to the source of St. Mary's river, and thence down that stream to the Atlantic; the territory between the St. Mary and the Alatamaha being annexed to Georgia; and—West Florida, which comprised all south of the 31st parallel of latitude, between the Apalachicola and the great boundary line, running through the Mississippi, the Iberville, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain. Each of these new provinces was to be under the immediate control and direction of the Crown, administered by a Governor, possessing extensive powers civil and military, until circumstances should warrant the establishment of a legislative body, similar in form to those of the other crown colonies. Lands were to be assigned by these Governors in their respective provinces to reduced officers of the army or navy, and soldiers, who had served in the late war, and to other individuals who might solicit them, on condition of settlement to a certain extent, within a certain time, and under moderate quit rents and services: but no lands not included in the new provinces, or in the Hudson's Bay territories, and situated beyond the heads of the rivers, falling directly into the Atlantic, could be granted or sold by any Governor or other British authority in America, or be occupied by any British subject in virtue of gift or purchase from the Indians, or under any other pretext, without the special permission of the King, to whom was reserved the exclusive right of making purchases from the Aborigines, or otherwise extinguishing their titles to lands. Finally, the trade with the Aborigines in the several provinces, could be conducted only by traders, licensed by the respective Governors, under security for their observance of the regulations made by the

Crown. The trade with the other Indian countries was afterwards in like manner, placed under the direction of Superintendents General, of whom one was to be appointed for the northern, and one for the southern territories; and these officers in conjunction with the Governors of the provinces interested in each case, were empowered to make treaties with the various nations, defining their boundaries, and regulating the terms of intercourse with them.

The provisions of this proclamation, were in general fair and equitable, especially those for the protection of the Aborigines, against the knavery of the white people; and they formed the bases of the regulations, made with the same object by the United States, after the establishment of their independence. The prohibition of the concession of lands by the Governors, beyond the heads of the rivers falling into the Atlantic, however, occasioned much dissatisfaction among the people of the old provinces, in whose charters those lands were embraced; some considering it as a direct invasion of their rights, while others viewed it only as a temporary expedient on the part of the ministry, to quiet the minds of the Indians,\* who had been impressed by the French with the idea, that they were all to be driven from their countries by the British. It was probably intended also, in part at least, as a check upon the advance of the population into the interior, which could not fail to render the provinces more independent of the control of the mother country; but whatever may have been its object, it had no effect, as settlements were soon after made on the upper waters of the Ohio, the Kanawha and the Tennessee, as freely as if no such restriction existed.

Immediately after the appearance of this proclamation, General James Murray, was appointed Governor of the province of Quebec, Colonel James Grant of East Florida, and Captain

\* Colonel George Washington, who was then residing at his plantation of Mount Vernon on the Potomac, wrote thus to Mr. W. Crawford on the 21st of September, 1767.

"I offered in my last, to join you in attempting to secure some of the most valuable lands in the King's part, which I think may be accomplished after a while; notwithstanding the Proclamation that restrains it at present, and prohibits the settling of them at all; for I never can look at that proclamation, in any other light, (but this I say between ourselves,) than as a temporary expedient, to quiet the minds of the Indians. It must fall of course, in a few years, especially when those Indians consent to our occupying the lands."



George Johnstone, of West Florida. Sir William Johnson, was at the same time made General Superintendent of the Indian countries in the north, and Mr. John Steuart in those of the south. The Governors were instructed to invite settlers to their provinces by the offer of one-hundred acres of land to each head of a family, and fifty acres in addition, for every other person attached to it, on the conditions of their paying five shillings for every fifty acres, and an annual quit rent of a half-penny per acre, and that three acres of every fifty granted, should have been cleared or drained and cultivated, and three heads of cattle have been placed upon every fifty acres of uncultivated ground, within three years after the date of the concession. Proclamations to this effect were accordingly issued by the Governors of the Floridas, accompanied by descriptions of the countries, and notices of the various advantages offered to settlers in them; and the Indian nations of that part of the Continent, were invited to send deputies to certain places, to meet the Superintendent and the Governors, for the determination of boundaries, and other matters of common interest.

For this latter object, a large number of Muscoghees and Choctās were assembled at Mobile, in the spring of 1765, where they were informed by Messrs. Johnstone and Steuart, of the kind intentions of the British Government to protect them in the possession of their old hunting grounds, and were assured that the treaties and other agreements made or which might be made with them, would be scrupulously observed by the English, while similar observances would be strictly exacted from them. Presents were distributed, marks of honor were bestowed on the most distinguished chiefs, and every other means was employed to conciliate them, and to accommodate their differences among themselves. Treaties were then proposed, and after discussions and alterations, were concluded, distinctly defining the boundaries of each of the nations, within which no lands could be bought or settlements be made by white men, without the consent of the Indians, and of the British authorities. Thus, nearly the whole of the countries of the lower Tombigbee and Alabama rivers, were secured to the Choctās, and those of the upper Alabama and Chattahoochee to the Muscoghees or Creeks; and in order to quiet the apprehensions of those nations, Forts Toulouse

and Tombechbé were soon after abandoned.\* In like manner, by a treaty concluded at St. Augustine in November of the same year, the Seminoles, or Lower Creeks of the Peninsula, were secured in the possession of the country, extending from the vicinity of the river St. John, north-westward to the head waters of the St. Mary and the Alatomaha; and other treaties were afterwards made with the smaller Indian nations, by which, large bodies of fine lands were opened to British settlers.

In the territories not thus specially reserved to the Indians, lands were granted by the Governors of each of the Floridas according to the provisions of the proclamation, as well as by the Crown, to individuals and companies. The earliest of these large grants, were made in the eastern provinces, where the principal patentees were Lords Egmont, Hillsborough, Hawke and Granville, Sir William Duncan, and Messrs. Oswald, Turnbull, Rolle and Moultrie. Lord Egmont obtained the whole of Amelia island, which extends from the mouth of St. Mary's river to that of the Nassau, within a few miles of the St. John; and he there formed a cotton plantation which was soon in a prosperous condition. Mr. Rolle's grant embraced forty thousand acres, to be chosen by him from any vacant lands in the province: he had first determined to make his settlement at St. Mark's, and with that object, he sailed from London, accompanied by several hundred persons, mostly paupers, towards the entrance of the Mexican Gulf; but having been forced by storms to put into the mouth of the St. John, he was so much pleased with the country, that he selected a tract upon that river, about forty miles south-west of St. Augustine, where he formed his establishment, called Charlottea, in honor of the Queen. Messrs. Oswald and Moultrie, established their people on the Halifax river near its entrance into the Atlantic, about seventy miles below St. Augustine, where they commenced large plantations of sugar and in-

\* These places were visited by Bartram in 1774, when the only vestiges found, were some embankments and old fields at Fort Tombechbé, and a few small iron cannon, and some fine apple-trees at Fort Toulouse. Fort Tombechbé, was situated as already said, on a cliff now known as Jones' Bluff, overhanging the Tombechbé or Tombigbee river, on the west, about fifty miles above its confluence with the Alabama. Fort Toulouse stood in the angle formed by the junction of the Coosa and Talapoosa rivers, seven miles north of Montgomery the present capital of the State of Alabama; the place was occupied during the Creek war in 1817, by the Americans, who erected on it a work called Fort Jackson.



digo. Dr. Turnbull, in conjunction with Sir William Duncan, selected a tract a short distance south of that occupied by Messrs. Moultrie and Oswald, at the entrance of the Halifax and Hillsborough rivers into Mosquito Inlet, on which they laid out a town on a high shelly bluff, overhanging the Hillsborough on the west; and there they in 1767 established several hundreds of Minorcans, Corsicans, and Greeks from the Morea, who were to be employed in the cultivation of olives, grapes, figs, and currants, for exportation, and in making wine, in addition to the production of the other articles above mentioned. The unfortunate result of this last enterprise will be hereafter related.

In West Florida, the earliest grants of lands were made in the vicinity of Pensacola and Mobile, chiefly to French Protestants; the greater part of these settlers, however, soon died of the yellow fever, which seems to have made its first appearance on the northern side of the Mexican Gulf, at Pensacola in 1765, and that portion of Florida was, in consequence, avoided by emigrants from Europe or from the southern colonies. A town called New Richmond was at the same time laid off at Baton Rouge on the Mississippi: but the applications were principally directed to procure lands near the Great River, north of the 31st parallel of latitude, which had been fixed by the proclamation, as the northern boundary of the province; and the British Government being most anxious to have the banks of that river speedily and effectively occupied by its own subjects, as soon as possible, determined in March, 1764, that the northern boundary should be removed to the latitude of the mouth of the Yazoo river. Governor Johnstone was accordingly authorised to include all south of that line, in his province; and the commissions and instructions given to all the subsequent Governors, so long as the country remained in the possession of Great Britain, declare West Florida to be bounded on the north by "a line drawn from the mouth of the Yazoo river, where it unites with the Mississippi, due east, to the Apalachicola." No order, proclamation, or other act of the British Government, except those above mentioned, sanctioning this change in the extent and limits of West Florida, was ever published or seems to have been made: but the authority of the Governor of that province, to grant lands and to exercise jurisdiction in the territory as far as the latitude of the mouth of the Yazoo, was

never questioned. Under the protection thus afforded, the settlement of the eastern banks of the Mississippi proceeded rapidly; large grants of lands being made to several individuals in England and America, especially in the eastern provinces, by whom plantations were formed for the cultivation of corn, indigo, and tobacco, at the points most secure from inundation, between the Iberville and the Yazoo.

On the Ohio, the Virginians and Pennsylvanians bought lands from the Indians and fixed their habitations without regard for the Royal proclamation, which became, as Washington foresaw, a dead letter in all its prohibitions of that nature. In the Illinois, no establishments were formed by the English for some years, during which the French merely maintained their old settlements, without any remarkable change. Farther north-west the efforts of the English were directed chiefly to trade, in which they seem to have been less successful than the French. They also explored the regions bordering upon the southern shore of Lake Superior, where many of those remarkable deposits of copper and lead, which now render that part of the continent so valuable, were discovered. A company was formed in London in 1769, for working these mines, in order to extract the silver combined with the other metals; but the project was soon abandoned.\*

In the meantime, serious discontent was prevailing throughout the old colonies of England in America. Soon after the appearance of the Royal proclamation for the government of the new provinces, the earliest measures of the British Ministers for restraining and taxing the American colonies, were proposed in Parliament. In March 1764, Mr. Grenville presented his celebrated resolution,—that towards defraying the expenses of protecting and securing the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in those countries; and this having been carried, acts were passed in succession, establishing stamp duties on all legal and mercantile documents in the American provinces, and duties of import on certain articles brought into them from foreign countries, and requiring them to support troops which were to be quartered in various places. Against these acts, the people and the legislative assemblies of several colonies,

\* See the travels and adventures of Alexander Henry, who was the agent of this company, published at Montreal in 1809.



immediately protested, and remonstrated, on the grounds—that laws imposing taxes on British subjects could not be rightfully made, without the consent of representatives chosen by themselves. This view of the question was not admitted by the ministry, which disregarded the remonstrances of the colonies, and the latter in consequence, proceeded to more effective measures. Resolutions were passed by the Legislatures of some of the provinces for impeding or preventing the execution of the obnoxious laws, and the people resisted their application by force; and a Congress of representatives from nearly all the colonies was convened at New York, by which a Declaration of Rights and Grievances was drawn up, in October, 1765, and submitted to the Ministers, by Commissioners appointed for the purpose. This universal and determined resistance led to the repeal of the stamp act on the 18th of March, 1766; but Parliament, at the same time, asserted the right of the Government, to make all laws and statutes to bind the colonies in America, in all cases whatsoever; and new taxes were imposed, and troops and ships of war were sent to America, to enforce that obedience to the authority of the mother country, which was considered due in return for the protection afforded by it. These new acts of power added fuel to the flame, and excited the people to resistance in every part of the old provinces. The collectors of the customs were attacked, whenever they ventured to exercise their functions, unsupported by large bodies of troops; and it became evident that the dependence of the colonies upon Great Britain could not be maintained under the existing circumstances, without a struggle, the ultimate results of which it was impossible to foresee.

Louisiana still remained in the possession of the French. The Director General D'Abadie, persevered in his thankless and unpromising labors, for the regeneration of the province, agreeably to his ideas; but the belief that it had been ceded to Spain, checked all disposition on the part of the people to labor for its improvement. This belief was confirmed and encouraged by the English, whose vessels freely ascended and descended the Mississippi, according to the terms of the treaty, and though excluded as carefully as possible from New Orleans, held frequent communications with the people at other points in its vicinity, where they introduced large quantities of goods by contraband.

This irregular commerce, the Governor endeavored to check, by vigilance, though he could not venture to employ force, as the people were evidently not disposed to submit to any measures of that nature; and he was obliged, with grief, to submit to the injuries thus inflicted on the royal revenues, in consequence of the voyages made by the inhabitants of the capital to Manchac, and to le Petit Manchac, as they called the spot opposite to New Orleans, where the interlopers landed their merchandise in passing.

M. D'Abadie however, persisted in contradicting and even in disbelieving the reports of the cession of Louisiana to Spain, until the month of October, 1764, when he received a letter from King Louis XV. himself, which dispelled all doubts on the subject. By this letter, dated Versailles, April 21, His Majesty informed the Director General of Louisiana—that he had, of his own free will, ceded that province to his cousin Charles III. of Spain, in November, 1762, in confirmation of which, he moreover sent official copies of the acts of cession and acceptance exchanged on that occasion; and he therefore charged M. D'Abadie to deliver up the country with all its forts and dependencies, as they were at the time of the cession, to the person who might appear with powers from His Catholic Majesty to receive them, and to retire to France or to one of the West India Islands, with the officers civil and military, and the soldiers who might not choose to enter the service of Spain.

The King's letter was immediately published to the people, who eagerly examined it in search of some guarantee for their future condition and treatment by their new masters; but all that they could find on these points, was embraced in the following indefinite passage:—"I hope at the same time, for the advantage and tranquillity of Louisiana, and I promise myself, in consequence of the friendship and affection of His Catholic Majesty, that he will give orders to his Governor, and to every other officer employed in his service in the said colony, and in the city of New Orleans, that the ecclesiastics and the religious houses appropriated to the curacies and missions, may be maintained and continued in the enjoyment of the rights, privileges, and exemptions attributed to them by the titles of their establishment; that the ordinary judges, as well as the Superior Council, may continue to dispense justice, according to the laws, forms, and



usages of the colony; that the inhabitants may be confirmed in the possession of their property, according to the concessions made to them by the Governors and Commissaries of the said colony, and the said concessions may be regarded and reputed as confirmed by His Catholic Majesty, even though they might not have been yet so confirmed by myself; and finally, that His Catholic Majesty will give to his subjects in Louisiana, the same marks of protection and kindness, which they have received under my dominion, and from which, only the misfortunes of war have prevented them from deriving greater benefits."

These unmeaning expressions of His Majesty's hopes and expectations afforded no assurance to the inhabitants of Louisiana, who could not fail to see that they had been transferred with their country, to a new master, as provinces and their people in Europe were transferred at the conclusion of every war, without any provision for their future lot. It would indeed have been idle in them to suppose, that any exception would be made in their favor, by such a Government as that of Louis XV. or that if made, it would have been respected, by a power like Spain, which had ever been most inimical to the existence of rights and privileges among its subjects, especially in the colonies. It would have been no less difficult for them to specify "the marks of protection and kindness," which they had received from the sovereign of France; nor could they have reasonably supposed, that their condition would be rendered much, if at all, worse, by the change of dominion thus announced to them: and they would probably have submitted to their fate at first, as they did in the end, with indifference, had any hope been held out, of the redemption of the Government paper, in which almost every man in the province was deeply interested. But on this point, the letter was silent, and the Director General, to whom it was addressed, could give no information. That worthy personage, was so completely overwhelmed by the news of the cession, that he at once lost all his capacity for action or thought, and after lingering a few months, he died in February, 1765, leaving to Captain Charles Philippe Aubry, as commandant of the troops the task of executing the orders of their master.

The inhabitants were at first overcome by the news of the cession; there were however, at New Orleans a few men, exercising

considerable influence in the province, by their talents, character, wealth, or official position, who determined by all means in their power, to resist the transfer. At the head of this party, was the Attorney General, Lafrènière, the third person in rank in the colonial administration, a native of the country, ardent, enthusiastic, and eloquent, but, as his conduct sufficiently proved, possessing neither the discretion nor the firmness, required for measures such as he contemplated. In the Superior Council, of which he was a member, he was opposed by the commandant Aubry, and the commissary Foucault, who having neither interests nor attachments in Louisiana, and being both anxious to escape the fate of Kerlerec, endeavored to calm the agitation of the people, and induce them to submit quietly to the change; but of the six other councillors,\* Lafrènière controled a sufficient number, to give him a majority of the voices on almost every occasion, so as to throw upon the commandant and the commissary, a heavy responsibility for any steps, which they might take in exercise of their powers, contrary to the opinions of the whole as a body. Out of the Council, the leaders of the patriots—as they termed themselves—were the brothers Jean and Joseph Milhet the richest merchants in the country, Noyan a grand nephew of Bienville and Iberville, and son-in-law to Lafrènière, Doucet a lawyer, Caresse a merchant, Villeré a planter, and Marquis a retired Swiss officer; and they were supported by many other individuals in the country, as well as in the capital, comprising together, all the most important persons of the province. Through their exertions, a convention of deputies informally chosen in the different districts, was assembled at New Orleans in January, 1765, by which an address to the throne was drawn up remonstrating against the transfer of Louisiana to Spain, and praying for relief from their financial afflictions; and Jean Milhet was commissioned to proceed to Paris, and lay it at the feet of their gracious Sovereign Louis XV.

The envoy M. Milhet, on arriving at Paris applied for aid and direction to M. de Bienville, the former Governor of Louisiana, who, then in his eighty-sixth year, still took the deepest interest

\* The Council was then composed of—Aubry the Commandant, Foucault the Commissary, Lafrènière the Attorney General, Messrs. Delalande, Delaunay, Kernion, Laplace, Lachaise, and Lesacier Councillors, and Garic the Secretary.



in all that concerned that country; and he was thus enabled to obtain an interview with the Duke de Choiseul, who however, gave no direct answers on any point for some time. All the efforts of Milhet to see the King were fruitless; and he was at length informed by the minister, that the cession of Louisiana was an act which neither could, nor under any circumstances would be recalled, as France was unable to bear the expenses of so useless a possession. With regard to the paper money and other Government securities, Choiseul spoke less distinctly, but he offered no encouragement for the expectation that any relief would be soon offered for those grievances.

Positive orders were at the same time sent from Paris to the Commandant and the other authorities of Louisiana, to make every preparation for its surrender immediately on the arrival of the Spanish Commissioner, who had been appointed to receive the possession; and these orders were exhibited by Aubry, as the only reply which he could give to a memorial from the merchants of New Orleans, addressed to him on the 28th of June, in consequence of the reports received from Milhet. Months however passed by without the appearance of the Spaniards in Louisiana; and vague hopes thus arose among the people that something might have occurred to prevent the dreaded consummation of the surrender.

In the meantime, the population of the colony had been considerably increased, by the immigration of persons from the territories surrendered to Great Britain. Those from Mobile and Natchez, nearly all established themselves at New Orleans and its vicinity; while those from the Illinois, settled for the most part on the western bank of the Mississippi, in and near St. Louis and St. Genevieve. About five hundred Acadians, moreover arrived in Louisiana, during the year 1765. These unfortunate people, who had been expelled, as already mentioned, from their native land, by the British authorities, upon their refusal to take the oath of allegiance to that power in 1753, remained for ten years, forming small communities, in different parts of the British colonies, principally in the larger cities of Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston, where they were known under the general name of the Neutral French. Having nothing in common with those among whom they thus resided, the Acadians were, after the

peace, induced to emigrate to St. Domingo, where four hundred and eighteen of them were landed in July, 1764: of this number, a large proportion were immediately seized with fevers, which carried off many, while the others suffered dreadfully from disease, hunger, and the terrible heat of the climate; and as it became evident that the island was entirely unsuited to them, it was determined that they should be removed to some more northern colony. Accordingly, three hundred and twenty, were sent to Louisiana, where they arrived in January, 1765; and they were followed by two hundred others, including several families, who came from Charleston, after the departure of the first body. In their new home they appear to have been received with no great demonstration of delight by their fellow subjects: lands were however, assigned to them on both sides of the Mississippi, below New Orleans; chiefly however, on the west, in the district called La Fourche, and in the Opelousas and Attakappas regions, where their descendants still form a large portion of the people.

The hopes of the people of Louisiana, founded on the non-appearance of the Spaniards, to take possession of their country, were dissipated in August, 1765, by the receipt of a letter, addressed to the Superior Council, of which the following is a translation at length:

HAVANNA, July 10th, 1765.

GENTLEMEN: Having recently received orders from His Catholic Majesty, to proceed to your city, and take possession of it, agreeably to the orders also given by His Christian Majesty, I embrace this occasion to inform you of it, and to say, that I shall soon have the honor to be with you, in fulfilment of this commission. I flatter myself, in anticipation, with the hope that I shall thus have favorable opportunities afforded to me for rendering all the services, which you and the inhabitants of your city, may desire; and I pray you to assure them of this in my name, and that in so doing, I shall not only fulfil my duties, but at the same time my own inclination.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA.

The writer of this letter was a Captain in the Spanish Navy, already well and favorably known in Europe, by his interesting work on the civil and political condition of the colonies of that



nation in South America,\* to which he had been sent on a tour of inspection, about twenty years before; and as his representations had led to the reform of many abuses in the administration of those countries, the assignment of the commission to receive possession of Louisiana to such a person, seemed to indicate views on the part of Spain, more congenial to the wishes of the people than they had anticipated. The dissatisfaction occasioned by the certainty of their approaching transfer to Spain, was in consequence much moderated, especially as it was understood, that no change would be made in the administrative system of the country, which was to remain distinct from all the other Spanish Colonies;† and when Ulloa reached New Orleans, which was not until the 10th of March, 1766, he was received with respect, if not with enthusiasm, by the people as well as by the authorities.

These feelings however, soon gave place to others of an opposite nature. Ulloa came attended by only ninety Spanish soldiers, and three civil officers, Don Jose Loyola as Commissary of war, Don Martin Navarro as Intendant of finance, and Don Antonio Estevan Gayarré as Comptroller of accounts. When requested

\* "*Relacion Historica del viage á la America Meridional, para medir algunos grados de meridiano terrestre &c. por Don Jorge Juan y Don Antonio Ulloa.*"—4 vols. Madrid, 1743—translated into English, and published at London in 1758, in 2 vols., under the title of "*A Voyage to South America, describing at large the Spanish cities, &c., on that extensive continent, &c.*" Ulloa had been selected with Don Jorge Juan, a distinguished naval officer, to proceed to South America in 1735, and there in conjunction with Messrs. Bouguer, la Condamine, and Godin, to measure a degree of the meridian, near the equator; while similar observations should be made by Maupertuis, Clairaut, and others, in the northern parts of Sweden, in order to obtain a more accurate idea of the form of the earth. The scientific labors devolved chiefly upon Juan; Ulloa being employed in examining the political condition of those countries, which he seems to have performed with signal ability and honesty. Of his report, however, only a small part was published by the Spanish Government, in the work above mentioned; the more important details of the abuses of the administration, and the tyranny exercised by the Government authorities, remained carefully concealed in manuscript, in the archives of the Indies, until 1825, when they were given to the world, in the original at London, by a person who had by some means obtained a copy, under the title of "*Noticias Secretas de America.*"

† Such seems to have been in fact the first intention of the Spanish Government, agreeably to the Royal order, of January 28th, 1771, containing abstracts of the various provisions, which had been made with regard to Louisiana, since the period of its cession.

by the Superior Council, to exhibit his powers, in order that they should be registered, he coldly replied that he had no concern with that body or with any other authority, except the commandant, as the representative of His Christian Majesty; and to the latter officer he declared his intention not to receive the possession of the country, until the arrival of the troops who were to follow from Cuba. Upon the all absorbing question, of the dispositions to be made with regard to the paper money, the Spanish Commissioner had no instructions; though he was willing to redeem a portion of the notes issued by D'Abadie, in specie, at their current value, about one quarter of the nominal, though the same notes would be issued again in payment of the expenses of his administration. This offer was however accepted by only a few of the holders, the others still clinging to the hope of receiving justice from the French Government.

After a few days thus passed at New Orleans, Ulloa set off accompanied by the Commissary Foucault, on a tour of inspection through the country, in which he was engaged until September following. During the intervening period, he visited the Illinois and the Red river countries, and established Spanish garrisons at Manchac opposite to the English Fort Bute, at St. Louis, at Natchitoches, and at other points. He moreover caused a census to be taken, from which it appeared, that the colony contained five thousand five hundred and sixty-two white persons, —nearly the same number as in 1721—and a number rather larger of negroes.\*

On returning from his tour, Ulloa passed only a few days at New Orleans, and thence proceeded to the Balise, where he established himself in a new fort, erected during his absence, and garrisoned by Spanish soldiers; and there he was united in marriage to the Marchioness de Abrado, a rich widow from Peru. Shortly afterwards, on the 6th of September, an ordinance was issued by the Commandant Aubry, in the name of the Spanish Government, confining the trade of the colony to communications with six ports of the Spanish peninsula, to be conducted in

\* Viz—eighteen hundred and ninety-three white men capable of bearing arms, one thousand and forty-four marriageable white women, thirteen hundred and seventy-five white boys, and twelve hundred and forty-four white girls. The whole number of the blacks was five thousand nine hundred and forty.



Spanish built vessels, owned and commanded by Spaniards, only; though as a favor, in order to prevent injury to the inhabitants from so sudden a change, vessels would be allowed for a certain time, to sail between Louisiana and France, or St. Domingo, in virtue of passports to be obtained from the Spanish Government, or from its authorities in the province, with the understanding, however, that the merchandise thus introduced, should be sold only at prices fixed by a Spanish tariff. This innovation filled the people with dismay, as it tended directly to the destruction of the commerce of the colony, and indeed of the colony itself; for Louisiana produced nothing, which Spain could not draw from its other provinces, in abundance, of better quality and at lower prices: and the merchants of New Orleans immediately addressed a remonstrance against the new regulations to the Superior Council, in which a discussion arose between Aubry and Lafrènière, as to the legality of the Spanish decree, and the powers of the Commissioner of that nation. The Commandant admitted that Ulloa had never received possession of the province, nor even exhibited any title to receive it; whereupon the Attorney General insisted with more of reason than discretion, that the supremacy of France still continued, and therefore, no act of another Government could have effect. The discussion became very violent, but it ended in a compromise, made through the intervention of the Commissary, agreeably to which, the obnoxious regulations were not to be enforced, so long as Spain should not have taken effective possession of the country.

Immediately after this affair, Aubry hastened to the Balise, where he urged, and finally prevailed upon Ulloa to receive the possession of the province; and this act was accordingly performed, though in private, and under positive injunctions from the Spanish Commissioner to keep it secret. The reason assigned for this strange proceeding, was the want of Spanish forces in the country, sufficient to maintain the dominion of the Catholic Monarch; as the French soldiers refused to act under the flag of another nation, and required their discharge, to which they were by law entitled from the length of their service. But there were other motives for delaying the publication of the fact of the surrender; of which the principal was the continued unwillingness of the Spanish Government to receive Louisiana.

The acts of cession had fixed no time for its fulfilment; and in order to arrive at a proper conclusion as to the policy of accepting the country, Ulloa had been sent to examine it, for which his observations on South America, seemed to show that he was well suited; and although he went provided with powers to accept the surrender, he was to make use of them only, under certain circumstances.

Moreover, about the time of Ulloa's arrival in Louisiana, a dispute occurred between France and Spain, which for a short time endangered the continuance of their good understanding. A colony of Canadians, Acadians and other exiles or refugees from the late French colonies in America, was planted in 1765, under the auspices of the Duke de Choiseul, on one of the desert islands of the Falkland groupe, near the entrance of Magellan's Strait. The Spanish Government remonstrated against this, as an encroachment on the rights of Spain; Choiseul refused to admit the existence of such right to the islands in question, and a discussion ensued, which might have led to a war, had not Louis XV. been induced, by a personal application from his cousin, Charles III. to order the immediate abandonment of the islands by the French, upon the repayment of the expenses incurred by M. de Bougainville, the founder of the settlement.

The happy termination of this difficulty, was probably in part due, to the disputes which had arisen, and were then daily increasing between Great Britain and Spain, in consequence of the expulsion of the log-wood cutters of the former nation from the coasts of Yucatan and other places in that quarter of America, by the Spaniards, in violation of the seventeenth article of the treaty of Paris, as well as from the refusal of the Spanish Government, to pay two millions of dollars, the balance of the sum promised as the ransom of Manilla, after its capture by the British in 1763. Another obstacle however, to the execution of the cession of Louisiana, immediately arose from the demand made by the French Government, that Spain should be responsible for all the expenses of the province, since the date of the acceptance of the cession; which was accompanied by a decree from the King of France repudiating all the notes issued for those purposes since the year 1762. The Court of Madrid, on being informed of this pretension, and of the financial condition of the colony in



general, positively refused to assume these debts, on the grounds that no time had been fixed for the surrender of the country, and that France having enjoyed all the advantages of the possession, should pay all the costs; and another long discussion followed, which was terminated in the summer of 1767, by an agreement, that Spain should be answerable only for the debts contracted since the arrival of Ulloa in Louisiana. Notes of acknowledgment were accordingly issued by Messrs. Loyola, Navarro and Gayarré, respectively, in the name of His Catholic Majesty, which the people were obliged to accept, as the only return for their labor or for the articles furnished by them; the small quantities of specie received from Havanna or Mexico, being used entirely in the purchase of the French notes, issued since Ulloa's arrival at their depreciated value. Ulloa was however still unable to proclaim the authority of his Sovereign over the country, from the want of troops sufficient to render it effective in case of resistance on the part of the inhabitants; as all the forces which could be spared in the West Indies, were required in Mexico and Cuba, to quell insurrections caused by the attempt to impose a new system of taxation, on those countries.

Louisiana was at this period visited by Captain de Pagés, of the French Navy, on his way through Mexico to the Pacific, over which he sailed to the East Indies. He arrived on the 28th of July, 1767, at New Orleans, where he spent only a few days, and then departed in a canoe for Natchitoches by way of the Mississippi and the Red rivers. Of the capital of Louisiana, he says nothing worthy of note, in the narrative published by him on his return to France;\* nor does he make the slightest allusion to the peculiar political situation of the country, which he seems indeed to have considered as already in the possession of Spain. Natchitoches, he describes as an extensive meadow, interspersed with plantations of tobacco and Indian corn, in the middle of which was a square enclosure of palisades, forming the fort, with about seventy small wooden houses in a straight line, but situated at considerable distances apart. The houses were

\* "*Voyage autour du Monde pendant les années 1767-1776. Par M. de Pagés Capitaine des Vaissieux du Roi.*"—2 vols. Paris 1782. Translated into English and published at London, in 1783, under the title of "*Travels around the world, &c* "

inconvenient and filthy, the food wretched, and the people ignorant and indolent, though lively and good natured. Thence he proceeded through the woods to the first Spanish settlement, at Adayes, which resembled that of Natchitoches, but was much more miserable in every respect, the people being nearly savage; nor did he find any indications of civilization, until his arrival at San Antonio de Bexar. That place had then become a town of perhaps two thousand inhabitants, composed chiefly of people from the Canary islands, and from Tlascala in Mexico, of whom a small number had been recently introduced; and Pagés speaks in high terms of praise, of the delightfulness of the climate and of the agreeable dispositions of the ladies, among whom he spent some time, contributing in return his services, to the defence of the place against the usual annual attack by the Apaches. Leaving San Antonio in the middle of December, he continued his journey through Laredo, Saltillo and San Luis Potosi, to Mexico, and thence to Acapulco where he embarked in a galleon for Manilla. His narrative, though exhibiting no remarkable information, or powers of observing and describing, is nevertheless, written in an easy and unaffected style; and is valuable, as being the earliest and for a long time the only particular account given to the world, of the countries through which he passed, from the Red river to the Rio Bravo, and indeed to Mexico.

In the meantime, although the authority of France still subsisted in name, and to a certain extent in fact, throughout Louisiana, and notwithstanding the resolution of the Superior Council, that the commercial regulations proclaimed by the Spanish Commissioner should not have effect until the completion of the transfer of the country to Spain, changes had been gradually introduced, similar in many respects to those proposed in the obnoxious ordinance repudiated by the Council. Ships indeed arrived from France and St. Domingo, but they all brought passports from Spanish authorities, without which they were not allowed to enter; nor could any vessel quit Louisiana, for any port, unless provided with similar licenses from the Spanish Commissioner. The importation of negroes from St. Domingo had been first subjected to conditions, and then forbidden; after which the prohibition was made general. The Superior Council subsisted, but a council had been also instituted by Ulloa, composed of the



Spanish Intendant, Commissary and Comptroller, and other persons Spanish and French; and as neither of these high bodies recognized the other in any way, it was impossible to prevent frequent collisions between their executive officers. Aubry however, succeeded by great dexterity, in preserving the public tranquillity,\* until the month of October, 1768, when this anomalous state of things, was ended by a sudden explosion.

Nearly six years had then elapsed since the cession of Louisiana to Spain, and four since the fact had been made known in the colony. During that period great injury had been sustained by the people in their commerce and their agriculture, from the restrictive measures of the Spaniards, and still more from the general uncertainty of their condition; and a feeling of disgust had arisen among them, not only towards those whom they regarded as foreign enemies, and oppressors, but also towards the treacherous Government of France, which had thus basely abandoned them. Under these circumstances, the tone of independence which had so much shocked D'Abadie, had become stronger and more general; and matters directly treasonable towards France as well as Spain, became the subjects of open discussion, not only in New Orleans, but also throughout the whole of the lower country, and especially among the Germans of the Côte Allemande, and the Acadians, who formed the sturdiest portion of the population. The more quiet members of the community were disposed to emigrate to the English territories east of the Mississippi, from which they seem to have been withheld chiefly, by a lingering hope of the redemption of the paper money: but the more bold and ambitious, were forming projects for the establishment of a separate state, under the guarantee or the protection of Great Britain; and to this end, overtures were made in the spring of 1768, by Lafrènière and his partisans, to Mr. John Elliott, who had in the preceding year succeeded Johnstone in the

\* "My position is indeed most extraordinary;" writes Aubry to his Government, on the 20th of January, 1768, "while commanding for the King of France, I am at the same time governing the colony as if it belonged to the King of Spain, and am forming Frenchmen for subjection to Spanish dominion. It is by no means flattering to me, to remain as Governor of a colony, which undergoes so many revolutions, which has for three years, not known whether it be French or Spanish, and which until the possession be taken of it, is properly speaking, without any master."

Government of West Florida. The proposition was however decidedly repelled by Elliott, whose Government would certainly not have encouraged such a movement, calculated to involve Great Britain in difficulties with France and Spain, at a moment, when its own colonies were almost in rebellion against its authority; and the leaders of the opposition to Spain in Louisiana, then resolved upon another measure which could not fail to produce the most serious consequences. This was no less than the formal and forcible expulsion of the Spaniards from the country; and as the co-operation of the whole people would be required to effect it, secret agents were despatched to all the parishes, to induce them to send delegates to another General Assembly, to be held at New Orleans in October.

So carefully had this business been conducted, that the Commandant Aubry, remained in entire ignorance of what was intended, until the delegates began to arrive in New Orleans. He then endeavored to prevail on Lafrènière and on Foucault who appeared to act in conjunction with the Attorney General, from proceeding farther; and finding this impossible, he prepared to prevent the meeting of the Assembly by force. With this object he posted soldiers at various points, and caused the Spanish ship-of-war, *Volante*, which was then lying in the river, to anchor opposite the Place d'armes of New Orleans; but the other party had been equally alert, and on the 28th of October, the day appointed for the meeting, eight hundred armed men from the country, chiefly Germans and Acadians, appeared in the city under the command of Messrs. de Noyan and Villeré, ready to protect the Assembly.

The Assembly was composed of the wealthiest planters and other most notable persons of Louisiana. The business had, however, been all arranged previously by Lafrènière, the lawyer Doucet, the merchant Caresse, Jean Milhet who had just returned from his mission to France, and the other chiefs of the movement, who explained their views in speeches; and it was on the first day determined, that a memorial should be addressed to the Council, setting forth the grievances of the province, and praying that means should be taken for its relief. The task of drawing up this memorial, was assigned to Caresse, who soon produced such a paper, written probably by Lafrènière, wherein the Coun-



cil was solicited, or rather summoned, immediately to cause Ulloa and his Spaniards to be expelled from the country, as illegal disturbers of the public peace. This paper was signed by the other members of the Assembly, and by many citizens of New Orleans and its vicinity, to the number of more than five hundred, and was presented to the Superior Council on the same day. Five members of that body, having declared themselves unable from sickness to attend, others were appointed to act in their stead, as was allowed by the law on extraordinary occasions: the memorial was examined by a committee, who reported in its favor; and Lafrènière as Attorney General, having sustained the report by his opinion, a decree was issued on the following day, by unanimous consent of the council, entirely in accordance with the desires of the petitioners.

By this decree, all the acts of Ulloa since his arrival in the country, were pronounced illegal, as he had never caused his powers to be examined and registered by the Superior Council, and those acts were moreover at variance with the order of the King of France to D'Abadie, which guarantied freedom of trade to the colony, and the continuance of its laws and establishments: and for these reasons, the council ordered that the Spanish Commissioner and all the other subjects of that nation should be immediately removed from the country, with the exception of Navarro, Loyola, and Gayarré, who were to be held personally responsible for the redemption of the notes, issued in their names, in payment for supplies or labor, until it should appear, that they had been authorised so to do, by the King of Spain; finally, Messrs. Aubry and Foucault, were requested to join the Superior Council, in conducting the administration of the province, and in endeavoring to obtain from the King of France, the confirmation of its privileges, agreeably to his royal promise.

Aubry and Foucault immediately protested against this decree, as being illegal, and offensive to the Kings of France and Spain equally: but their objections were not received by the Council; and Aubry finding himself unable to resist the torrent of popular will, advised the Spanish Commissioner to comply with its requisitions. Ulloa accordingly left the city, on the 1st of November, in a French vessel; and after a short stay at the Balise, he continued his voyage to Havanna, where he arrived on the 4th

of December. The Spanish Commissary, Intendant, and Comptroller, who were detained agreeably to the decree, refused to admit the authority of the Council, and declared themselves prisoners; and the Commandants of the various Spanish garrisons in like manner submitted to the necessity imposed on them. The ship-of-war however, still remained in the river, below New Orleans, under the pretext of being unfit for sea, until the month of April, 1769, when she was forced to take her departure.

Immediately after the expulsion of the Spanish Commissioner, the authors of the act began to prepare for its justification. Witnesses were examined, and their depositions were taken, proving the commission of various deeds which were pronounced illegal, as being contrary to the established laws of the colony, and the authority of its Superior Council; and official copies of these documents were sent with a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, accompanied by a petition or representation to the King, earnestly praying that the colony might not be surrendered to Spain. Letters were also addressed to the Minister by Aubry and Foucault, each of whom endeavored to extenuate the proceedings, and to show that he himself had done all in his power, to restrain them.

The petition addressed to the King of France by the Superior Council, presented a picture of the state of Louisiana at the time of the arrival of Ulloa, very different from that given by D'Abadie two years previous. According to this petition, the colony was then in the most flourishing condition, and exhibited every mark of successful industry: lands, houses, and negroes all bore high prices; the trade with the Indians was carried to the utmost extremities of the continent; the river was crowded with vessels from France, the West Indies, and other countries, and specie flowed in abundantly, from the Spanish provinces. The order to D'Abadie for the surrender of the province to Spain, had indeed been received with grief, by the inhabitants, who glory in the name of Frenchmen; but it guaranteed their tranquillity and welfare, as it assured them, that they should be governed as before, according to the laws and usages of the country; and notwithstanding the cession, they considered themselves always as subjects of Louis the Well Beloved, under whose beneficent rule. dispensed by pure and virtuous officers, nothing was wanting to



complète their happiness. These flattering prospects had however been all dissipated by the Spanish Commissioner, who had invaded and annulled the privileges, thus guarantied to them, notwithstanding the positive assurances contained in his letter from Havanna, that they would be respected; their commerce had been ruined by odious restrictions and prohibitions; their feelings had been shocked by innovations in their social system; arbitrary acts of all kinds had been daily committed, and even the Superior Council, established and confirmed by His Majesty, on attempting to stay these evils, had been treated with contempt, and actually superseded, by the creation of another body, under the same title. Such acts could not be borne by Frenchmen; and Ulloa, the author of them all, had been pronounced by unanimous acclaim, the enemy of the people. The whole colony had with one voice demanded his expulsion; and the Superior Council, after maturely weighing the circumstances, and being assured by M. Aubry that Ulloa had produced no powers or titles to justify his conduct, had issued the decree for his expulsion, as a disturber of the public tranquillity, which had been carried into execution, while the air resounded with the cry of—Long live our King Louis the Well Beloved.\*

It may easily be seen, that Lafrènière and his associates in these proceedings, were imitating the conduct of the people of the British colonies at the same period, in resistance to the attempts of the Government of the mother country, to tax them and to quarter soldiers among them, agreeably to the decrees of a Parliament, in which the colonies were not represented. There was however, a wide difference between the two resisting parties in the course which they respectively pursued, to attain their ends. The supporters and representatives of the people of the English provinces, in all their addresses, petitions, and remonstrances to the Government, were scrupulously exact as to facts, leaving their opponents no other grounds for reply, than those which might be afforded by their reasonings and deductions;

\* Le Bienaimé—the title bestowed on the King, by the people of Paris, on his recovery from a dangerous illness in 1744. Louis XV. is said to have been as much surprised as pleased with this mark of the affection of his people, and to have honestly acknowledged, that “he did not know what he had ever done to merit it.”

stipulation or reservation of any kind respecting the rights of the inhabitants, or their treatment by their new masters; nor did Louis XV. in his letter to D'Abadie do more than express his "hopes and persuasions" that the privileges already enjoyed and the religious and administrative establishments, usages and regulations already subsisting in the colony would be maintained; nor did Ulloa in his letter announcing his appointment and approaching arrival in Louisiana to receive the possession, promise any thing, except in general terms of courtesy, that he would be happy to render any service in his power to the Council and the inhabitants. Spain had certainly not taken possession of the country in the manner supposed, and with justice, to be requisite in such cases; nor does it appear, that the person styling himself the Commissioner of that nation, had ever exhibited to the authorities found by him in the colony, who were entitled to require it, any power or title to act in such capacity: yet the fact that he was so commissioned by his Government, notwithstanding his neglect to comply with the forms prescribed by the French laws, was abundantly proved, by the conduct of the Commandant Aubry and the Commissary Foucault, the highest French authorities of the colony, who were known to be in constant correspondence with the Government of France, in openly recognizing him as Commissioner, and co-operating in the execution of his measures. Under these circumstances, to regard Ulloa simply as a foreigner illegally disturbing the tranquillity of the country, was an absurdity, and it must have been felt to be so, by those who made the declaration; and while it was criminal to disseminate such ideas among the ignorant people of Louisiana, and thus to lead them on to acts, the evil consequences of which must have been clearly foreseen as inevitable, it was ridiculous to expect to excuse those acts, or avert those consequences, by presenting to the French Government, reasons or apologies utterly destitute of foundation.

The documents above mentioned from the Superior Council of Louisiana, were carried to France in the spring of 1769, by three Deputies, M. de Bienville a grand nephew of the late Governor



of that name (who had died in the preceding year,) M. le Sacier a syndic of commerce of New Orleans and member of the Superior Council, and M. de Saintelette a wealthy proprietor of the colony. They arrived at Paris in March, and presented their papers to the Duke de Choiseul, who received Saintelette as an old acquaintance, but refused to communicate with the others in any way. They were, however, induced to believe, that the cession to Spain would be recalled, and such was the tenor of their letters to their friends in Louisiana; until at length in the beginning of May, Choiseul unexpectedly informed Saintelette, that nothing could be done in compliance with the petition of those who sent him, as the King of Spain had already despatched a large body of troops to establish his supremacy in the territory ceded to him. The deputies were allowed to remain undisturbed at Paris, and even to publish their documents in the Gazette, much to the annoyance of the Spanish Government, which afterwards replied to them through the newspapers of Vienna and Leyden; and they succeeded in obtaining from the King of France an order for the conversion of all the *bons* and other securities given in his name before the arrival of Ulloa, into a stock amounting to three-fifths of their nominal value, and bearing interest of five per cent. until its redemption.

The statement of the French minister, with regard to the despatch of a large body of Spanish troops to Louisiana, was perfectly correct. Ulloa, on reaching Havanna, found there eight hundred soldiers, who had recently arrived under the direction of Don Juan Ignacio Urriza appointed Intendant of Louisiana, on their way to that country; the Commissioner however did not consider it prudent to return with them to New Orleans, and it was agreed that they should remain in Cuba until farther orders were received from Spain, whither he proceeded directly to communicate what had occurred.\*

On the arrival of the news of these events at Madrid, a council of the ministers was convened, in which, after long deliberation, it was resolved, that the cession of Louisiana should be accepted,

\* Ulloa never returned to America. He afterwards reached a high grade in the Spanish navy, though he was more distinguished for his contributions to science, than for his skill and success on the ocean. He died at Cadiz on the 3rd of July, 1795, in the 80th year of his age.

on the grounds—that an invariable line of separation between the English and the Spanish possessions would thus be established; that the contraband trade of the French with the other Spanish dominions would be abolished, and that of the English would be greatly diminished; that Louisiana might be rendered advantageous to the more southern colonies of Spain, especially Cuba and Porto Rico, by supplying them with corn and other articles which they could not produce; that the expense of maintaining the possession, would not exceed that which had been required for holding Florida, and it might be greatly lessened, by the abandonment of the forts in Texas and New Mexico, which would be rendered useless; and finally, that if France should retain Louisiana, her merchants would be enabled to carry on a much more extensive contraband trade with the Spanish dominions than before.\* The King having approved this resolution, measures were taken to carry it into immediate execution; and the task was committed to Lieutenant General Alexandro O'Reilly, an Irishman who had seen much service in Europe and the West Indies, and was then about to depart for Cuba and Mexico, on a tour of inspection of the troops and fortresses. He was accordingly commissioned on the 29th of October, 1768, to proceed to Louisiana, where he was to take possession of the country for the King, to chastise the principal leaders of the late rebellious movements, and regulate the government on the same system which was established in the other colonies of the Indies.† Some time was required for preparations in Spain, on the completion of which, O'Reilly sailed from Cadiz for Havanna; and from the latter place, he took his departure on the 6th of July, 1769, with a large fleet carrying nearly four thousand soldiers, and abundant supplies of provisions, ammunition and money, for the Mississippi.

Meanwhile the excitement was kept up in Louisiana by Lafrènière and his associates, who encouraged by the first communications from their deputies in Paris, assured the people that the country would not be surrendered to the Spaniards, and inveigled

\* These reasons are set forth, in a despatch from the Spanish Minister of State Marquis de Grimaldi, to the Conde de Fuentes Ambassador at Paris.

† See the Royal order of January 28th, 1771, containing an abstract of the various measures, which had been taken with regard to Louisiana, in White's New Recopilacion, vol. 2, page 164.



their imaginations by numerous extravagant schemes for its advancement. Aubry on the other hand, exerted himself to calm the agitation, and prevent excesses which could only serve to inflame the fury of the Spaniards; but his efforts at conciliation were for some time unavailing, and whenever he ventured to employ force, he was compelled to desist, by the immediate display of the overpowering superiority of the opposite party. In this manner, the Spanish ship of war which had remained in the Mississippi, was compelled to leave the river in April, 1767; and the officers of that nation who were left in the country, were daily subjected to violence and insult.

Before the middle of the summer however, all expectation that Louisiana would be retained by France, had vanished, and it became certain, that the Spaniards were preparing to establish their supremacy by arms. Another appeal was then made by the leaders of the movement to the British authorities at Pensacola, to take the country under the protection of their Government, or even under its authority; and this having been rejected more positively than before, it was wildly proposed to establish a Republic, with a legislative council of forty members, and an executive chief styled a protector, all elected by the people. The proposition seems however not to have been carried beyond some discussion in conversation and in printed papers, without any specific act of adhesion, or of animadversion either by the Superior Council, or by any assembly of the people or their representatives; nor does any individual appear to have been compromised by it. The leaders of the movement were in fact losing ground, and rapidly falling into a minority, especially since a prospect had been presented of the redemption of the paper-money, by the French Government; and Aubry who had been informed of the overtures made by Lafrènieré and his associates to the British authorities, and had even, as reported, received from the Governor of West Florida copies of the correspondence on that subject, made use of these facts to lessen their consideration among the people.\*

\* The following account of the surrender of Louisiana to O'Reilly, is derived chiefly from Gayarré, who presents a number of interesting documents obtained from the archives of France; and from a manuscript copy of a Spanish official report of the circumstances, procured from Madrid.

Under these circumstances, the agitation in Louisiana was rapidly subsiding; and the Commandant had organized a guard of four hundred men at New Orleans, to maintain the peace, when, on the 24th of July, accounts were received of the arrival at the Balise, of the Spanish squadron under O'Reilly, for the occupation of the country, in the name of His Catholic Majesty. This news of course occasioned universal consternation. A few of the most extravagant leaders of the movement against Spain, endeavored to prevail on the people to resist the invaders; and messengers were sent to summon the Acadians and the Germans to the rescue. The call however was unanswered, from the obvious consideration, that the Spanish troops then at the mouth of the Mississippi, fully provided with all the means and appliances of war, actually exceeded in number the whole white male population of the colony; and the proposition then made to the people of New Orleans to burn their city, and retire in a body to the British territory, was received with still less favor by those to whom it was addressed. All signs of excitement and defiance thus soon disappeared: the white cockades which had been universally worn by the agitators, were removed from every hat; the Spanish officers who had been held in durance ever since the expulsion of Ulloa, resumed their swords, with haughty ominous looks; and Lafrenière with other chiefs of the party thus overthrown, came to Aubry, to solicit his mediation in their behalf.

At midnight on the 25th, Don Francisco Boulogny arrived at New Orleans, with communications from the Spanish commander-in-chief, to the head of the French administration in Louisiana, announcing his presence in the Mississippi, and his purposes. This officer was received on the levée, with appropriate signs of respect, by Loyola, Gayarré and Navarro, in the midst of a silent crowd of people; and was then immediately conducted to Aubry, who early on the following morning publicly proclaimed the arrival of the Spaniards. Lafrenière, Marquis and Milhet, who were in fact the authors of all the movements against Spain, then appeared, offering themselves to bear to O'Reilly the assurances of the submission of the inhabitants to the authority represented by him, as well as of their attachment and esteem for his person; and their offer being accepted, they proceeded, in company with Boulogny to the Balise, where the Spanish squadron lay at anchor.



These deputies\* were treated with the utmost courtesy by the

\*The particulars of this interview are thus related in the Spanish report :

‘The people being made aware of the dangers of their position, determined, after several discussions, to appoint three deputies, to compliment the General, and implore his clemency; and for this object they appointed Messrs. Lafrènière, Marquis and Milhet. These deputies returned with the officer, who had brought the letter to the Commandant; in forty hours they reached the ship in which the General resided, and there M. Lafrènière addressed him thus :

“M. Marquis, late Commandant of the Company of Swiss, M. Milhet merchant and Lieutenant of militia, and myself the King’s Attorney General and an inhabitant of this country, have been chosen to come and assure Your Excellency of their submission of the colony to the orders of His Most Christian Majesty and His Catholic Majesty, and of their veneration for the virtues and military talents, which have placed Your Excellency in the position now occupied by you. We are charged to assure Your Excellency, of the profound respect entertained in the colony for His Catholic Majesty, and of their love for His Most Christian Majesty, and the whole Bourbon family. The colony has never entertained the slightest intention, of failing in any way, in the profound respect which it professes towards the great Monarch, whom Your Excellency represents. The austere character of Don Antonio de Ulloa, and the overthrow of the privileges assured to us by the Act of Cession, have been the causes of the revolutions in this colony. We entreat Your Excellency not to regard it as a conquered country; the orders borne by Your Excellency are sufficient to insure to you the possession of the country, and to produce more effect upon the hearts of the people than your arms. The French are docile, and accustomed to be governed with mildness, and Your Excellency will find us all submissive to the orders of the two sovereigns. The colony implores Your Excellency, to protect its privileges, and to grant a sufficient delay, to those who may choose to quit it.’

“Don Alexandro O’Reilly heard this address without interrupting it, and with all the seriousness and dignity which characterize him, he replied as follows :

‘Gentlemen—It is impossible to form a correct judgment, without a knowledge of the circumstances, and it shall be my care to inquire into those relating to this affair, so soon as I reach New Orleans. You may be assured, that it will be my chief pleasure to act with kindness, and that I shall deeply regret to be obliged to injure any person. I will be the first to afford you all the means for quieting your apprehensions, and those of the people, and convincing them of the kind dispositions to which my character prompts me. I am much pleased with the part which you have taken. Be assured that I would have caused my sovereign’s flag to be respected, and that nothing could have prevented me from so doing; such was my resolution, and I should have ascended the river to the Illinois, if it had been necessary to effect it. Men are often carried away in moments of high excitement; but how could you, a mere handful of men, believe yourselves capable of making head against one of the most powerful kings of Europe? How could you suppose, that your king, united as he is to my master by the bonds of blood and of strictest amity, would have ever sustained you, or have listened to the cries of a seditious people?” Here Marquis endeavored to explain; but he was interrupted by the General with—‘Be quiet gentlemen; I will hear you at the proper time. I am aware that things often appear very dark at a distance, which are light when viewed in their vicinity.’”

General, who after reprehending them somewhat severely for their folly, promised to afford every means which they could desire for their justification; he then invited them to dine, and on their return with Bouigny to New Orleans, they assured that officer of their admiration for the talents and sauvity of his chief, and expressed the most confident hopes, that their past delinquencies would be consigned to oblivion.

O'Reilly remained at the Balise, until the middle of August, when the preparations for his reception at New Orleans being completed, he ascended that river in a frigate, accompanied by a fleet of smaller vessels, and anchored in front of the city, on the 17th of the month. On the following day, he landed with three thousand men, on the Place-d'armes, or grand square, looking upon the river, where the French troops and militia were drawn up: he then delivered to the Commandant Aubry his commission to receive the possession of the province, which being duly acknowledged, the keys of the four gates of the city were presented to him, while the flag of Spain replaced that of France amid the roar of cannon and musketry.

Thus ended the dominion of France in North America, after a painful existence, or rather struggle for existence, of one hundred and sixty-five years, during which it had produced as little advantage as was possible, either to the mother country, or to its subjects, or to the cause of civilization and humanity; and taking subsequent events into consideration, few will be found, at the present time, bold enough to regret its dissolution. Whether from peculiarities in the national character of the French, or from erroneous views of the nature and objects of colonies on the part of their Government, leading to an erroneous system of administration, or more probably from both these causes combined, they have been most unfortunate in their establishments in new countries; and their attempts with that object, in North America, have always presented a contrast most unfavorable to them, with those of the English. These French colonies, howsoever founded, were maintained for political purposes entirely, with the view of counterbalancing or overthrowing the rising dominion of Great Britain, in that division of the New World; but as in the mother country, so in its transatlantic possessions, every thing was to be regulated according to the will of the despotic monarch, to whose



honor and glory, they were to be solely subservient. In Louisiana this system of mis-government was carried to the utmost extent. Colonists were sent out, in numbers sufficient, and vast sums were drawn from the national treasury for the support of the establishments; but liberty, individual as well as political, was restricted even more than in France, and individual enterprise was trammelled in every possible way, by taxes and regulations arbitrarily imposed, without regard for the welfare of those who were expected to carry these great political ends into execution. Every man was there required to labor, and to buy and to sell, only according to certain rules devised in Paris; and every livre was to be expended under the direction of certain court favorites, whose only object was to enrich themselves as speedily as possible: nothing being left to the judgment of those most deeply interested in the welfare of the colony. The wars with the Indians in which Louisiana was constantly involved, through the ambition of its governors, formed another cancer, consuming its resources and paralysing the industry of the people; while the nation was, on almost every occasion, humiliated by their unfortunate results.

The British Government on the contrary, fortunately for its colonies in America, had no system for their regulation, and indeed paid very little attention to them in any way, farther than was necessary to secure the monopoly of their commerce; and this too was done, more by the enticement of superior advantages, than by actual restrictions which, as experience occasionally demonstrated, were not to be enforced without considerable difficulty and expense, and danger of provoking resistance. The settlement of their disputes with the Indians were moreover left almost entirely to themselves; and their wars with those people, undertaken either in self defence, or for the attainment of some well defined end, generally the acquisition of territory for immediate occupation, were usually conducted with little expenditure either of blood or treasure on their part, and were in most cases terminated in a manner satisfactory to their interests and their honor. The ill success of the French in their colonies, as compared with the results obtained by the English, in every region in which they have attempted to establish themselves, is also no doubt in some measure to be attributed to that perse-

verance under adverse circumstances, so indispensable for those who attempt the settlement of new countries, and which has been displayed in a much higher degree by the Anglo Saxons than by the French, or any other nation of modern times.

The French dominion in Louisiana was indeed restored, long after this surrender to Spain, though it was only in form, and for a moment. Among those who witnessed the ceremony of that surrender in 1769, some lived to see the national flag of France—not the royal white and fleurs-de-lys of the Bourbons, but the republican tri-color of the consuls—displayed in the Place-d'armes of New Orleans; but this was in token, not of real possession, but merely of safe-keeping of the country for a few days, until its surrender to a people, fortunately possessing the ability and the will to develop its great resources.

The surrender of Louisiana to Spain was however not to be consummated without a bloody tragedy. The outraged dignity of the Catholic monarch was to be avenged, and his new subjects were to receive a lesson in obedience, sufficiently impressive to prevent all future attempts at insubordination. On the day after the surrender, the new Governor required from the former Commandant, a detailed account of the circumstances connected with the expulsion of Ulloa, and particularly a list of the individuals concerned in writing and publishing the decree of the Superior Council dated October 29th, 1763, and the memorial addressed in the following month, by the inhabitants of Louisiana to the King of France, in defence of their proceedings. In answer, Aubry presented a statement of all that had occurred, since the arrival of the first Spanish Commissioner, accompanied by copies of all the papers relating to those affairs; and he designated “Messieurs de Masan a Chevalier of St. Louis, Lafrenière the Attorney General, Marquis a retired Commandant of the Swiss company in Louisiana, Villeré the Captain of the militia of the German settlement, Noyan a retired Captain of Cavalry and Bienville his brother an ensign in the navy, all rich and distinguished persons in the country, as the chiefs of this criminal enterprise,” while he also threw great blame on Foucault for his conduct.

Having received this report, O'Reilly held a grand levee on the 21st, at which were present all the principal persons of New Orleans. There he exhibited to Aubry in private, the orders of



his sovereign to seize and punish those who were engaged in instigating the late rebellious proceedings; and then at a given signal, all the persons accused who were present, were seized and carried away as prisoners. Others were subsequently arrested, and a commission was instituted by O'Reilly for their examination and trial, which on the 20th of October, decided—that Nicolas Chauvin de Lafrènière, Jean Baptiste Noyan, Pierre Caresse, Pierre Marquis, Joseph Milhet, Joseph Petit, Balthasar Masan, Julien Jerome Doucet, Pierre Hardy de Boisblanc, Jean Milhet, and Pierre Poupet, were guilty of sedition against the Spanish Government. Villeré had been killed in endeavoring to escape arrest;\* and Foucault, after having been seized, was set at liberty, in consideration of the office lately held by him under the French Government, and doubtless also for other reasons, less honorable to his reputation. The decision was approved by O'Reilly, and on the 24th of the same month, he declared his sentence to the effect that Lafrènière, Noyan, Caresse, Marquis and Joseph Milhet, as chiefs of the late conspiracy, should be hanged on the gallows; the others as participators were con-

\* The particulars of the death of Villeré are thus related by Martin in his *History of Louisiana*:

"Villeré, who was on his plantation at the German Coast, had been marked as one of the victims; but his absence from the city rendering his arrest less easy, it had been determined to release one of the prisoners on his being secured. He had been apprised of the impending danger, and it had been recommended to him to provide for his safety by seeking the protection of the British flag waving at Manchac. When he was deliberating on the step it became him to take, he received a letter from Aubry, the commandant of the French troops, assuring him he had nothing to apprehend, and advising him to return to the city. Averse to flight, as it would imply a consciousness of guilt, he yielded to Aubry's recommendation and returned to New Orleans; but as he passed the gate, the officer commanding the guard arrested him. He was immediately conveyed on board of a frigate that lay at the levée. On hearing of this, his lady, a grand-daughter of La Chaise, the former Commissary General and ordonnateur, hastened to the city. As her boat approached the frigate, it was hailed and ordered away. She made herself known, and solicited admission to her husband, but was answered, she could not see him, as the captain was on shore and had left orders that no communication should be allowed with the prisoner. Villeré recognized his wife's voice, and insisted on being permitted to see her. On this being refused, a struggle ensued, in which he fell, pierced by the bayonets of his guards. His bloody shirt thrown into the boat, announced to the lady that she had ceased to be a wife; and a sailor cut the rope that fastened the boat to the frigate."

demned to imprisonment, Petit for life, Masan and Doucet for ten years, and Boisblanc, Jean Milhet and Poupet for six years, the property of all being confiscated for the benefit of the royal treasury.

The sentence was carried into effect without any delay. On the following day, August 25, 1769, Lafrènière, Milhet, Noyan, Marquis and Caresse, were carried to the place appointed for their execution, in a small square or court in front of the barracks,\* which was surrounded by the Spanish troops; and after their sentence had been read to them in Spanish and in French; by the secretary of the expedition, they were all shot: the manner of their death having been changed, from the want of a person properly qualified to hang them, as originally intended.

The late Commissary Foucault, against whom the proceedings had been dismissed, returned to France, where he was at first imprisoned in the Bastile; but he was soon after liberated, and sent in his former capacity to the Isle of Bourbon. Aubry sailed with some of the soldiers and inhabitants, from New Orleans to Bordeaux; but the ship was lost at the entrance of the Garonne, and the commandant and nearly all the other persons on board perished. The remaining six who had been condemned to imprisonment, were about the same period sent to Havanna, where they were kept immured in the Moro Castle for some time, until their liberation was effected through the intercession of the French Government, and they were allowed to retire to St. Domingo.

It has been alleged, that in the execution of Lafrènière and his associates, O'Reilly had exceeded his instructions, and that he was severely reprimanded for his cruelty by the King of Spain on his return. There appears however to be no grounds for this assertion, as we have the words of the King himself, declaring that he had commissioned O'Reilly to chastise the chief instigators of the movements against his authority in Louisiana;† and according to the Spanish political system and customs, no chastisement could be too severe, for those who in any way resist the will of the sovereign.

\* The place of execution was in the centre of the block or square in New Orleans, bounded by Royal, Bourbon, Toulouse and Conti streets, which was then occupied by the Royal Barracks.

† See the Royal Order of January 28th, 1771, in White's New Recopilacion, vol. 2, page 184.



The punishment of these men was certainly an unnecessary act of cruelty, though they on the other hand, by no means merit the extraordinary admiration and sympathy which is claimed for them by historians; nor does the record of their proceedings exhibit any thing, which should entitle them to be regarded as heroes, or martyrs in the cause of liberty. A revolt against the constituted authorities of a country is under all circumstances, a grave matter; and those who excite it, should weigh with care, not only the extent of the evils which they desire to remove, but also the prospects of success, as a failure will almost certainly increase the evils, and render their removal in future more difficult. The transfer of Louisiana and its people by France to Spain, was one of those acts of despotism, for which political expediency offers the sole apology: but the conduct of those governments and especially of that of France, in leaving the country for seven years after the cession, in a state so anomalous and uncertain as to paralyse all exertions, and to reduce the people to desperation, is utterly indefensible. Under these circumstances, the right of the people to provide for their own security, by such measures as they might deem most proper, is morally unquestionable. Louisiana was however without population, resources or allies, sufficient to afford the slightest hope, of a favorable result from an attempt to avert the transfer to Spain by force of arms; and the destruction of the country could be the only consequence of such an attempt, in behalf of which nothing was to be expected, from the interposition of France or of any other power. Those who could council a people thus situated to appeal to force for redress, should have possessed the stern determination of a Leonidas, united with the worldly wisdom of a Franklin; but none of these qualities were found in the leaders of the movement in Louisiana, who exhibited no discretion whatsoever in the selection or the employment of their means, and whose violence, while temporarily in the majority, contrasts painfully with their abject submission in the hour of trial. Their sufferings have brought them into notice, and secured for them a place in the history of the New World, which they would otherwise not have attained. Had they been left undisturbed, they would doubtless, like their more prudent associates, have soon sunk into quiet and loyal subjects of Spain.







